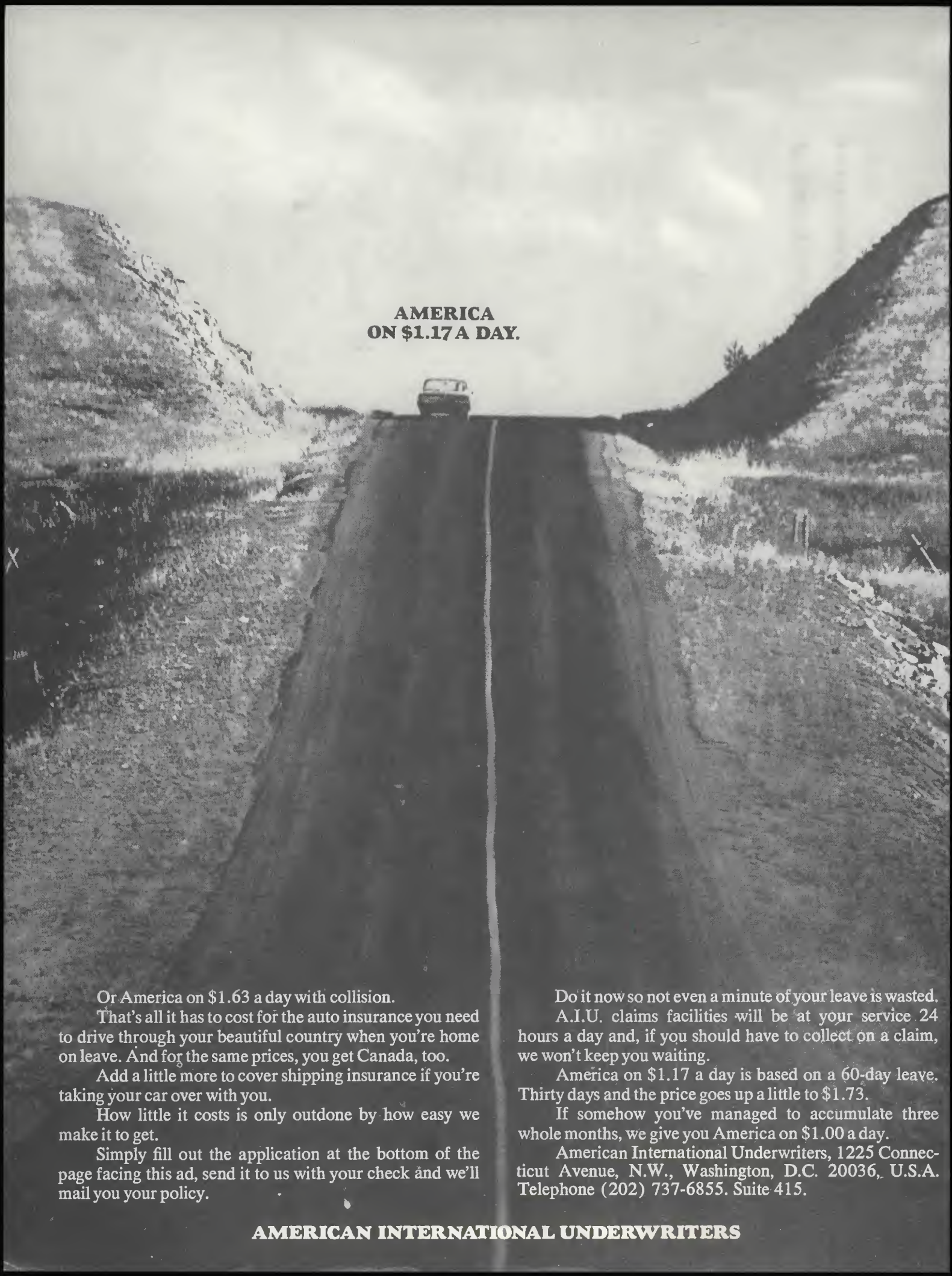


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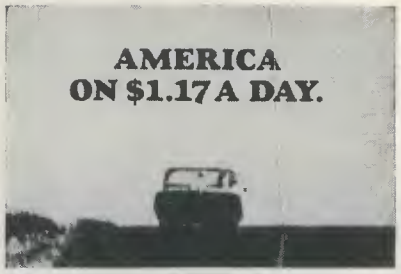
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FSJ EDITORIAL

Public Diplomacy in a Changing World

USIA and the government's overseas information and cultural programs have become the subjects of intensive examination by several government-related bodies, including the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, commonly referred to as the Murphy Commission. AFSA is preparing to offer testimony to these groups on a whole range of issues, including proposals to significantly change the government's information and cultural activities.

It is a fundamental position of AFSA that public diplomacy—the effort to ensure understanding of America and its policies—must continue as a vital element in America's foreign relations.

While AFSA is deeply concerned with the question of what organizational structure will best carry out information and cultural activities overseas, we believe it is of far greater importance to obtain from the Congress, the White House, and the foreign affairs community their recognition of the need for such efforts, an affirmation of their purposes, and assistance in improving their effectiveness.

The role and purposes of USIA have long been subjects of discussion and debate both within and outside the foreign affairs community. During the past 20 years, the Agency and its programs have been weakened and its personnel frustrated by the lack of consensus over USIA's function, by an emphasis on tactical expedience in response to Cold War and domestic political concerns as opposed to longer-range considerations, and by the need to be responsive to policies which were formed without consideration of public diplomacy implications in judging policy options. The cumulative effect of these factors has been to hinder development by USIA of an overall, continuing concept for its information and cultural programs which would have validity for—and be responsive to—the changing times.

USIA itself can resolve only part of its problems; Congress can play a far more significant role in strengthening the overseas information and cultural programs by defining and endorsing the Agency's mission, affirming the validity of these efforts and their purposes, and providing support through an adequate and dependable level of funding.

In an effort to focus on basic considerations for determining the purposes of public diplomacy, which, in turn, should affect organizational form, and also in order to obtain the views of USIA members of AFSA, AFSA's Professional Interests Committee of USIA has prepared and mailed a draft position paper, "Public Diplomacy in a Changing World," to individual USIA members in Washington and overseas. The committee is seeking to obtain a "sense of the membership," which ultimately will be reflected in a final position paper and will form the basis for AFSA testimony on this important issue.

AFSA's USIA Professional Interests Committee has proposed three organizational possibilities to strengthen the role of public diplomacy as an element in foreign policy. These three options have been outlined in the draft position paper and each directly affects relations with the Department, particularly in regard to the activities of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU).

It is vitally important that USIA members review and discuss this position paper and respond with the preferences, comments, or alternate proposals. Deadline for replies was set for June 7, 1974; **due to mailing problems the deadline has now been extended to June 14.** Responses will be reported at open meetings to be held at USIA, the Voice of America, and FSI.

The views of USIA members are needed as a key first step in developing an overall AFSA position. Once the USIA members formulate a position, then the State and AID members of AFSA will be asked to express their opinions. We believe the complex issues involved in this discussion of public diplomacy deserve your considered attention and we urge you and your colleagues to devote the time and thought to your response that the position paper of AFSA's USIA Professional Interests Committee requires. ■

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Wherein Mandy accompanies her parents to Russia and finds that baby talk is the universal language

Mandy in Moscow

DEBORAH W. GLASSMAN

On a muggy Washington day in July we waited to board the plane that was to take us to Moscow for two years. My husband's job in the Foreign Service had taken us abroad before; but this time we had our six-month-old daughter, Mandy, to take into consideration. As our flight was being announced, my mother was making a last minute plea that we leave her granddaughter under her care in the States. The argument ran along the following lines: What will she eat over there? Who will she play with? She won't come back speaking Russian will she?

Unmoved we waved goodbye, promising to send pictures every week. Our confidence that our daughter would suffer no deprivation was based partly on the cases of baby food already in transit and partly on the assurances of Moscow veterans that Russians love children. Taking a baby for a walk, we were told, is the best opportunity to meet people. This led us to envision smiling strangers stopping us on the street to extol Mandy's good looks and talents.

Reality, we soon found, was not quite as we had pictured. People, mainly old ladies, came up to us in droves; but their comments were, at first, startling. As I proudly wheeled Mandy in her stroller, I was accosted by an indignant *babushka* (which means grandmother but can be applied to any old woman). She told me I was deforming my daughter's spine by letting her slouch down in the seat, and promptly proceeded to straighten her up. At that point the startled baby started shrieking so I quickly decided it was time to head home for a nap.

Being a first time mother and sensitive to criticism, I made sure that Mandy was bolstered up with a pillow when we next set out. This time a slightly less indignant *babushka* informed me that the baby was not dressed

Deborah Glassman, a native of Philadelphia, is a graduate of Barnard College where she studied sociology. She accompanied her husband FSO Jon Glassman on assignments in Madrid and Moscow and is currently pursuing a graduate degree in the US while her husband is on leave with the Council on Foreign Relations.

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Mandy at Kutuzovskiy Prospekt diplomatic compound, Moscow, 1973. Photo by Helen Suzanne Young.

warmly enough. She pointed out that there was a breeze blowing, clouds were at that moment covering the sun, and I had better get the baby home before it rained. It is true that I had noticed Russian children wearing heavy knit tights even though it was mid-July but had thought maybe they were permanently cold from the long winters. Little did I suspect that as the cold weather approached public concern for Mandy's warmth would increase.

On subsequent excursions I avoided main *prospekts* and kept to the green alleys and small play areas in back of most Soviet high rises. One day I came upon a group of *babushkas* supervising some small children and, feeling brave, decided to sit down with them. After a few minutes of silent scrutiny, their attention was caught by the stroller, which like our car was obviously foreign. Curiosity overcame their shyness and the usual questions were exchanged. Is it a girl? How old? Does she crawl? They were just warming up when Mandy happened to put an exploratory finger in her mouth. "Looking for teeth," one woman observed, "what she needs is a pacifier." They muttered to each other while looking at me expectantly; and when I didn't produce one, told me it was unsanitary to suck on fingers. A list of various diseases that could result was soon compiled. I tried to defend my practices, but I soon found that *babushkas* are as hard a lot to convince as to please. It took me quite a while to get used to this brusque manner in which strangers offer advice and comments. In fact many observers claim this penchant for minding other peoples' business is one of the reasons behind the low

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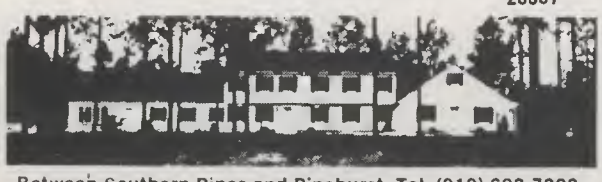
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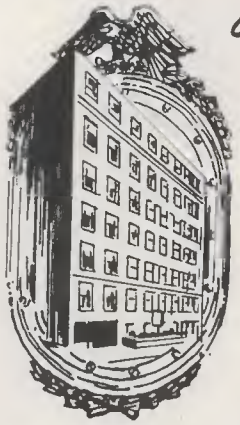
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Due to these experiences we were a bit wary of bringing out the back pack which we had brought along with us from the States. Our original thought was that Soviets would be really amazed by this example of Western ingenuity. Amazed they were but it didn't take them long to tell us what they thought. After the first smile of surprise at finding a baby in such a unlikely spot, opinion divided pretty evenly. Some people, usually men, thought it was a great way to carry a baby around. Since knapsacks were already in frequent use for carrying things, it struck them as a very clever idea. Other people, usually old women, were convinced the back pack was, once again, bad for the baby's spine and looked at us with disapproval. Everyone was very concerned to find out if it was comfortable for the carrier and the baby. We once caused a real commotion by taking Mandy on the subway in her back pack. Everyone in the entire car was smiling and nudging each other to look. Until our stop came, we were certainly the cause for much entertainment and discussion.

A favorite subject of mothers everywhere is diet and schedule. Soviet mothers are just as eager to compare their babies' progress and exchange experiences. One sunny fall day, I got involved in a very technical cross-examination on diet. The woman explained that she was a maternal grandmother of the baby asleep in his coach—caring for him while her daughter worked full-time as a dentist. The baby was sick with a cold so she was letting him get some sun. Her main concern, however, was that the baby did not eat enough. Every hour, or so it seemed from her elaborate schedule, she offered the child *kasha* (a buckwheat cereal—long a staple of Russian life). She wanted to know how much *kasha* I used and how long I boiled it. It was very difficult to explain that I used instant high-protein cereal and jars of baby food. To vary the child's diet she sometimes offered him bread, an occasional egg and peeled grapes. It was no longer a mystery to me why Russian children looked like little dumplings. Another big item for babies is *kefir* or buttermilk. This is a favorite with Russians of all ages and is considered especially beneficial for babies' digestion. Generally Russians cannot understand why American women like to be so thin and will usually advise you to eat more. Men will add regretfully that they prefer their women "fuller," indicating with their hands the dimensions they have in mind. It is even more of scandal to have a thin child. Mandy's cheeks couldn't be rounder, yet people would ask me: "Doesn't she have any appetite?" Meaning—she must not eat anything to be so thin.

A large part of a Russian baby's life is spent in a carriage. Long walks are scheduled in the morning, afternoon and even at night. This is in part due to a conviction that fresh air does wonders for babies and partly to the cramped living quarters that exist. My first peek into a baby carriage was a bit surprising. Inside lay a little mummy, closely swaddled in thick blankets and tied up with a gauzy bow—red for girls and blue for boys. The only visible part of the child was its round little face, round little pacifier and round little eyes staring upwards. In mild weather a baby will be outside in

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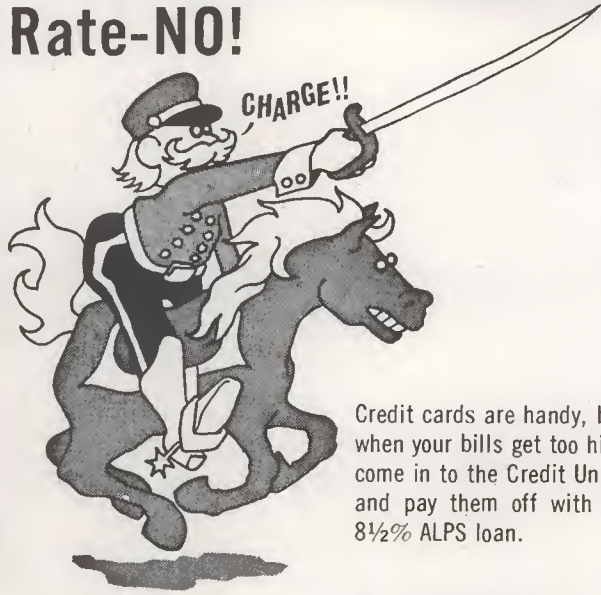
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his carriage most of the day, returning home only to eat.

The practice of swaddling has been a subject of great controversy. It consists of wrapping a baby tightly in sheets and blankets so that he can't move his arms or legs freely. As one girl explained to us, it is done to keep the child from scratching himself or growing up deformed. When we pointed out that we had never been swaddled, and had no major deformities to speak of, she seemed surprised. Some theorists think that the routine of swaddling and unswaddling may lead to a personality that similarly alternates between restrained and explosive behavior. Perhaps because of this discussion, largely carried out in the West, the official attitude, as explained in baby care books, is to only swaddle a newborn infant for the first few weeks. After that mothers are encouraged to exercise the babies' limbs daily. Of course actual practice differs greatly. A child is often swaddled for three months and sometimes longer.

Swaddling also serves to eliminate the need for diapers. Rubber pants are unheard of. This somewhat damp system results in early toilet training. On a plane returning from Kiev, I sat across from a woman with a nine-month-old child. As the plane was unbearably warm, she unwound the baby down to its little vest and nothing else. I kept nervously glancing over, expecting the inevitable accident. The two hour plane trip ended without mishap; the lady wrapped her baby up and calmly walked off. At that age it is probably more the mother's attentiveness than the baby's training. Certainly a mother can expect to have a wet lap for a long time before she is successful. I came across some paper diapers in a Leningrad store. They were rather primitive specimens compared to ours, but people were buying.

As children graduate to the toddler stage their attire changes to allow their arms and legs to jut out. A well-dressed child's winter outfit consists of: a thick fur coat that reaches almost to the ankles, with long sleeves to cover the hands; a fur hat; a scarf to go around the neck and felt boots covered with shiny black galoshes. Since the accompanying adult usually holds onto the ends of the scarf, the total effect is that of a small, furry bear out for a walk on a leash. Underneath I can only speculate on the number of sweaters and wool tights that pad out the costume. Children sit ensconced on a sled or trip along like little penguins in any kind of weather short of forty below.

By contrast, my child was often considered too lightly dressed, and I came in for much criticism on this score. Old ladies would go by and smilingly call out, "Your poor baby is undoubtedly frozen." If an ear protruded or a glove was pulled off, I was immediately stopped with warnings of earache and frostbite. In all fairness, I have to admit that to people who constantly live under harsh weather conditions the threat of illness and frozen fingers is all too real.

Childrens' needs have a fairly high priority even with the economic planners as evidenced by the well-stocked shelves in *Detski Mir*, the children's store. Like anywhere else in the world, parents may be willing to go without some things, but their children must have the

Continued on page 35

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We all know the supervisor who spends hours polishing a memo to the front office—while preparing ratings on a subordinate in haste and negligence.—Nathaniel Davis, Director General of the Foreign Service

The Science of Telling Executives How They're Doing

HERBERT E. MEYER

IT IS A UNIVERSALLY acknowledged truth that uncertainty is bad for business. It is not so often observed that uncertainty is also bad for businessmen—bad for their health, their peace of mind, even bad for their performance as executives. And of all the uncertainties that have kept executives from sleeping peacefully at night, probably none are quite so unsettling as those related to the difficulty of figuring out their boss's real opinion of them.

It is partly—but only partly—to relieve executives of such anxieties that American business has developed a remarkable institution called "performance evaluation." Formal, regularized evaluation programs are now more or less omnipresent in large US corporations. Not all corporations do it in precisely the same way, but the exercise ordinarily includes a face-to-face meeting, held at least once a year, at which each executive gets a fairly explicit judgment of his performance from his immediate superior.

Research associate: Varian A. Knisely

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Typically, this verdict has been approved at least two levels above the man or woman being judged —i.e., the executive doing the judging clears it with his own superiors. The evaluations are ordinarily recorded on special forms, which then become part of the executive's permanent employment record. At most companies, these systems are used to judge the performance of virtually all executives, from the lowest-ranking recruit up to and often including the chairman of the board (whose performance is evaluated by the directors).

Good marks for the losers

While just about all corporations have adopted performance-evaluation systems, their effectiveness is still a matter of dispute. It is not always clear that the judgment delivered to executives reflects the true sentiments of their superiors. At Xerox Corporation there is a rule that no one who has been with the company for more than eight years may be fired without the approval of Chairman C. Peter McColough. In almost every instance, says McColough ruefully, he discovers that the candidate for firing has for years been rated highly in the company's evaluations.

All of which suggests that for an evaluation to be useful and meaningful it must be delivered by someone who's capable of imparting some painful truths. The worst mistake an evaluator can make is to let some executive who's barely making it leave the session harboring delusions about great prospects in his future.

At the same time, the evaluator has to be careful not to make the event too painful: he doesn't, presumably, want to crush the executive being judged under an avalanche of devastating criticisms. Finally, it is important that the judgments being delivered really do concern performance—and do not reflect the personal preferences and prejudices of the evaluator.

Getting a line on the judges

Performance evaluation is, then, something of an executive art and science in itself. Indeed, one important benefit of the system is that it helps top management to make some further judgments about the executives who judge others.

American business got into performance evaluation for several reasons. One reason, plainly, had to do with salaries: by providing the corporation with a structured,

detailed record of each executive's performance during the preceding year, the evaluations made it possible to put salary administration on a rational basis. (See "A Computer May Be Deciding What You Get Paid," FORTUNE, November, 1973.)

In addition, the evaluation systems are used to help identify the executives who have some real potential for moving into the higher-ranking jobs in their companies. Supervising executives often include in their evaluation reports an outline of the preparation and experience a lower-level executive requires for his next promotion. For example, a supervisor might recommend that bright executives whose experience is limited to the US market be given some exposure to international operations. Or he might recommend that a production man tapped for higher things be shifted for a while into sales.

In short, performance evaluation is being linked increasingly to companies' long-range planning efforts. And quite a few chief executives these days find the time to read hundreds, even thousands, of evaluation reports in an effort to see what's going on down there among the troops. The man at the top can get a sense from the reports of where the talent is, and where it isn't, and which parts of the company are likely to need the most executive-development help in the years ahead.

The system can also be rather helpful to the executives being evaluated. For one thing, the meetings with a supervisor can provide an occasion on which it is natural and possible for an executive to get on the record some views of his own about his job and about the possibility of handling it differently. At some companies—Texas Instruments, for example—this opportunity to get an executive's own views about his situation is considered to be as important a part of performance evaluation as the delivery of the superior's judgment.

Amazing honesty at Citibank

At the First National City Bank one supervising executive has gone about as far as it is possible to go in giving his subordinates a chance to express themselves in performance evaluation. E. Newton Cutler Jr., a Citibank senior vice president, simply hands his subordinates their own blank evaluation forms and tells them to fill in their ratings themselves. "It's amazing how honest people are," Cutler marvels. "They put things in that are detrimental to their own progress and promotion." The procedure, which represents Cutler's own variation on the bank's evaluation system, has a built-in safeguard against things getting out of hand: Cutler himself makes a final review of the ratings.

Performance-evaluation systems also tend to protect an executive from being held back or treated unfairly. Virtually every system requires that supervisors justify their conclusions, both to their own supervisors and to the executive being evaluated; hence the chances of discrimination based on race, sex, taste in clothing, or plain old-fashioned personality conflicts are minimized.

And, of course, evaluations do a great deal to end the awful uncertainty that comes from not knowing what the boss thinks. Dr. Abraham Zaleznik, a psychoanalyst and a professor of social psychology and management at the Harvard Business School, is among those who believe that this uncertainty really is bad for businessmen. "It's important to know that your own image of yourself, and of your performance, squares with your boss's image," Zaleznik says. "Disparities between the two can lead to personal stress and do real physical damage."

It started with Loyola

Formal performance-evaluation systems are not at all unique to American business. In fact, a system remarkably similar to many being used today was developed by Saint Ignatius of Loyola some time after he founded the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century. Saint Ignatius used a combination reporting-and-rating system that was intended to provide a comprehensive portrait of each Jesuit's activities and potential. The system consisted of a self-rating received from each member of the order, reports by each supervisor on his subordinates' performance, and special reports sent directly to the society's Father-General from any Jesuit who believed he had information relating to his or his colleagues' performance that the Father-General might not otherwise receive.

In the United States, however, the performance-evaluation systems being used by business have been influenced mainly by some systems first developed in the federal government. In 1842 the Congress passed a law requiring the heads of executive departments to make an annual report "stating among other things whether each clerk had been usefully employed and whether the removal of some to permit the appointment of others would lead to a better dispatch of the public business."

When James Polk became President in 1845, he ordered that these annual reports be sent directly to him. During the following decades a multitude of evaluation systems were tried and then abandoned —one system developed in 1879 by Carl Schurz, for the Pension Office, attempted to measure employees' performance simply by counting the errors they made in a year.

Some obeyed more than others

But as the century entered its final decade, it was the military that had developed the most precise, workable performance-rating system. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison, impressed by what the War Department had accomplished, suggested that civilian agencies adopt similar techniques. His suggestion was generally ignored, and so Harrison issued an executive order *requiring* agencies to adopt the military system. The order was obeyed in some agencies more than others, and the inability of any President to establish a comprehensive, standard system of performance appraisals for the executive branch has continued right down to the present.

In part, the Presidents' difficulties reflect a powerful reluctance by members of Congress to let any chief executive have too much power over the presumably nonpartisan civil service. At the moment, the government's most recent task force on performance evaluation is hard at work in Washington, evaluating the performance of its scores of predecessors and preparing some recommendations on how agency heads

When the evaluations take place, the supervisor is supposed to be clear about any steps that must be taken to prepare these executives for their eventual promotions. The supervisor himself is rated on how well he plans the promotions.

might improve their evaluation systems.

American business has proceeded with greater dispatch. Exactly which corporation was the first to develop a formal evaluation system for executives, or when, is unknown. General Motors Corporation had a formal evaluation system for its executives as early as 1918, but G.M. doesn't know if it was first. The real trend toward formal, regularized, written systems didn't begin in earnest until after World War II.

The procedures vary quite a bit from one company to another. Sometimes the evaluator doesn't put anything on paper until after the judgment has been delivered —the written record becomes, in effect, a report on the meeting with the executive being judged. At White Motor Corporation, on the other hand, the supervising executive calls in his subordinate only after completing the rating form and then clearing his conclusions with his own superior. Thus when an executive is invited in for a friendly chat, the verdict on his performance has already become a matter of record.

The form presented to the White Motor executive being evaluated includes, in addition to the traditional photograph and biographical data, a series of questions the supervisor has answered regarding the executive's major strengths and weaknesses. Also, the supervisor has placed a check next to one of the following phrases: outstanding, satisfactory plus, satisfactory, marginal, or "unsatisfactory — must be replaced." At White Motor, supervisors are required to state how soon their subordinates will be ready for promotion, and to outline to each subordinate what steps should be taken to prepare for future jobs with the company.

He should want to improve

After being presented with the company's opinion of him, the executive is asked literally to sign on the dotted line. (His signature signifies awareness, not necessarily agreement.) The interview concludes with a discussion of the executive's performance; according to the White Motor Corporation supervisors' manual, he should leave the session "with a sincere desire to improve."

If an executive feels that he has been treated unfairly—more precisely, if he thinks he should be rated higher—he is encouraged to protest during the course of the interview itself. According to H. Herbert Phillips, the company's vice president for personnel and industrial relations, most differences of opinion are resolved right then. But if the executive is still not satisfied, he is entitled to appeal his rating directly to the company's personnel department. Someone will be assigned to hear both sides, then either back up the supervisor or suggest to him that the subordinate might actually have a point, and that his rating be reconsidered. "If it's the sort of personality conflict that just can't be resolved," Phillips says, "we usually wind up suggesting that the subordinate transfer to another department."

The questions dealt with on Sperry Rand Corporation's performance-evaluation forms deal mainly with "promotability." Once a year, at evaluation time, the company's managing executives (about 1,000 in all) fill out "replacement charts," in which each supervisor lists the two or three subordinates he considers most qualified to replace him. Then, when the evaluations take place, the supervisor is supposed to be clear about any steps that must be taken to prepare these executives for their eventual promotions. The supervisor himself is rated on how well he plans the promotions.

At the heart of Sperry Rand's evaluation system is the so-called AROT column, in which four kinds of data are listed: the A refers simply to the executive's age; the R represents a performance rating (on a scale from 60 to 100); O is organizational data, e.g., the supervisor states whether the subordinate should be kept within his division or might work elsewhere in the corporation; and T stands for the time required to prepare the executive for his next promotion.

John Grela, Sperry Rand's vice president for organization and development, says the emphasis on promotions makes it easier for a supervisor to point out flaws in an executive's performance when the two sit down for the annual interview. "I knew we couldn't get people to sit down and say, 'You are bad here,' but a supervisor can deliver criticisms more easily when he's recommending a plan for future promotions." Grela says proudly, "It works."

The completed forms are shown to the executive being evaluated after they've been cleared with the supervisor's own superior. At Sperry Rand each executive's performance-evaluation forms are reviewed at least once a year by a committee consisting of the company's chairman, its president, and Grela. They meet with the supervisors to discuss the executives they've rated, and in effect rate the supervisors on how well they're doing in preparing subordinates for promotions. "We feel that part of a manager's salary is based on how well he develops people," Grela says. "If he isn't doing that, he hasn't earned that portion of his salary."

The peers vote at TRW

At TRW Inc., performance evaluations involve not only an executive's supervisors, but his peers as well. Before the judgments about an executive are made, his supervisor solicits the opinion of the men and women who work alongside him. "It's a regular part of our procedure," explains Stanley C. Pace, a TRW executive vice president, "but we do it informally. What happens is that at some time during the year—usually not just before the evaluations are written—I make it a point to chat with each subordinate's colleagues to see what they think about his performance. Everyone here knows that this is done, and the purpose of

it is to encourage teamwork. We don't want anyone around here to think he can get away with being nasty or unhelpful to everyone except his boss."

Pace believes that checking informally around the office from time to time is the sort of thing that should be done by any good manager, regardless of whether a formal, annual evaluation interview is held with each executive. "One benefit of having these annual interviews," Pace adds, "is that they force me to get off my duff and talk to people."

Rating by the numbers

At Worthington Corporation, a subsidiary of Studebaker-Worthington, Inc., the man personally in charge of performance evaluation is Chairman Edward C. Forbes. His system is about as precise and quantitative as any in existence; it actually measures an executive's performance out to the second decimal place.

Once a year, every top-echelon Worthington executive drafts a list of his objectives for the coming twelve months, then sends the list directly to Forbes. He and the executive decide how important each objective is to the company and assign numerical priorities to them, ranging from three for the highest down to one for the lowest. At the end of the year, Forbes sits down again with the list (and with the executive), decides how well the executive did on each of his various objectives, and rates the man's success in achieving each objective on a scale of one to fifteen.

Each of these scores is then multiplied by the priority previously attached to it. The resulting numbers are added together and, finally, divided by the total number of weighted objectives for the executive's numerical rating. (When events beyond the control of any executive — such as a natural disaster in a particular marketing area — render an objective meaningless during the course of the year, Forbes simply eliminates that objective from the equation.)

The number that emerges from all this arithmetic is then worked hard by salary-administration officials at Worthington. It is combined with a variety of other numbers, reflecting, for example, the division's profit, the executive's current salary grade, his position within that grade, and his age, in order to determine the future salary.

In gauging an executive's promotability, Forbes relies on a curiously (for him) unmathematical evaluation system. He calls it RUST—an R means the executive must retire within a year, U means his performance has been unsatisfactory, S stands for satisfactory, and T, which is in there for reasons more euphonic than logical, signifies a potential for promotion. The same system Forbes uses to rate his top-echelon executives is also used, by them, to rate their own subordinates. The evaluations they perform may then be reviewed by Forbes—whose judgment on all executives at Worthington is the final one.

A shortage of bastards

Ultimately, of course, all those quantified results in performance-evaluation systems come back to somebody's personal judgment. The point of forcing evaluators to be quantitative is to ensure that the judgment is as objective as it can possibly be. White Motor Corporation's Herbert Phillips, for example, considers it among his primary responsibilities as chief of personnel to ensure that each supervising executive focus attention on his subordinates' results —and not on their personalities.

There is no doubt that the main problem about objectivity is the powerful desire of most executives to be nice guys. To hear personnel men complain about it, there's an acute shortage of real bastards in American business. "Everybody likes to be a nice guy and hand out outstanding-performance ratings," says George Foote, a director of McKinsey & Company. "It's very difficult to get enough supervisors to be hard enough to make the system really work."



Some supervisors have managed to avoid hurting their subordinate's feelings, while still conveying some sense of the sad realities to top management, by using a kind of Aesopian language. Over the years a sort of code has developed that tips off personnel directors and company chairmen to the supervisor's real opinion. For example, a supervisor writing about "a diligent, reliable worker" may well be sending up a signal that the executive in question is totally devoid of imagination. An executive credited with "a cheerful attitude toward work," who is said to "get along well with fellow employees," may just be an amiable fellow who hasn't produced a tangible result all year.

The problem of halos

Any distortions in executives' evaluation records can be perpetuated by a phenomenon called the "halo effect." What happens is that an executive, once rated as outstanding, tends to keep on receiving that rating regardless of how badly his performance may have slipped. It takes some courage for an evaluator to dissent from the judgments of his predecessors (whose past evaluations are always available to him). The phenomenon can, of course, also work to perpetuate a poor rating by executives who have been working hard to do a better job.

It is partly to counter the halo effect that Western Electric Company has begun insisting that supervisors award outstanding ratings to no more than 20 percent of their subordinates. Norman Lucas, Western Electric's evaluation chief, says that the company's system forces an annual weeding out that makes it difficult for a once outstanding performer to coast along on the strength of earlier ratings.

Lowering the temperature

The powerful link between performance evaluation and salary administration—in other words, money—can also work to prevent

Supervising executives sometimes have a tendency to conceal their opinions for 364 days, and then to announce them in one huge dose.

evaluation systems from functioning the way they're supposed to. It is, admittedly, hard to be objective when money is involved, and both the supervisor and the executive he's evaluating are apt to share the blame for the distorted results. The subordinate executive knows that the rating he receives is the major determinant of whether he receives a raise, and of how large that raise will be. Not surprisingly, it is often money, rather than any concern about "areas of weakness and potential," that is uppermost in an executive's mind as he heads in for that annual interview.

Once shown his rating, furthermore, an executive is often more interested in finishing the interview, so that he can get busy computing his raise, or celebrating it, than in paying attention to any message his supervisor is trying to deliver. And an executive whose rating denies him a raise will likely be too blinded by disappointment or resentment to listen, just then, to any friendly criticism of his work.

The connection between money and performance evaluation tends to distort the system in another way. The problem is that many evaluators, aware of the connection, have evolved a game called "playing the system." What they do is work backwards—that is, they decide first how large a raise they want to give an executive, then give him whatever rating will draw that raise from the company's salary-administration tables. Thus a supervisor who wants to give a raise (because, for example, the executive's wife has just had twins) may be led to distort the evaluation system so that the results seem to justify his a priori decision.

One obvious way to minimize system-playing is to separate the evaluation interview from decisions about salary. At International Paper Company, for example, it is now very difficult to get a raise simply on the basis of a supervisor's report. Instead, raises are linked to results. Each supervisor sits down with every employee for whom he is responsible and gets an agreement on objectives for the coming quarter and the long term—e.g., with respect to the man's sales. The two then sit down again at the end of the quarter and measure the extent to which the objectives they had agreed on were attained. Says William J. Connolly, who directs I.P.'s performance-evaluation programs, "When the annual salary review comes up, the decision doesn't come as a shock to the employee. He knows right along how he's been doing."

One difficulty with performance-evaluation systems stems directly from their success. That is, by creating a format in which it is natural to tell subordinates exactly what the company thinks of them, companies have given their supervisors an excuse for not delivering the message at other times. Supervising executives sometimes have a tendency to conceal their opinions for 364 days, and then to announce them in one huge dose. McKinsey's George Foote emphasizes that the annual interview is meant to complement, not replace, daily criticism and praise.

"Performance evaluation is actually less time-consuming when it's done daily," Foote says. "If you put the whole job off to the end, it takes more time to explain what's on your mind. The comment should be made when the event occurs. To save it until the end of the year is not only meaningless, it's divisive."

The new environment at Chase

The need for formal performance-evaluation systems seems to be just about universally accepted in American business today. There is, however, some continuing controversy about the emphasis on forms and ratings. Some executives contend that the procedures have become bureaucratized to a point at which they actually represent an obstacle to useful communication between executives and their bosses. Many students of the subject, and many executives, seem to agree with William R. Hinchman Jr., a senior vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and the man in charge of its evaluation program. "Frankly," says Hinchman, "I'm not nearly so impressed with our actual reporting procedures as I am by the environment our performance-evaluation system has given us. There's a more open and candid interaction among people here than we've had before, and this is where it counts. Not the forms."

That a system exists at all at Chase is a reflection of the bank's swift growth during the past decade, a period during which the number of executives soared, from around 1,000 in 1963 to 2,700 now. Hinchman concedes that it's too early to tell how successful the bank's present performance-evaluation system will be. But whatever happens, it probably can't be worse than the non-system the bank used to have.

A dinner jacket in the drawer

This non-system, which disappeared some four decades ago, consisted pretty much of one Chase official with a little book in his bottom drawer. Once a year he'd pull it out and decide on all the raises in the company. Only when he received his raise and promotion could a Chase executive count on knowing what his bosses thought of him.

And, for all the tensions associated with performance evaluations nowadays, they're a breeze compared to the rather stunning method by which Chase used to tell some executives that they were being promoted. The executives got the news of their promotions on a day at the end of which they were invited to the bank's annual officers' dinner, a black-tie event. Anyone who thought he might get a promotion brought a dinner jacket to work, then hid it in a closet or desk drawer and hoped for the best. Those who were promoted donned their dinner suits and proceeded triumphantly to the gala. Those who weren't promoted stuffed their tuxedos into bags or attaché cases and smuggled them, and themselves, out the door as unobtrusively as possible. ■

DEAN RUSK VIEWS THE WASHINGTON PRESS CORPS

JOHN W. ENGLISH

THE PRESS DEMANDS complete candor from a public official on every subject except one—namely what he thinks about the press,'' former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said.

''Because it is part of the conventional wisdom, a public official is supposed to approach the press and the news media as though he were approaching the Empress Dowager of China—with three kowtows, with a bag full of goodies and with a hope that he won't have his head cut off.

''Indeed, I think it's fair to say the press can dish it out, but it doesn't like to take it.''

Rusk, now secure in academia as the occupant of the Samuel H. Sibley chair of international law at the sedate University of Georgia, obviously takes delight in telling members of the press what he thinks of the second oldest profession.

After eight years of enduring the grilling of newsmen, Rusk still enjoys the attention journalists afford him and while he has their ear he now openly comments on what he was reluctant to say while in office.

In recent talks before such groups as Sigma Delta Chi, the Georgia Press Association and Georgia Association of Broadcasters he includes some candid insights on persistent problems between press and government.

At 63, the former Rhodes Scholar regards himself as ''pretty close to being a fanatic on the issue of free speech and free press —nothing is more important in a democratic society or to a humane existence.

''I am concerned, for example, that the Congress seems to be moving in more and more to assert controls over the contents of radio and television programs because of the accident of physical laws that requires the allocation of broadcast frequencies to avoid chaos on the airways.

''I would prefer to see the Congress ban cigarets as a health hazard than to have the FCC ban cigaret advertising from television. Some day we may be forced to ration wood pulp for ecological reasons; would the Congress then move to assert similar controls over the written press? I think this trend has to be watched with great care.

''Free speech and free press are not based on the notion that everyone is going to tell the truth. From John Milton through Thomas Jefferson, and up to the present time, the right of free speech and free press is based upon the notion that if everyone is free to say and write what he pleases, then the truth has a better chance to emerge than if these processes were subject to some sort of external control, particularly control by government.

''I'm so concerned about these freedoms that I'm dubious myself about the desirability of establishing a code of conduct or ethics among the news media. I think it would be very unfortunate if, within the organization of the press and news media, there should develop pressures or procedures which would tend to limit the freedom of expression of our news media, or indeed of private citizens.''

Rusk acknowledges that news media and public officials share a common goal of informing the populace, but he is aware members of the two institutions have different responsibilities and motivations.

From his perspective as a loyal company man in a corporate-style government, Rusk also recognizes the problems the press presents both to public officials seeking to utilize the media and to the public which needs complete information of government activities.

''The public official is faced with the fact that his principal channel of communication with the public is through the news media,'' Rusk said. ''Therefore, he may not have an opportunity to say what he would like to say because the news media may not carry it or deal with it. For example, in October 1968 I made the opening speech for the United States in the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly. This was just after the Russian assertion of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine justifying their occupation of Czechoslovakia.

''In that statement I addressed a series of penetrating and probing questions to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko who was sitting just in front of me. It was, all things considered, a pretty important speech. Was that what the television carried? No.

''Instead they carried a few inane sentences at the very opening of my remarks because at that moment six young people up in the gallery decided to stand up and make a fuss. Some anonymous managers of the news back in the studios apparently decided that what was dramatic should be shown rather than what was important. This is one problem we run into all the time.

''Let me illustrate the point further,'' Rusk said. ''I can tell you today that the overwhelming majority of international frontiers are peaceful. The overwhelming majority of treaties are complied with. The overwhelming majority of disputes are settled by peaceful means. Now if that is not your im-

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This article by John W. English of the school of journalism at the University of Georgia first appeared in SEMINAR, *a quarterly review for journalists, published by Copley Newspapers. Mr. English, who edited the Peace Corps* VOLUNTEER *magazine in Washington from 1964-66, says the article emanated from long interviews and many encounters with Mr. Rusk on campus.* *Copyright (c) 1973 by John W. English. All rights reserved.*

pression, it has to do with the answer to the question 'What is news?'; because normality, habit, agreement, serenity are not news compared with the abnormal, the unusual, the controversial, or the violent.

"One problem, then, in getting information to the American people about the total context of our foreign relations is that there is a vast mass of normal, regular, habitual cooperation among the governments of the world which never comes to view—not because it's secret, but because it is not newsworthy. Only about one per cent of our foreign affairs matters are secret; most news in this area is not secret and not used."

Illustrating his generalizations with specific current examples, Rusk is quick to cite several recent international developments that have received little press attention.

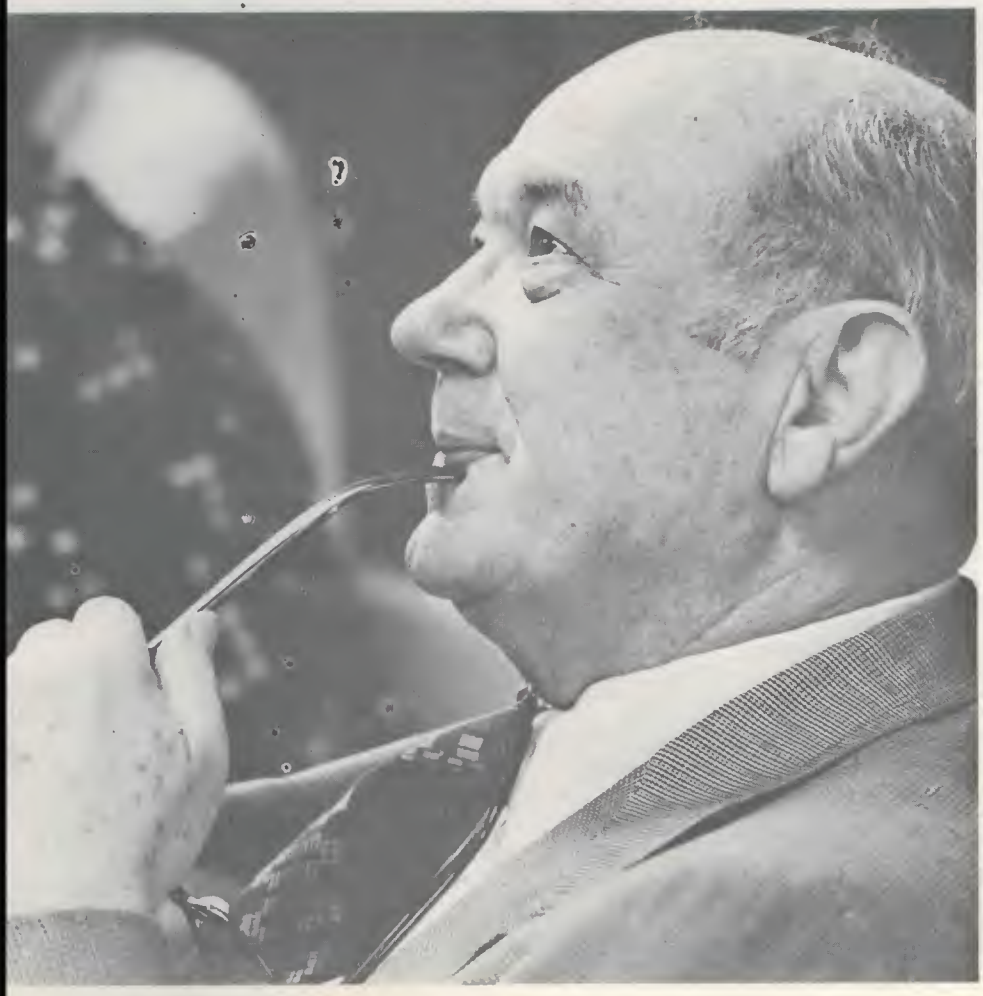
His list included the Big Four agreement on Berlin, talks between North and South Korea, the objectives of Round II of the SALT talks in Geneva, the significance of the forthcoming Law of the Sea conference and a followup on the Stockholm conference on the environment.

"These are important areas of cooperation to resolve conflict but complex matters that may be boring to an audience," he added.

"I made a count one year of some 600 multilateral intergovernmental conferences in which the United States took part, ranging in subject matter from the control of nuclear weapons to the control of hog cholera. Only 125 of those meetings were even mentioned anywhere in the press. The rest of them were lost without a trace.

"I tried to get one of the leading newspapers to give just four column inches in its Sunday edition—a Sunday edition which is so large you can barely lift it—just to list the international meetings which were coming up the next week, so that professors and students and others would have some point of reference to which they could go and find out what was going on in the world. No luck whatever.

"So, we have a serious matter of extraction, of limitation on the news because of the very nature of the news. I'm not blaming the news media on this particularly because they have to make tough choices on what they report in the time and space available to them. But citizens should know that there is a problem there, that a lot is going on to which the public has no access. It is difficult, therefore, for the average citizen to get a view of reality from the media, especially of the news of government. The selection of the news is forced both by the economics of publishing or broadcasting and by the limited time the audience is willing to spend on such matters."



AFTER YEARS as an adversary, Rusk praised the capital correspondents he regularly encountered.

"The press corps that covers Washington, D.C., is the most effective, intelligent, sophisticated, best informed press corps one can find anywhere in the world. And I do believe the American people are better served by the totality of their news media than are the people in any other country I have visited —and I have visited a great many of them.

"The press has a duty to get the news. There are times when public officials have a duty to keep their mouths shut. This creates a built-in tension between press and officials, which in my view is wholesome and must never be eliminated either by law or by some sort of treaty between the press and public officials.

"Because if the press were not there constantly probing to get the news, there would be even greater abuses of secrecy by the bureaucracy and it would be possible for public officials to manipulate public opinion far beyond the point that would be safe for a democracy.

"Let me add there is often much more fun in give and take between the press and government than sometimes appears," he acknowledged.

"I have the greatest respect for the nearly 600 talented men and women in the Washington press corps. Through their devotion to duty, they have developed expertise in all areas of government —international law, diplomacy and finance.

"And over time they have de-

veloped some extraordinarily subtle and effective techniques for getting the news. They understand that public officials are human beings with their feet of clay, that they are subject to human frailty, and therefore they become highly expert in knowing how to get a story on a particular subject. They know, for example:

• "*The 'big shot syndrome.'* It's very difficult to find an official in government who is willing simply to say, 'I don't know,' because he feels some sort of compulsion to stand forward as a fellow who is in the know. Reporters know this and can use it to considerable advantage.

• "*The bedside manner.* The reporter will come in to see the Secretary of State and he will say, 'Gee, Mr. Secretary, I just don't see how you do it! You work 16 hours a day, seven days a week, and you've got the senators badgering you on one side and these foreigners badgering you on the other, and there's never a chance for any private life. . .'' By that time there's a lump in your throat and you say to him, 'Scotty, you don't know half the story. Let me give you the rest of it.' And he's got his story!

• "*The hand grenade technique.* This reporter will come through your door a little breathless and scowling and he'll say, 'Mr. Secretary, how can the government of the United States be so stupid? Any schoolboy should have known that what you did yesterday made no sense whatever!' As he goes along with that tack, the bristles begin to rise on the back of your neck until you blurt, 'Joe, don't be an idiot. You don't know what you're talking about. Now let me straighten you out.' And then he's got his story.

• "*The Hercule Poirot* (Agatha Christie's famed detective) *method.* A reporter is in the State Department basement getting his car to go home at the end of the day and he happens to notice that the Soviet ambassador is coming out of the Secretary of State's private elevator. So he says to himself, 'A ha! They would not have taken those precautions unless there is a good story there.'

"So he goes back upstairs to his own office and he figures out that the Soviet ambassador probably brought in a message about Southeast Asia or the Middle East, or Berlin, or the SALT talks.

"So in about an hour, time to give the machinery a chance to work, he calls his friend over at the disarmament agency, and says, 'I understand the Soviet ambassador has brought you a message about the SALT talks.' And the man will say, 'Look, somebody has given you the wrong steer, there's nothing in that at all.'

"So he calls a friend over in the East Asian bureau and says, 'I understand the Soviet ambassador came in with a message about Southeast Asia.' 'There's not a thing in it. You're just on the wrong track. Drop it,' is that reply.

"Then he'll call the fellow on Berlin. And the fellow on Berlin, among others, has been told never to lie directly to the press; and so this reporter will say, 'John, I understand that the Soviet ambassador has just come in with a message on Berlin.' So the man says 'Sorry, I can't say a thing about it. Can't help you on that at all.' Ah! He's got it. In the absence of an absolute denial, he's on the track.

"And so he figures out what the Berlin problem looks like and then he goes to the telephone and calls a friend over at the Soviet embassy. And he says, 'By the way, what's the attitude of the Soviet Union on this particular point with respect to Berlin?' And he listens for a few moments, then he publishes his story the next morning on the message that the Soviet ambassador brought in about Berlin.

"The chances are that the President will call the Secretary of State and ask, 'Who in the hell has been leaking news over at the Department of State?'

• "*The cock-fight technique.* While this tactic is ill advised, it does happen that a newsman will try to pit one public official against another. The reporter calls up Mr. So-and-So and tries to sic him onto a colleague whom he is known to disagree with. In other words, the newsman tries to build up a disagreement into an indirect fight waged before the public in the press.

"Now this is a game that experienced people in the business ought to understand. I don't mind an inquiring reporter boring in on his story with any technique short of bribery or theft."

DESPITE his praise for the straightforward efforts of most Washington journalists, Rusk is wary of covert reporting methods. "One of the most secret operations in Washington is the press. There is no democratic process in the media. The people do not choose the reporters or columnists. The press's newsgathering process is secret, but one wonders if that process ought not to be disclosed."

Rusk also criticizes the New York TIMES for its secret handling and sensational release of the Pentagon Papers documents. "The New York TIMES's editors didn't call together the Washington press corps and say 'Here's some material the people have a right to know,' and then make it available to all the press. No. They postponed the people's right to know for three months in order to insure that the New York TIMES would give it to them as a scoop."

During that time of secluded reporting, Rusk said that not one of the TIMES's reporters ever called him to ask him if any of the thoughts or statements attributed to him were true. This neglect of verifying information before it's published is a major annoyance with Rusk.

And, former TIMESman David Halberstam's book, "The Best and the Brightest," drew special criticism for its rather hostile profile. "Halberstam never interviewed me or some of the other principals. He used secondary sources and many quotations in the book are printed without attribution," Rusk noted.

He also hinted he wanted to write an article refuting some of Halberstam's reportage and correcting history. In his first year out of office, Rusk put his recollections of his Washington years on tape for the Kennedy and Johnson libraries which he says will not be made public for another 20 years.

Some changes in the press in the last 20 years do affect the open relationship between reporters and public officials, Rusk began.

"There has been a multiplication of by-lined specialty writers or columnists who are in competition with each other either to extend their syndication to more newspapers or to compete for space on

the first page of their own newspapers against one of their own colleagues.

"If they are to be read, they have to write something different from the wire services. So they are under great pressure to find the unusual angle, the offbeat slant, the point that somebody else might not have thought of. And this produces a tendency toward distortion which one must watch.

"Secondly, since television news is so timely in covering spot news this tends to drive the written press into the future—what's going to happen next week, next month. By count, when I looked over some press conferences that I had while I was Secretary of State about 80 per cent of the questions were about the future.

"Now a Secretary of State can't sit before 600 newspapermen and the television cameras and answer 80 per cent of his questions by saying, 'Damned if I know!' He's got to try to be responsive. And so he'll do his best with it.

"But what happens? If two months later what he said turned out to be reasonably accurate, no more attention is paid to it. But if what he said turned out to be wrong—credibility gap.

"The fellows who report on foreign policy decisions in hindsight have a chance to look at them from a different point of view than those who made the decisions in the first place," Rusk went on.

"On this business of credibility, I suggest the world is filled with advocates. Presidents and prime ministers, secretaries of state and foreign ministers, senators and congressmen, editorial writers, some reporters, most columnists, most TV commentators, business and labor leaders, ministers of the gospel . . . people who are putting forward a point of view.

"And I suggest citizens need to understand the role of advocacy, including the press, in society. Citizens must always have a little flag of caution in the back of their minds about whether or not the facts being presented are indeed a fair representation of the facts and whether more information is needed before one can come to a final and conclusive judgment.

"Now who should vet this matter of credibility? Generally public officials are about the only group in the country who are rigorously vetted and held to a high standard of credibility. I don't object to this because I think it's very important that be the experience of public officials.

"Not as a constitutional matter, but as a polical matter under our system, I think public officials have a duty to tell the truth as best they can under the circumstances and to the extent they know the truth and sometimes they don't even know the truth.

"But who vets the press? The press does not vet itself.

"In the 19th century the press vigorously debated itself. In the early history of journalism newspapers battled each other in all sorts of ways. Now the profession seems to be too much of a gentlemanly private club. Only rarely do some members of the press directly engage another member of the press in debate or dispute about either his facts or his point of view. I would be glad to see the press directly involved in not only vetting public officials but also vetting itself."

ANOTHER SOURCE of friction is the press's stipulation that public officials give short, simple answers that can be easily reported in the media.

"If I appeared on one of the quiz programs like 'Meet the press,' 'Face the Nation,' or 'Issues and Answers,' invariably the participants would get me before the show—they wouldn't talk about what the questions are because that's forbidden, but they would say, 'For heavens' sake, make your answers short so we can have as many questions as possible,' " Rusk said.

"The object of those programs is not just to explain government policy but to draw attention to the show itself and have it reflected in the written press that Mr. So-and-So said such-and-such yesterday on a particular program. So they want something that will be interpreted as spot news.

"Or in a press conference if the Secretary of State spends more than a minute answering a question, the reporters start shuffling their feet and will critize you afterwards for having filibustered and pre-empted additional questions."

Rusk also gets perturbed with

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One can sympathize with frustrated liberals, conservatives and independents when they are confronted with media that ignore what seem to them to be legitimate applications for a chance to express themselves. But if they think governmental intervention will help their cause they had better remember the words of the late Zechariah Chafee, the leading legal scholar of press freedom for many decades:

> **Whenever anybody is inclined to look to the government for help in making the mass media do what we desire of them, he had better ask himself one antiseptic question: "Am I envisaging myself as the official who is going to administer the policy which seems to me so good?" . . . You and I are not going to be on the committee which is charged with making newspapers or radio scripts better written and more accurate and impartial. . . . We must be prepared to take our chances with the kind of politicians we particularly dislike, because that is what we may get.**

—Ben Bagdikian,
"First Amendment Revisionism,"
COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW, **May/June, 1974**

As soon as men decide that all means are permitted to fight an evil, then their good becomes indistinguishable from the evil that they set out to destroy.—Christopher Dawson

The Question of Commitment

LOUIS J. HALLE

THE QUESTION to which I here address myself is whether, in the circumstances of our day, scholars in particular and intellectuals in general have a public duty to give up their traditional detachment in order to take an active part in political conflict. This is, in a word, the question of commitment.

Back in the 1930s, those whose disposition it was to be students and observers rather than actors were told by the militant intellectuals of the day that they had a public duty to join in the fight against fascism. After the invention of the atom bomb, the community of physical scientists adopted the view that, having engendered the monster, they now had the moral duty of descending from their ivory towers in order to deal with the political consequences. In our own day, such literary figures as Mr. Jean-Paul Sartre have called for total political commitment.

When people like Mr. Sartre proclaim a duty of intellectuals to commit themselves, they presumably are not indifferent to which side, in any particular issue, they commit themselves. One can hardly imagine that they would approve, for example, a commitment to the restoration of Negro slavery. Surely it goes without saying, rather, that in fulfilling the obligation of commitment the intellectuals will commit themselves to the right side of whatever the issue may be, not to the wrong. This, however, must in turn represent two unspoken assumptions: first, that the great political issues are, in fact, issues of right against wrong; and second, that intellectuals, presumed to represent enlightenment, can tell which is which. I propose, here, not to leave either of these assumptions unexamined.

OUR COMMON human tendency to see all political issues in terms of right against wrong reflects, I suggest, more the formation of our minds than the nature of reality. From earliest childhood we are brought up on stories of the good people against the wicked, so that we learn to ask implicitly, about any public issue, which is the side that represents virtue (the side good people like us are on) and which the one that represents wickedness. By imposing this simple pattern of moral polarity on an elusive reality we satisfy two psychological needs in ourselves. One is to identify ourselves in public as representing virtue. The other is to spare ourselves the mental strain of trying to comprehend realities so complex and cryptic that even the best and most informed minds are unable to achieve any sure comprehension of them. Associated with this latter need is the comfort we derive from the belief that the common frustrations of our life, so far from being inherent in the nature of things, are simply the doings of evil men. Get rid of the evil men and all will be well.

I shall concern myself, here, with the practical consequences of our tendency to polarize issues in simple terms. The manifestations of the tendency, however, vary in character and degree. For one thing, in an atmosphere of moderation it is not only possible but common to make the distinction between right and wrong in such a way as not to equate it with the distinction between virtue and wickedness. One might, for example, be against raising the postal rates on purely pragmatic grounds; in which case, while one would regard those who did not agree as mistaken, one would not necessarily regard them as wicked. Again, although one opposed the development of new weapons of war entirely on moral grounds, one might still take the charitable view that those who advocated such development were misguided rather than wicked. In either of these cases, while one would try to persuade one's opponents that they were mistaken, one would not feel justified in calling for such exemplary punishment as, say, imprisonment on bread and water or execution before a firing squad.

At the other extreme from such moderation, one regards issues as simple confrontations of good and evil, and one identifies the contestants on the two sides as, respectively, the virtuous and the wicked. This is to say that one falls into the Manichean fallacy, which is that of regarding the world as a battleground on which two opposed species, one representing God and the other Satan, contend for mastery.

Although we commonly recognize, then, that right and wrong are not necessarily the same as good and evil, and although those identified with what is considered wrong may be regarded as mistaken rather than wicked, all of us are tempted, especially when political passions run high, to adopt moralistic positions from which we regard the political scene as a battleground between the good and the wicked.

I am concerned, as I say, with the practical consequences of different attitudes. The belief that equally honorable men may differ, or that anyone may be mistaken, leads one to favor the resolution of differences by discussion conducted in terms of mutual respect and according to rules that insure

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Except for wartime military service, Louis J. Halle served in the Department of State for 13 years. He left the Department to become Research Professor at the University of Virginia and, since 1956, has been a professor at the Institut Universitaire de Haute Etudes Internationales in Geneva. Professor Halle is the author of 21 books. This is excerpted from the original article which was written under the auspices of the California Arms Control and Foreign Policy Seminar.

fairness. Under such circumstances, tolerance of dissent is the essential virtue. However, where men's minds have come to be dominated by the Manichean fallacy, the tendency is to regard conflict as irreducible, not to be resolved short of total victory over the wicked and their elimination from the scene forever. . . . Under these circumstances, tolerance of evil or softness to the wicked is not a virtue. Neither is compromise: the cops don't compromise with the robbers. The great virtue in dealing with the cohorts of Satan is, rather, a total intolerance.

Over the long history of civilization, the intolerance associated with Manicheism has generally predominated. In western civilization, however, beginning in the seventeenth century, the tendency was for tolerance, regarded as a virtue, to come into the ascendant. . . . Today, however, tolerance is no longer in the ascendant. This is not to say that those among us who express themselves in Manichean terms inscribe either the word "intolerance" or the word "bigotry" on their banners. The word they inscribe on their banners is "commitment."

Am I being unfair?

In a literal sense, one can "commit" oneself to a cause (say the raising of postal rates) without expressing one's commitment in terms of such intolerance as amounts to bigotry. Again, there are matters of degree here. Most of the scientists who, in 1945, committed themselves to the achievement of a solution for the political problem posed by the atom bomb did not go in for the campaigns of hatred and violence that represent the extreme of bigotry. I am not quite sure that even Mr. Sartre, if he succeeded in his program, would proceed to guillotine those whom he identifies as the wicked leaders of the bourgeois establishment—although I am far from sure that he would not. Perhaps the polemicists who, in recent years, have used such violent language in the NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS against the government leaders responsible for carrying on the war in Vietnam would, if given the opportunity, feel some fleeting compunctions, at least, before proceeding to put the President of the United States in jail. When I say, then, that "commitment" is the current euphemism for intolerance, I mean merely that this is its tendency in the usage of those militants who have elevated it to the status of a doctrine. . . .

LET ME NOW turn to the two unspoken assumptions on which the doctrine of commitment is based: that the great political issues are issues of right against wrong, and that intellectuals represent an enlightenment which enables them to tell the one from the other. To begin with, I shall examine the two assumptions in terms of specific examples.

As my first example, I take the call to do battle against fascism in the 1930s. In my own mind there was no doubt at the time, nor is there now, that fascism, especially in the extreme represented by Hitler, was an evil that had to be put down if the decencies of civilization and the hopes based on human dignity were to survive. Nevertheless, I found myself isolated intellectually in the New York of the 1930s because I could not accept the view of the intellectuals (the overwhelming majority, all who were considered right-minded) that opposition to the fascism represented by Hitler meant support of the Communism represented by Stalin. In terms of the Manichean pattern, the identification of Communism as the polar opposite of fascism equated it with the extreme of virtue. Stalin was the redeemer. Along with Abraham Lincoln, he was one of the liberators of mankind.

It has, to my mind, been a common fallacy, especially among us Americans, to discount politics as a professional activity requiring special training, to assume, rather, that the art of government is best practiced by those trained in other and more respected professions . . . It has been an article of faith among many Americans that any first-class businessman, who knows what it is to have to meet a payroll, is thereby qualified to solve the problems of government.

Summoned as I was to join the ranks of the virtuous in the fight against fascism, the position I took was: "a plague on both your houses." I said I was on the side of liberal democracy as opposed to the totalitarianism represented by Hitler and Stalin alike. To this the response of those who spoke with the authority of the intellectual community was that no such choice was open to me in the polarized world of the day. . . .

If the first of the two assumptions I am examining is valid—if it is true that the great political issues, with respect to which intellectuals are summoned to take a stand, are simple issues of right against wrong—there would be general agreement, today, that the identification of the two poles made by the intellectuals of the 1930s was mistaken.

Let me take another and quite different example, that of the scientists who concluded, after the invention of the atom bomb, that they were morally obligated, now, to apply their specially trained minds to the solution of the political problems that it posed. They were, after all, citizens as well as scientists, with all the rights and obligations pertaining to citizenship in our liberal democracies.

Some went further than this, however, basing the political mission they now felt on the premise that their training in scientific method gave the political solutions at which they arrived an authority that would not belong to the opinions of others. They therefore tended to speak on political problems, not just as citizens, but in the name of science.

It has, to my mind, been a common fallacy, especially among us Americans, to discount politics as a professional activity requiring special training, to assume, rather, that the art of government is best practiced by those trained in other and more respected professions. In the 1920s, Herbert Hoover was presented to the voters as a man especially qualified to be President by virtue of being a great engineer. It has been an article of faith among many Americans that any first-class businessman, who knows what it is to have to meet a payroll, is thereby qualified to solve the problems of government—and this is not a view to which businessmen have generally

taken exception. . . . Is not the belief, held by some scientists in the late 1940s, that scientists are especially qualified to solve the problems of politics, in the same class?

The very conception of solving problems suggests how different politics is from science. For the objective in dealing with most of the great problems of politics can only be that of living with them and managing them to keep them under control until, with time and the evolution of circumstances, they have changed or disappeared. It is the rarest political problem that one can sit down and solve as one solves a problem in Euclidean geometry. Yet the solutions typically proposed by the scientists, for the political problem associated with the atom bomb, were neat and final solutions to be carried out forthwith.

I refer to the greatest of scientists and the most humane of men when I name Niels Bohr. In 1944 he embarked on a campaign to have the United States and Britain negotiate a universal agreement among all the countries of the world to transform themselves forthwith into completely open societies—to transform themselves, in fact, into societies more open to investigation by one another than the United States or Britain or any other sovereign society ever had been. . . . One may well doubt that the most liberal country in the world could have been brought to accept such openness. Consider, then, Russia, which had for a thousand years been a secret and conspiratorial society, which for a thousand years had regarded itself as besieged and in what was essentially a state of permanent and mortal conflict with most of the societies of the world, which in the 1940s regarded itself as engaged in a life-and-death contest even with those who for the moment were technically its allies. Imagine such a society opening itself wide, exposing itself naked in all its parts to the eyes of all the rest of the world, turning over its industrial and military establishments to outside control (even if, as seems likely, Bohr used the word "control" to mean only inspection)—and all this, presumably, by a touch of Stalin's wand! Is it not evident that the whole state over which Stalin presided, the very foundation of which was a millennial tradition of the most secret conspiracy, would simply have crumbled into chaos if it had liberalized itself and opened up even to a much lesser extent? Stalin was hardly the man who could be persuaded to commit political suicide, which would mean physical suicide as well, in the service of liberal idealism. . . .

The instant solution that other scientists campaigned for was the immediate institution of world government and the simultaneous relinquishment of sovereignty by all the nations of the earth. Speaking in the name of science, they informed the lay public that the only alternative was the extermination of mankind. Still other scientists informed us that the only escape from the threatened extermination was to abolish nuclear weapons forthwith. Both of these proposed solutions, like Bohr's, were politically impossible, and what the scientists presented as the only alternative to the one or the other was surely nothing of the sort. . . .

The example of the scientists in the 1940s reinforces that of the New York intellectuals in the 1930s. It, too, suggests that if the great political issues are indeed issues of right against wrong, then the enlightenment associated with intellectuals generally and with scholars in particular is not sufficient to put their identification of which is which beyond doubt.

THE QUESTION remains whether the great political issues are indeed issues of right against wrong, even though the best of us are proved fallible when it comes to applying the distinction in particular cases.

I am in no doubt, myself, that there are criteria of right and wrong, moral and otherwise, that are validly applicable to political conduct, including the conduct of international relations. Moreover, the criteria I have in mind have general acceptance, so that, on the face of it, those who make the decisions of government should find it possible to be guided by them. In the actual conduct of affairs, however, it happens time and again that one cannot honor one generally accepted moral principle without thereby violating another.

My first example is the one that first impressed this dilemma on my mind when, in the late 1940s, I was associated with the conduct of our Latin American relations in the State Department. We were under a constant barrage of public abuse, uttered with moral indignation, by intellectuals who held that it was wicked in us to have any dealings with those Latin American regimes that belonged to a class identified as "dictatorships and disreputable governments." (The concept was of just two classes of government, good and bad, not of governments representing varying degrees of disreputability, or varying degrees of respectability.) According to our critics, it was our business to see to it that these governments were replaced by regimes based on the practices of representative democracy. At the same time, however, the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of countries so much smaller and weaker than ourselves was upheld with no less moral fervor. Clearly, there was no way that we could honor either principle in action without violating the other. If both principles were valid, then what we faced was a moral dilemma in the precise sense of the term, a choice between alternative evils only.

Another example. For the most vocal part of the younger generation of the mid-1930s, in Britain and America, the avoidance of war represented a moral principle upheld with passionate conviction. In the minds of the hundreds of thousands of students who in 1935 and 1936 took the Oxford Peace Pledge never to fight for their country, it quite overrode another moral principle according to which Hitler's expanding empire should be contained. The predominance of the first moral principle in the minds of the young contributed appreciably to preventing such military preparations and action as might have stopped Hitler and brought about his downfall without bloodshed in 1936, when he invaded the Rhineland, or as might still have done so at relatively little cost in 1938, when he invaded Austria. The self-righteous pacifism so predominant among the university students contributed, therefore, to delaying the containment and overthrow of Hitler until it could be accomplished only at a cost in human suffering and bloodshed, and in the structure of civilization, beyond

imagining. By 1939 the students, now moved by the morality that required the sacrifice of their lives, if necessary, to stop Hitler, had forgotten their earlier pledge and the opposed moral principle on which it had been based.

These are not isolated examples. They are, rather, typical. And they are more than just typical in that they represent the essence of the human plight here below, the essentially tragic nature of human life. They represent the fundamental difference between the ideal world of our minds and the existential reality in which we try to realize it. I am tempted to say that all the major decisions that governments have to take present themselves, in reality, not as choices between what is clearly right and what is clearly wrong. They present themselves, rather, as choices among alternative evils in which the best to be expected is that the choice finally made will fall on what is the least of the evils —but still evil. Nor is it always possible for equally honorable and conscientious men to agree on which of the alternatives meets this criterion.

I KNOW AND regret the offense I may give some of my readers in what I shall now say, but I think it must nevertheless be said. Those whom we identify as intellectuals, not excluding the members of academic communities, are particularly susceptible to the great ideological abstractions according to which public issues are simple issues of right against wrong. This is because, although all of us alike suffer the strain of having to inhabit two disparate worlds at once, the ideal world of the mind and the world of existential reality, intellectuals are virtually to be defined by their primary and overriding preoccupation with the world of the mind. This, more than the recalcitrant existential world, is the real world for them. . . .

I do not think that most American businessmen are less naive than most intellectuals, but they are naive in different ways. When it comes to the things of the mind they may be naive in the extreme, and no group is more susceptible under certain circumstances to Manicheism. (After all, American businessmen did, for the most part and in large measure, identify themselves with McCarthyism when it was at its height.) But there is one fundamental respect in which they tend to have an understanding that the intellectuals generally lack. They are used, in their professional lives, to the fact that most problems, in the existential world with which they have to deal, are dilemmas rather than simple issues of right or wrong. . . .

IF IT IS TRUE that the great political issues are not simple issues of right against wrong, so that equally honorable and intelligent men can disagree about them, it follows that intellectuals should approach them in quite a different spirit from that implied by the doctrine of commitment. For it is not self-evident which side they should commit themselves on. With respect to any particular issue on which, as citizens, they feel obliged to have a position, they should first inform themselves as best they can of all the facts, they should listen to the arguments on both sides, they should weigh the pros and cons, and only after they have done this, and on the basis of having done it, should they take a position. . . .

Those who are more given to observation and thought, to the quest for understanding, should feel free to follow that bent. They should not be denounced for refusing to go out in the street and shout slogans, or for abstaining from polemics. We do not suffer, today, from a shortage of shouters and polemicists.

I shall be told that my prescription is all right for ordinary times, when government is functioning in a responsible fashion to uphold the principles and safeguard the interests of the people, when it is not transcending its authority, when it is not abusing its power. While I do not altogether admire our present or recent political leadership in Washington, I think the charge that it has engaged in extraordinary abuses of authority is wrong, if only in the qualification "extraordinary." The charge disregards history. It represents polemical excitement rather than reasoned judgment.

I take here the most commonly offered example of abuse of authority, that the recent Presidents, using their authority as Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces, have flouted the constitutional prerogative of Congress to decide on war or peace by getting us into a war and continuing to conduct that war without first obtaining congressional authorization.

Is this really extraordinary, in terms of the historical record?

Item. President Roosevelt, in 1941, ordered our Navy into action against Nazi submarines before there had been any declaration of war by Congress. Like most of the intellectuals I have been referring to in these observations, I have never felt any indignation about this because it seems to me to have been a good and even a necessary move.

Item. On the nights of June 25 and 26, 1950, President Truman ordered the armed forces of the United States to enter South Korea and engage the North Korean forces that had invaded it. He took this action before there was any resolution of the United Nations to legitimize it, and in taking it he got us into a major war without any congressional authorization at all. Like most of the intellectuals I have been referring to, I have always applauded this action because it has seemed to me that it was essential to the hopes of the future. Under the circumstances, while I regard our involvement in Vietnam as a tragic mistake, I cannot persuade myself that it was the consequence of an extraordinary usurpation of authority by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

The principle that applies here, which is grim but inescapable, is that the power to do right necessarily includes the power to do wrong. I would not take away from the presidency the power that enabled President Truman to do what he did in June 1950, even though it has enabled other Presidents since his time to involve us in a war in which, as virtually everyone now

sees, we should not have become involved. If there are, indeed, circumstances of extraordinary governmental abuse of authority that require all men to suspend the normal processes of discussion and debate so as to demonstrate and shout, or to organize rebellion, I do not, myself, think that such circumstances exist in the United States of our day.

Misgovernment is a matter of degree, and the more extreme the degree the more justifiable are extraordinary measures of opposition. By stretching my imagination to envisage a situation that belongs to science fiction, I could imagine one in which I would consider assassination justified: that in which a homicidal maniac had his finger on the trigger, so to speak (since there is no trigger), of our nuclear armament. In many cases where political opposition is forbidden, and where such opposition is stifled by governmental terrorism, I would recognize a right of rebellion by all the means normally associated with the conduct of rebellion. . . . On the whole, however, my own threshold for indulgence in extraordinary measures of opposition would be higher than that of the typical militants.

This is partly because of my own pessimistic view of government. I am so impressed with the difficulties of achieving anything remotely approaching perfect government that I tend to view the very existence of a legitimate government that is carrying on its functions as one views the dog who walks on his hind legs: what is remarkable is not that he does it well but that he does it at all. Viewing government in this way, I am generally ready to settle for merely mediocre government, the more so because, having lived under dictatorships, I know how much worse it could be. Those who worked for the overthrow of the mediocre Weimar Government at the beginning of the 1930s found this out the hard way.

I say that my threshold would be higher than that of typical militants. Let me exemplify this. I take so serious a view of a government official's obligation to honor his trust that only in the most extreme cases would I consider him justified in deciding for himself that confidential information, which had been entrusted to him under the seal of confidence, should be made public. I do not, myself, think that such an extreme case existed as to justify Dr. Daniel Ellsberg in making public the "Pentagon Papers." Nor do I think that the newspapers which supported him in this action are to be regarded as impartial judges of it. Dr. Ellsberg may have been right in his personal opinion that the papers should not have been classified confidential. It seems to me, however, that great damage would be done to the fabric of government if it came to be accepted that every officer might decide for himself whether to keep the confidence with which he had been entrusted—especially in circumstances in which he could expect that the betrayal of confidence would make him a public hero. I saw from the inside in Washington, during the McCarthy era, how many officers of government prudently refrained from either reporting honestly or giving the Secretary of State and the President honest advice because they had reason to doubt whether the privacy of their communication would be maintained. The officers of government have reason to doubt it again today.

Moreover, anyone who has lived in a foreign office ought to know how vital it is that other friendly governments should feel that they can, on occasion, address one's own government in confidence with the assurance that the confidence will be kept. If I were, say, a British diplomat today, I would feel no absolute assurance of this, and this would be bound to make understanding and cooperation between my government and the American government more difficult.

AT THIS POINT I am at last in a position to sum up my views.

I would not think it desirable to set one rigid standard of political action for all men. The individual diversity of gifts and aptitudes, which is what enriches life and makes it worth living, should have scope. If a man is, by nature, not an observer or a philosopher but a man of action, let him conduct himself accordingly. Let him, if that is his gift, organize demonstrations and harangue the multitudes in support of the causes he believes in. Let him campaign and get out the votes. I would only ask that, in conducting such a career, he exercise as much responsible thought as he is capable of, and that he respect limits. Rachel Carson, in her thoughtful campaign against the pesticides that were ruining the environment, was more effective than if she had railed in mindless terms and gone about smashing windows; but hers was one of those rare performances in a class with that represented by "The Federalist."

On the other hand, those who are more given to observation and thought, to the quest for understanding, should feel free to follow that bent. They should not be denounced for refusing to go out in the street and shout slogans, or for abstaining from polemics. We do not suffer, today, from a shortage of shouters and polemicists. . . .

When someone like Mr. Sartre asks us to commit ourselves he is, as I understand it, asking us to abandon thought for action. He is asking us to make ourselves mindless, as a mob in the streets is mindless. When Picasso left his easel to go out in the street and shout for the cause (and I don't care what cause it was), he was leaving the life in which he was uniquely creative for a career in which he had nothing better to offer than any other member of the mob. I would say the same for Bertrand Russell or the scientists who for years harangued the public through the pages of the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS. The language of polemics is one thing and the language of thought is another; but it is especially on the language of thought, which is the more difficult of the two and by much the rarer, that the future of civilization depends. I make my bow to the few individuals who, amid all the turmoil and shouting, have been able to create islands of tranquility around themselves in which to carry on the work of civilization. Having already made this point in observations published a few years ago, I here quote from them by way of supplying what seems to me the fitting conclusion to this essay. Those who are the real bearers of civilization, it seems to me, are likely

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Count where man's glory most begins and
ends and say my glory was I had such friends.
—William Butler Yeats

IN MEMORY OF A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

EDMUND SCHECHTER

It will be three years ago this June, that the Foreign Service JOURNAL *carried the news that Herbert S. Goold, a retired Foreign Service Officer had died on April 20, 1971, at the age of 84.*

I met Herbert Goold for the first time in Casablanca, Morocco in the late summer of 1940. He was American Consul General and I had just arrived as a refugee after the fall of France.

I had left my native Vienna in March 1938, a few days after Hitler had marched in. My mother was with me and we spent the next two years in Paris. At the time the German tanks broke through the Maginot line I had joined one of the French army's auxiliary battalions which was stationed in Normandy. We were taken prisoners but I managed to escape and made my way to Marseille in unoccupied France. There I learned that my mother, who had fled Paris just in time, succeeded in getting to Bordeaux and on to a small ship destined for England. The ship had ended its journey, however, in Casablanca. In the indescribable confusion and anarchy of Marseille in 1940, right after the fall of France, I was somehow able to get "doctored" papers as a "resident" of Casablanca and thus to obtain passage for "return" to that city.

Here is where my story begins. Morocco was ruled by Vichy France and a German Armistice Commission which wielded the real power. It was quite clear that Central European refugees and particularly Jews would sooner or later—and probably sooner—have to share the fate of their brethren throughout the Nazi occupied territories. In Morocco, the plan was to send them as forced labor to build the German planned Trans Sahara Railway. The only exception made in those early days, when Vichy France was not as yet completely subservient to Hitler Germany, applied to foreigners in the possession of a visa to an overseas country waiting for passage.

During my two years stay in Paris at the time of the "phony" war, I had hoped eventually to emigrate to the United States. However, I had not progressed beyond preliminaries since the quotas were oversubscribed by the masses of people fleeing European countries overrun or threatened by Hitler.

About a week after my arrival in Casablanca I found the situation getting critical. I was unable to obtain even a temporary residence permit for my mother and myself unless I could show a visa for another country.

I decided to go to the American Consulate. Naively, I asked the girl at the desk for "Monsieur le Consul General." The young lady must have assumed that I had reasons of State to see the top man since visa matters were not handled that high up. She asked me to wait for a few minutes and then ushered me in to meet Herbert S. Goold.

I found myself in the presence of a tall, silver-haired man, deeply-tanned with the bluest eyes I have ever seen. All of a sudden it dawned upon me that I must have committed a terrible mistake, and I expected to be thrown out momentarily. But there I was, and hesitatingly I asked for permission to recite briefly my story. I described my situation and my background. I told how I got to Casablanca and

Edmund Schechter retired two years ago after 28 years with USIA. His last post was Caracas, Venezuela, where he served as Counselor for Public Affairs. Previous assignments included La Paz, Rome, Washington, Bonn, Munich and Berlin. After his retirement Mr. Schechter served on the staff of the Presidential Commission on International Broadcasting. He is presently Consultant to USIA.

that frankly I had no immediate hope of getting an affidavit. Friends who in the meantime had reached the States would certainly be willing to do things on my behalf but it all would take an inordinate amount of time. In the meantime I would be sent to the Sahara and my mother deported back to Hitlerite Europe. I ended by stating that I could not even provide proof of my tale since I had lost everything and that to reassemble all documents I would first have to reach a safe haven.

Mr. Goold had not reacted during my talk. He kept on watching me intensely. He did not throw me out but he did not ask a single question. After what seemed to me an endless minute, he got up, went over to his desk and started writing. He returned with a handwritten letter on his personal stationery to the prefect of Casablanca informing him that I was expecting a visa to the United States in the immediate future and that, therefore, the Schechters had to be at the call of the US Consulate.

I hardly trusted my eyes when I read the note. Mr. Goold must have noted my surprise, confusion, and gratefulness because he added that I should go ahead and carry the letter to the prefecture and there would be time to discuss the visa question at a later date. And for the first time I saw on his face the wonderful smile and the ironic twinkle in his eyes which I would learn to know so well in the years to come.

We had no phone in the little hotel where we were staying and, therefore, I could not pass on to my mother the good news right away. I hurried to the prefecture with my precious letter and the procedures there took quite a few hours. When I returned to our hotel with the residence permits in my pocket, I found my mother in a state of happy excitement equaling mine. She said that right after lunch a wonderful American lady—the wife of the Consul General—had come by, inquiring whether my mother needed anything and casually mentioning that I had called on her husband that morning.

We were deeply moved. Not only had hope suddenly become again part of our life. Even more important in our state of depression was the proof that in these cruel and brutal times kindness and humaneness still existed.

In the months to come I had the privilege of meeting Herbert Goold quite often. The American Consulate he headed with consummate skill was a veritable oasis of freedom in the sizzling, spying, corrupt and corrupting atmosphere of Casablanca 1940, immortalized in Humphrey Bogart's unforgettable film. Herbert Goold and his lovely wife Cora, who passed away as this story was being written, felt the issues of the war with deep personal concern. They extended their help officially and unofficially to hundreds of refugees waiting for visas and quotas and contacts with their relatives in the United States.

One day—and I shall never forget that occasion—Mr. Goold invited us for drinks to the residence. With his characteristic smile he started a short speech: "Ed, I have both good and bad news for you. The good news is that I have special visitors' visas for you and your mother. . ." I jumped up and wanted to embrace him but he interrupted and said, "You better wait for the BAD news. . ." And he continued, ". . .I am just not going to issue those visas to you. If you arrive in the States on a visitor's visa you will not be able to work and you will not qualify to become a citizen. This is not what I have in mind for you. You will stay in Casablanca till I get you regular immigration visas. . ." I was shocked—I had one aim in life at that moment and that was to get my mother and me out of Morocco and into the United States. And I couldn't have cared less on what sort of a visa. I pleaded, I begged . . . but to no avail.

A couple of months later Mr. Goold had the immigration visas for us. Somehow we got passages on a ship to Lisbon, the last gateway to freedom in early 1941. The Goolds took us aboard to be sure that no last-minute problems would arise with our documents.

In May 1941, we landed in New York on one of the last ships that left Lisbon. In March 1943, I took a job with the newly formed Office of War Information. Proudly, I wrote to Herbert Goold that I had started to work for his Government that by now had become my Government too. Promptly, I got a letter back with all his enthusiastic good wishes and a promise that he would see me in the not-too-distant future.

I never left Government service and I never lost my friendship with and my gratitude to Herbert Goold. He retired eventually and settled in Washington. The last time I saw him for lunch in his favorite place, the Army and Navy Club, must have been in 1969 . . . to me, he and his wife Cora have always been and will always remain the incarnation of "wonderful" Americans.

I was working as monitor on the overnight shift in New York in the old Argonaut building at 224 West 57th Street, which had been taken over by the OWI. A few weeks after receiving Mr. Goold's letter, I was sitting late at night in the large monitoring room full of people with their head sets on who were listening to the multi-lingual broadcasts sent out by the fledgling OWI. Unannounced, a gentleman casually entered the room—Herbert Goold! He had just returned from Casablanca and wanted "to say Hello to an old colleague in Government service."

I never left Government service and I never lost my friendship with and my gratitude to Herbert Goold. He retired eventually and settled in Washington. The last time I saw him for lunch in his favorite place, the Army and Navy Club, must have been in 1969 when I was back from Caracas on home leave. It never ceased to be a source of great satisfaction to him that after he had made it possible for me to get to the United States I followed in his footsteps and joined the Foreign Service he had loved so much. And for me, he and his wife Cora have always been and will always remain the incarnation of "wonderful" Americans. ■

Being a chronicle of the pictur'd islands, their times, tribes, trials and tribulations, and the pleasures thereof.

as tough as BAKER'S BOOTS



FRANKLIN O. McCORD

A CONSULAR district of some four million square miles, exotic cultures, eternal summer, direct Washington supervision, beautiful lagoons, facts that go soft around the edges, thousands of islands and reefs, fiery sunsets—these and similar impressions remain with Foreign Service personnel who have served in Suva, Fiji in the South Pacific.

The Embassy at Suva is small. Four Americans and four local employees handle all consular and reporting requirements and relations with the local governments.

The consular district was formed to include all British and French Pacific territories and protectorates, romance enhancing by their names: Fiji, Tonga, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Solomons, Gilbert and Ellice, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia, Pitcairn.

American interest in the South Pacific was stimulated in the nineteenth century because of the importance of the whaling industry and the area's utility in the US-China trade. The Chinese gladly traded silk for sandalwood and bêches de mer (sea slugs) which were plentiful on the large islands and on the reefs. For these products the ship captains either paid the islanders nothing or with iron utensils or, in later years, with firearms. The wood gathering and sea slug drying operations did make those on work details vulnerable to the local populace, however, and the Fijian cannibals, among others, took their toll. Sandalwood is now scarce, but the sea slugs weathered the depredations. American beachcombers date from this era, and a number of solid citizens in Fiji trace their ancestry and surnames to them.

American consuls in the South Pacific have since the mid-nineteenth century resided at various times in Papeete, Apia and Noumea as well as in different locations in Fiji. In more modern times we had a consul in Suva from 1927 to 1933, and during WW II. The consulate in Noumea was moved to Suva in 1958 at which time it was located on crowded, picturesque Cumming Strect. Contrary to Foreign Service myth, the Consulate never had its own launch.

Changes have come to the district. Fiji became independent in 1970. Tonga, which assumed it had always been independent, had its protectorate status removed the same year. The consulate became an Embassy to Fiji in November 1971 with the former consul in charge; the Ambassador resides in Wellington. The new Embassy retains the extended consular jurisdiction.

Throughout the district one is struck with the popularity of the US among the people—a feeling which dates from the presence of US forces in the islands during World War II.

Reminders of the US wartime presence abound. Rusting tanks on Guadalcanal, amphibious vehicles on Tarawa, a cracked up PBY on Butaritari all testify to battles against the Japanese as do the skeletons and dog tags forwarded to the Consulate from the Solomons from time to time. Numerous roads and airfields constructed by the US still exist. The South Pacific Commission occupies the old COMSOPAC headquarters building in New Caledonia, and a section of Noumea, now residential, is still called the Nurses' Quarters.

The author is a Foreign Service officer who served as the Principal Officer of the Consulate in Suva 1968-70. He is now in the Department spinning yarns.

Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian cultural patterns in each island group have distinctive cuisines, dances, songs, housing constructions, tapa and mat styles, land usage, kava drinking, and kinship and authority systems.

To the casual Western observer many of the island dances are dull. Appreciation often comes from a more intimate knowledge of village life and the participants. Universally and immediately popular, however, are the Tahitian dances in which the lissome women display an independent pelvis; even Captain Cook noticed it. I believe he said "They move their hips in a most peculiar fashion." Less well known but equivalent in sexual suggestion are the Micronesian dances in the remote Gilberts.

Yaqona, the Fijian name for kava, plays a large part in Fijian ceremonies. Made from the powdered root of a pepper bush and served in a half coconut shell, the drink reminds one of spicy mud. With extended exposure, the mouth-numbing effect fades, and yaqona leaves one curiously refreshed. A person even becomes a connoisseur of the taste. Few outsiders, however, aspire to become yaqona snobs.

The islanders are sports minded and at times sports mad. When cricket was first introduced into Tonga, so the story goes, nothing else was accomplished for weeks. The South Pacific Games is a major triennial event; natural physical attributes make the islanders good track and field performers, and many of them grow up as skilled, fearless swimmers. Boxing and basketball are well established. Girls play field hockey, and New Caledonia girls play a great deal of softball. Soccer is popular, particularly in Fiji and the French territories, and Tonga is determined to become competitive. Rugby in Fiji and Tonga is something else; a clash between their all star teams rocks the islands. The Fijians are known for their happy, zestful style of rugby, and their teams have played in Australia, New Zealand, Europe and the United States. On the basis of Fijian rugby prowess, one professional US football team inquired through the Consulate about the possibility of scouting for talent in Fiji. In time the islands will undoubtedly produce a number of outstanding international athletes.



The author's wife at the Haiamanga in Tonga. Ancient Polynesians used the structure to determine the seasons.

Probably due to some quirk, people everywhere are fascinated with cannibalism, and a great number of stories are in circulation alluding to the past practice in the South Pacific. One of the better known stories concerns a missionary named Baker who went into the interior of Viti Levu. The Fijians killed and ate him and, since they had not seen them before, also ate his boots. To this day Fijians in that area have a saying "As tough as Baker's boots." King Cakobau (pronounced Thakombau), who ceded Fiji to Britian, partook of the flesh of a large number of humans; with appropriate dietary changes he became a good Methodist. One of his great grandsons on an ocean voyage took note of the buzz over his being descended from the cannibal king, so when the dining steward gave him the dinner menu, he looked it over, said nothing looked good and asked for the passenger list. He also told the story that when people ask him why Fijian men wear sulus (skirts), he always responded that many years ago the kilted Duke of Argyle visited Fiji, and the Fijians ate the duke; Fijians thereby became Scotch by absorption. The late Queen Salote, the lovely, stately Queen of Tonga, became the toast of London during the coronation of Queen Elizabeth because she rode in regal majesty throughout the rain drenched procession in an open carriage. A small African prince rode with her. Afterwards, someone asked who he was. Queen Salote replied: "That was my lunch." Some four years ago the legislative opposition in Fiji berated a Suva restaurant for calling its steak tartare "cannibal steak." The Vunivalu, or paramount Fijian Chief, another great grandson of King Cakobau, rose to indicate that he had always rather enjoyed it. The souvenir stands in Suva sell a lot of cannibal forks to the tourists.

While Western influences have permeated island cultures to varying degrees, Fiji has the additional influence of an Indian population that amounts to more than half of Fiji's total population of 530,000. Indians were brought to Fiji from 1879 to 1916 to work primarily in the cane fields. Competition between the cultures, traditional social, political and landholding patterns and the stress of modernization indicate potential tensions along ethnic lines. Fortunately, political leaders in Fiji have worked and are working together to alleviate the tensions for the betterment of their nation.

Fiji plays an important part in the life of the South Pacific outside the French territories. It serves as a center for education, technical training, trade and transportation. Although there is some jealousy of Fijian political advantages by other island leaders, Fiji's leaders are universally respected for their political savvy. Of the independent South Pacific island nations—Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa and Nauru—only Fiji is a member of the Un-

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A Request of Each AFSA Member by: Your Insurance Committee

PLEASE *READ* THE MATERIAL WHICH FOLLOWS, *CONSIDER* ITS APPLICATION TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY, *MARK* THE QUESTIONNAIRE, AND *MAIL* TO THE INSURANCE COMMITTEE, c/o AFSA.

Background

The AFSA Board of Directors has asked the Insurance Committee to review the Association's existing insurance program to determine how services to members might be improved in light of the special needs of the Foreign Service. As you are aware, AFSA currently endorses several policies which provide whole life insurance, accidental death coverage, income maintenance in the event of disability, and insurance against theft and damage of personal effects in transit and overseas.

Our initial review has led to the conclusion that we should design a basic, three-part package that would maintain a family's income at adequate levels in the event of the death or disability of the Foreign Service employee. In order to achieve low cost, the package would be designed to mesh with Government benefits already available to employees at various stages of their careers. The basic objective would be to assure an income of about 65% of salary for a disabled employee and family or for the survivors of a deceased employee. In addition, we would like to include in the package a voluntary annuity investment element which would return a high and secure interest return on invested capital. These ideas, which are reviewed in greater detail below, have been examined by our insurance committee and judged to be unconventional, but worthy of development

Income Maintenance Through Combined Term Life and Disability Insurance

The insurance plan may consist of two elements: term life and disability income coverages. The policy(ies) would assure that the family of the insured, or the insured plus the family, would have an adequate income during the critical (high cost) period of the family cycle in the event of death or disablement of the sponsor. The benefits would also be tailored for the retiree. To accomplish this, the coverage would be written to accommodate the salary and annuity bracket of the insured. A member could elect to take the term, the disability or the combined insurance package.

Other features of the coverage may include:

- **monthly benefit payment options;**
- **term insurance programed to supplement government subsidized life, health and annuity benefits;**
- **disability insurance providing an income long after sick leave is exhausted;**
- **disability insurance supplementing income for service connected disability and providing greater income benefit if the disability was not service connected;**
- **term and disability insurance free of low interest-paying investment features;**
- **rates based upon actuarial data pertinent to the Foreign Service;**
- **a rate structure offering favorable terms available in the insurance market with frequent reviews of the policy to maintain the competitive advantages;**
- **a mutual type insurance plan which could provide refunds out of dividends to the policy holder.**

Investment (Annuity Opportunity)

A correlative feature would be a separate and independent annuity investment opportunity which would pay an appropriate rate of interest on deposits. Characteristics of the investment program may include:

- **ability to increase or decrease annuity investment program independent of the term life and disability insurance;**
- **immediate availability of annuity investment balance to meet unanticipated expenses;**
- **opportunity to withdraw funds from the annuity without paying interest to the company for use of your own funds;**
- **a return on invested capital which is higher than that paid by banks or on traditional prepaid life and annuity policies;**
- **adequate safeguards for both principal and interest to protect the annuity investment.**

Also under consideration is a further option to invest in a mutual fund or other types of securities. This part of the plan was a late starter and will require further development.

Administration

The above program and any new insurance or investment activity to be developed in the future would be controlled by AFSA, whereas premiums would be collected, claims settled and other administrative details handled with the help of a professional insurance administrator. Because administrative activities would be centralized for all policies and under the direct control of AFSA, important economies should result. The underwriting would, of course, be negotiated with a large and reputable insurance company.

Counseling Service

An important feature of the program may be counseling service not unlike that offered by the Educational Center. Insurance and investment help could be available by interview, telephone or correspondence. As the counselor(s) would have no sales responsibilities and receive no sales commission the guidance could be useful and free of coercion.

Reaction Time

Your Insurance Committee has set forth the design of an Association insurance and investment program which may start with life, disability and annuity coverage and later include, if possible and practical, homeowners', automobile, legal and other types of coverage. Before it is determined to move ahead, stop or change course, it needs the reaction of a majority of the members.

Please take two minutes to be a concerned AFSA member and return the attached coupon to me. We are looking forward to a 100 percent response. Write if you have other thoughts on insurance or investments which you think would be useful to the Committee.

Thanks!

HERMAN COHEN, Chairman

Tear Here and Return to Insurance Committee, AFSA, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

AFSA INSURANCE QUESTIONNAIRE: Your reply is crucial!		
	Yes	**No**
1. Insurance and investment programs are proper Association activities.		
My preference is for:		
1-a. Term life insurance.		
1-b. Interest bearing annuity investments.		
1-c. Securities investments.		
2. AFSA should restrict its insurance and investment activities to endorsement of plans as is the current practice.		
2-a. AFSA should undertake to design programs and exercise administrative control as proposed by the Committee.		
3. My immediate need is for:		
3-a. Term life insurance.		
3-b. Disability income insurance.		
3-c. Interest bearing annuity investments.		
3-d. Securities investments (stocks).		
4. I would find the counseling service useful.		
5. I would prefer that AFSA withdraw from the insurance business.		

6. Grade:	Age:	Sex:	Number of Dependents:

FSJ BOOK ESSAY

ON COMMUNICATING WITH ALIENS

Michael A. G. Michaud

AT SOME TIME in the coming years, possibly within our lifetimes, the human species will detect and communicate with one or more extrasolar intelligences. It may be the most important single event in the history of human civilization. Our isolation will end; a door may open to a community of intelligence, and we will be reminded that we are but one facet of the universe becoming aware of itself.

Until recently, persons who held such views often were classified with UFO watchers, Rosicrucians, and little old ladies in tennis shoes. Serious interest in interstellar communication has become widespread only since 1959, when physicists Cocconi and Morrison wrote a pioneering article in NATURE, and 1960, when a group of radio astronomers made the first attempt to detect signals from the stars. The subject achieved relative respectability in 1971, when an international conference was held at Byurakan observatory in Soviet Armenia. The public imagination, tantalized by the dawning of the space age and such films as "2001," was jogged again in 1972 by the plaque on the Pioneer-10 spacecraft—Man's first deliberate attempt to communicate with extrasolar aliens. Public acceptance has risen sharply; a Gallup poll in 1973 showed that 46 per cent believed that there is intelligent life on other planets, up from 34 per cent in 1966.

These are not idle dreams; our science is revealing the evolution of life from organic soup to intelligence and the universality of organic molecules, and our technology has made contact possible across the void between the stars. Already, radio astronomy (a science only 40 years old) has the means to detect a civilization like ours hundreds of light years away, and the 1,000 foot instrument at Arecibo, Puerto Rico, could communicate with its twin across the galaxy. Soviet radio astronomers have begun a systematic search of selected nearby stars, and some of their American colleagues have made similar but more sporadic efforts. Our own radio broadcasts are spreading away from the Earth, notifying our neighbors that we have arrived. It is only a matter of time.

It would be a mistake to think that this subject should be left to physical scientists, or that it is of no interest to students of human affairs like ourselves. The most profound questions involved are not scientific, but philosophical, cultural, and political. What impact will contact have on us? How will we relate to other intelligences, other political, military, and cultural entities? What role will *homo sapiens* play in galactic society, now that we can expand our realm beyond Earth's biosphere? The implications go far beyond scientific curiosity, to the evolutionary fate of intelligent life on Earth. And the methods should be of special interest to us.

In our thinking about alien intelligences, we reveal ourselves. We are variously hostile, intolerant, hopeful, naive; influenced by science fiction, we see the aliens as implacable, grotesque conquerors, or as benign, altruistic teachers who can save us from ourselves. Usually, we think of them as superior to us in some way; either their miraculous but malevolently applied technology must be overcome by simpler virtues, or we must accept them as gods who will raise humanity from its fallen condition. Here we display fear, insecurity, wishful thinking, defeatism, even self-loathing; everything but the calm maturity appropriate for our emergence into the galactic community. We are not ready.

Those whose profession is to do business with foreign societies should recognize these symptoms. Dealing with aliens requires political and cultural sensitivity, a sure knowledge of one's own purposes, and a long perspective on history. Foreign affairs professionals could have much to contribute to the way we react to that first pulsing message from a distant star. But they will have to educate themselves to this new dimension.

They might begin with Carl Sagan's "The Cosmic Connection: An Extraterrestrial Perspective." Sagan, the world's most famous exobiologist, an innovative student of the planets, and co-designer of the Pioneer-10 plaque, joined with Soviet astronomer Iosif Shklovskii to write "Intelligent Life in the Universe" (1966), still the closest thing to a general textbook on this subject. In his new book, Sagan has written, for the layman, a series of short, readable essays, laced with humor and illuminated by personal example. He first conveys a sense of cosmic perspective on our own obscure place in the galaxy, noting that "there is no reason to think that we are the first or the last or the best." Then he describes the excitement of exploring our own solar system, touching along the way on the scientific sophistication of American first graders and the heavy-handed methods of Air Force Intelligence. He concludes with essays on extrasolar intelligence and our contact with it, stating that "the idea of extraterrestrial life is an idea whose time has come." Sagan believes that:

> *We are likely to receive our first message from the drummers of the neighboring galactic valleys—from civilizations only somewhat in our future. The civilizations vastly more advanced than we will be, for a long time, remote both in distance and accessibility. At a future time of vigorous interstellar radio traffic, the very advanced civilizations may be, for us, still insubstantial legends.*

And he comments that:

> *The manifestations of very advanced civilizations may not be in the least apparent to a society as backward as we, any more than an ant performing his anty labors by the side of a suburban swimming pool has a profound sense of the presence of a superior civilization all around him.*

Sagan's essays are interspersed with diagrams, photographs, and paintings that are sometimes intriguing, sometimes modish, but not uniformly well reproduced. "The Cosmic Connection" is both delightful and profound, the product of a highly original mind that can discourse wisely on the connections between science and human purposes. One hopes that a community of such minds, transcending national identities, will help to educate us to a new kind of human condition.

Sagan is also the editor of "Communication with Extraterrestrial Intelligence," which consists

of the proceedings of the Byurakan conference plus some interesting appendices. The assembled American and Soviet scientists discussed subjects ranging from the evolution of intelligence through the lifetimes of technical civilizations to the consequences of contact. This is heavier going than "The Cosmic Connection" and is sometimes technical, but the book will be generally understandable to the interested reader. The speculations are fascinating, the scale awesome, and the productivity of this Soviet-American effort reassuring. Decades, even centuries from now, humans will look back on the sequence of events that culminated in the Byurakan conference as a turning point in Man's conception of his place in the universe. Still, one feels the need for more input from the social sciences, including historians and even diplomats.

The appearance of these works has coincided happily with a revised edition of Walter Sullivan's "We Are Not Alone." Sullivan, the distinguished science editor of the NEW YORK TIMES, first published the book in 1964, when it received complimentary reviews and a prize. The structure of the book has remained the same; it takes the reader through the changing concept of our position in the universe, the development of planetary systems and the nature of worlds on which life might develop, an examination of how early life might have evolved, and the evidence for life in meteorites and on Mars. The last third of the book is devoted to the probability of extrasolar civilizations, interstellar travel and communication (including "anticryptography"), and some of the possible consequences of contact. Sullivan points out that astronomer Otto Struve and others have said that the current awakening of mankind to the possible existence of intelligent life on other worlds is as much a challenge to established ways of thought as was the Copernican revolution that displaced the Earth from the center of the universe. And he quotes Sagan:

The wealth, diversity, and brilliance of this commerce, the exchange of goods and information, of arguments and artifacts, of concepts and conflicts, must continuously sharpen the curiosity and enhance the vitality of the participating societies.

Like the good reporter he is, Sullivan has done his research, presents his information in a clear and orderly manner, and is careful not to impose his own views on his material. This is good journalism, but one wishes that Sullivan had updated the book by including material on events since 1964. As it is, the revised edition is still focused primarily on the flowering of ideas on interstellar contact in the early 1960s. That was an innovative and intellectually adventurous time, but a new wave of thinking and writing now seems to be under way.

The title of Scottish astronomer John MacVey's newest book, "Whispers From Space," is a chapter heading from his 1963 work "Alone in the Universe?" MacVey covers much of the same ground as Sullivan, but in a more diffuse way and with more emphasis on the astronomical setting and less on the evolution of life. In part I, he traces the history of the idea of extraterrestrial life from antiquity to the present, describes the cosmological setting in layman's terms, discusses the probability of life on other planets, and introduces the reader to radio astronomy. In part II, he outlines the problems, methods, and philosophy of interstellar communication, the selection of targets for the search, and some of the more exotic ways in which contact might take—or might have taken—place. (Incidentally, MacVey believes that Sagan's Pioneer-10 plaque would be undecipherable for aliens). He concludes by advocating that we "prepare now to build the great transmitters, erect the huge antennas, prepare to make the galaxy aware of our existence," though he notes the gloomy view of physicist Freeman Dyson that we are likely to discover first the species in which technology has got out of control, a technological cancer spreading through the galaxy. An epilogue reports a planned attempt to beam a signal at a suspected extrasolar probe which may be in lunar orbit.

MacVey's writing is a peculiar mixture of intriguing points and conventional, schoolmasterly admonitions. At times he almost waxes poetic:

Between these islands . . . may be passing even now the messages that speak of galactic empires, of celestial dynasties, and of strange events long past. We must therefore seek to ensure that our world is not excluded from this wonderful communications network.

MacVey suggests that Earth might be invited to join such a system as a relay station, and that contact could bring a new Renaissance in human civilization. But his book suffers from random organization, occasional repetition, and a general lack of economy in writing. The frequent illustrations are helpful, but some of the drawings are disappointingly crude.

One of the earliest compilations of writings on CETI (Communication with Extraterrestrial Intelligence) was "Interstellar Communication" (1963), edited by astronomer A.G.W. Cameron. Now Cameron has joined with Cyril Ponnamperuma of the University of Maryland, a leading researcher into the origins of life on Earth, to edit "Interstellar Communication: Scientific Perspectives." This is a series of lectures delivered at the NASA Ames Research Center in 1970, rewritten and illustrated for publication. The CETI establishment is well represented: the introductory essay is by Carl Sagan, and the conclusion is by Philip Morrison. The papers range from planetary systems in the galaxy to social evolution, and some are rather technical for the general reader. However, the volume is valuable for anyone with a serious interest in the subject, and is well produced. It also includes a lengthy bibliography on interstellar communication which lists an article by this reviewer in the December 1972 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. At $5.95, this is an expensive paperback.

NASA joined the wave of books on CETI by publishing a small paperback titled "Life Beyond Earth and the Mind of Man," which is an edited transcript of a public symposium at Boston University in November, 1972. It was a revealing but sometimes irritating debate among Sagan, Morrison, astronomer Richard Berendzen, anthropologist Ashley Montagu, Nobel Prize winner George Wald, and theologian Krister Stendahl. The initial presentations, while brief, were reasonable enough; all

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MANDY IN MOSCOW

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best possible. This doesn't mean that mothers can always find what they want when they need it. Since many items are in very short supply, it is a common occurence to have people come up to you on the street and ask what store was selling whatever you happen to be wearing or carrying. Outside the bread store once a mother wanted to know where I had found baby bottle nipples. As this was not in my vocabulary, she produced a very long, flexible nipple made of red rubber. Her problem was that the present one was wearing out, and she couldn't find any more in the shops.

Another frequent complaint is lack of selection in the stores. A mother I met in the park, after finding out that Mandy's playsuit was not from the local stores, regretfully admitted that she could not buy anything that pretty. Even though she had the money and checked the stores for new shipments daily, it was hard to find something special. Of course this means there is a flourishing second-hand trade, both official and unofficial.

Not long ago a copy of Dr. Spock's "Child Care" was a much sought after item. Soviet parents bought out the recent Russian edition in a matter of days. Officially Spock is liked not only for his political views but also for his ideas on discipline. Here he is interpreted as a firm disciplinarian, something that affectionate Soviet parents often are not. Small families, consisting of one or two children are the rule in most urban areas. Limited apartment space and easy abortions are part of the reason for this. Also, since both parents usually work, children are primarily under the care of *babushkas* or State nurseries. A *babushka* is definitely the preferable alternative even when it means a sacrifice in living space. If there is no willing *babushka*, the child is put into a nursery. Starting at three months (or even earlier in some cases), a baby can be cared for daily from eight in the morning until six at night. Children can also be cared for on a weekly basis. They are picked up by their parents only for the weekend (Friday or Saturday, depending on the parents' job) and returned on Monday. In addition, during the summer, children spend a month of vacation in camps throughout the Soviet Union.

Generally Russian children are treated with great patience and indulgence. People are constantly offering candy and wanting to hug small children. Toy stores are always crowded and it is a rare child who doesn't leave with some small, inexpensive toy in his hand. It is hard enough to deal with a child having a temper tantrum in private, but on the streets of Moscow it is a disaster. If Mandy starts to cry, someone immediately comes up to amuse her. Once a man offered to take Mandy home with him, since she didn't seem to like her mother. The Russians have a good word for these bouts of temper—*capriznichat*. They believe there is always a reason behind them. The child may be tired or hungry or getting a tooth. This patient attitude means that you very rarely see an adult smack or yell at a child in public.

On the other hand, children are closely and protectively watched. Unlike American mothers who may let a child learn by an error, Russians will stop their children before anything can happen. A mother will call a child away from a bush because a twig might scratch his eye. A baby care book advises mothers to use har-

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nesses for walking toddlers as holding a small child's hand might lead to falls and injury to the elbows. On park benches, *babushkas* will praise children who play quietly as "well brought up"; while those who run, shout and get dirty are definitely "uncultured." Naturally if a baby is constantly under such careful vigilance, he becomes content to play in a limited space.

The Soviet government realizes that a nation of only children provides a poor foundation for building a Socialist society. A good indicator that some problem exists in Soviet life is the appearance of a spate of "editorials" on the subject in the press. Journalism takes its role of changing public opinion or behavior very seriously. Quoting A. S. Makarenko, the Russian equivalent of Dr. Spock, one article claimed that no one could successfully raise one child; a spoiled family despot would always be the result. According to the article, the collective is the best environment for bringing up a child because other children will never put up with willful demands from their playmates. The discussion concluded with a recommendation that if another child is not born within three years of the first, the family should be fined!

Discipline is another preoccupation in many articles. Parents are advised to be firm with their children and not make exceptions for their behavior just because they are still little. The greatest weakness seems to be that parents love their children too much. An example was cited of a very successful professor, head of his department at the University, who ably managed the many people working under him. Since he spent many hours at work, he felt that when he was at home he did not want to forego the pleasure of making his only son happy by giving him whatever he wanted. Parents are often reminded that they have a moral obligation to society to bring up their children correctly.

Russians' great love for children is also shown in the special vocabulary used when speaking to babies. The Russian language is particularly rich in diminutive, affectionate endings which can be added to words. Babies are urged to take "teeny weeny" steps and "itsy bitsy" bits of bread. It sounds somewhat affected in English but is quite respectable Russian usage. Along with the advice and warnings offered on the street by passers-by, elaborate compliments are sometimes given to an exceptional baby. Some of the remarks are really almost poetry. For example, one day Mandy was dressed in a furry pink and white snowsuit which so struck a woman walking by that she stopped and exclaimed, "Little snow maiden, what a delight, you are my happiness."

Even teenagers and salesgirls in stores will stop what they are doing and come over to play with or hug a child. It is a great advantage to have a baby along when shopping in a Russian store. Instead of waiting in the usual interminable queue, you are sent to the head of the line. On crowded buses and subways you are immediately given a seat (a privilege usually reserved for injured war veterans and Heroes of Socialist Labor). Actually, such good will is generated by simply having a child around that they really are one of the best introductions into Soviet life that you can have. ■

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COMMITMENT

from page 26

to detach themselves from the universal political commotion. Take Goethe, for one example. Beginning on the 10th of October, 1806, 200,000 French troops under Napoleon, 127,000 Prussian and Saxon troops under Hohenlohe—all massing for the Battle of Jena that would take place on the 14th—were swarming around Weimar, where our hero, as the diary he kept mentions, was engaged in osteological study and the collection of minerals. In his entry for the 14th he does mention the fact that at 5 p.m. "cannon balls flew through the roofs," but one gets the impression that the issue over which they flew, whatever it was, had nothing to do with him. In this period, scientific research was increasingly absorbing Goethe's attention.

Throughout the First World War, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was a stretcher-bearer in the front-line trenches (where he was cited for gallantry in action four times). The letters that he wrote in these circumstances to his cousin, Marguerite Teilhard, might in large part have been written from the proverbial ivory tower, if it were not for occasional references to the shells falling all about him. If anything, however, he appears even less annoyed by them than Goethe was by the cannon balls that flew through the roofs. What really preoccupied him, at the time, was the problem of reconciling matter and spirit, the findings of physical science and the tenets of theology. During his years in the trenches he wrote a whole series of essays that anticipate, by glimmerings, the vision of human destiny set forth more than forty years later in *Le Phénomène humain.*

The Second World War provides another example. In June 1940, as Hitler's *Wehrmacht* swooped down on Paris, Wanda Landowska was recording a series of harpsichord sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti at her home in St-Leu-la Forêt outside Paris, in the path of the *Blitzkrieg.* Although she was Jewish, and therefore game for the Nazis, she turned a deaf ear to those who, fleeing all around her, implored her to go with them. She finished recording the 20 sonatas she had left to do, and then, her work done, took her departure with the Nazi hordes almost upon her.

In Album 2 of these recordings, which have recently been reissued, the sound of the harpsichord is drowned out for a moment, in the middle of the D-major sonata, by a heavy rumble. Most listeners, I suppose, are annoyed by what they take to be a defect in their copy. It is not a defect. The rumble is that of anti-aircraft artillery. Mme Landowska, herself, appears not to have been aware of the interruption. The serenity of the sonata, as she performs it, and the evenness of her tempo, are unaffected.

In a recent story by David Stacton, he refers to a collection of statues made during the Nazi era by a German sculptor called Georg Kolbe. "I remember that most of these statues were designed for a memorial, never built, to no one knows quite what. Kolbe was unquestionably Nordic, but not particularly cooperative, and it was by means of the excuse of this never-finished memorial that he managed to equivocate with the Nazi regime, until the regime itself was finished though the memorial was not. This is the sort of cleverness I admire, the cleverness of people who have their own work to do, and so put first things first."

I admire it too, and agree about what are the first things.

Goethe, Teilhard, Landowska, and Kolbe were the culture-bearers. They represented the promise of civilization. By refusing commitment, they defeated Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Hitler. ■

**From "While Ignorant Armies Clash," Book Week, October 17, 1965, p. 6.*

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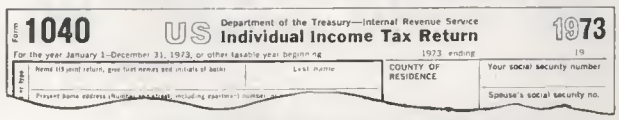
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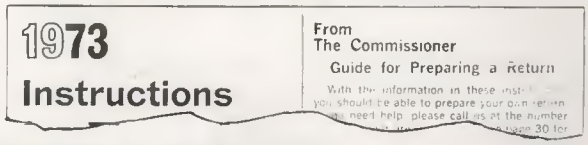
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BAKER'S BOOTS

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ited Nations. Fiji has taken a prominent role in the Pacific Islands Producers Association, the South Pacific Commission and Conference and in the newly formed South Pacific Forum. Fiji is also a member of the Asian Development Bank.

Economic growth potential for most of the islands is limited due to scarce resources, small internal markets and poor internal communications. These limiting factors apply particularly to the coral atolls. Copra and coconut oil have a perennially shaky international market. Tourism provides a significant income for Fiji and French Polynesia; others such as Tonga have ambitious plans. Agriculture is important to Fiji and Tonga; forestry in Fiji, New Hebrides and Solomons; mineral exploitation in New Caledonia, Fiji and Solomons. Tonga hopes to find oil in exploitable quantities. As implied, Fiji has a good mixed economy including a light industrial base. New Caledonia is one vast nickel mine; increased investment now underway is expected to enable its mines and smelters eventually to produce a significant amount of the world's nickel. Then there is tiny Pitcairn whose 75 descendants of *Bounty* mutineers live on the sale of postage stamps and wood carvings.

The lessening of British influence in the South Pacific has created no problems for the island people. It is an area that currently has no external enemies. Commerce, banking and external investment in the British and formerly British territories are predominantly Australian. New Zealand influence is strong in Fijian education and among the small military establishments in Fiji and Tonga. Australia has increased its economic and technical aid to the area. The US has a Peace Corps program in Fiji, Tonga, the Solomons, Western Samoa and the Gilbert Islands; and some American private investment is going into Fiji, French Polynesia and New Caledonia. Multilateral assistance comes through the World Bank, UNDP and the South Pacific Commission.

The area presents an aura of stability. Recent political changes have emphasized continuity more than departure from the past. Internal frictions exist in all the territories but on a remarkably small scale.

The South Pacific retains its charm and appeal, its beauty and handsome people. Modern influences are having an impact, but, with few exceptions, are also undergoing an adaptive process that gives the result a South Pacific flavor. It is a place where unique cultures have retained a solid base despite prolonged contact with the West. While the future undoubtedly holds in store additional changes and stresses, the past indicates that these will not undermine the internal resources and strengths of a proud people.

THE DAYS of Baker's boots, and the Duke of Argyle and the independent consulate have all faded into the lore of the islands. The tradewinds blow steadily from the southeast. ■

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DEAN RUSK

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the editorial criteria used in news selection as well as its inherent incompleteness. "To pick out those things which are going to be the lead story on the press conference, the standards by which you can be accurate in judging are not the standards which have to do with importance or significance but what is eye-catching, stimulating, unusual or just new," he charged.

"About five per cent of what I said in press conferences was used in the press," Rusk said. He also noted public officials use a briefing book to bone up for press conferences. Various bureaus in the State Department offered questions expected from newsmen along with recommended answers, facts and policy. Rusk commented that less than one-third of the questions in the briefing book were actually asked, but rarely did a question that wasn't anticipated get asked.

Rusk believes both the press and public officials would be better served if two kinds of press conferences were instituted: a formal type for television with short, pithy responses and perhaps visual illustrations of points and a more informal type that goes into more detail and interpretation for the written press.

Rusk noted a few rules he tried to follow in dealing with the press: never impose off-the-record comments unless reporters themselves ask for it, never give a story to one newspaperman that you wouldn't give to another if he asked the same question, and never lie to newsmen.

"There are times when a public official ought to be silent or even when the public would prefer not to know the whole brutal truth. The press has a right to lie when it sees fit. So why be sanctimonious about it?"

He observed that small town newspapers give a more realistic picture of life in their communities than the large metropolitan papers do in theirs.

He reads the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and JOURNAL for state and regional coverage and the WASHINGTON POST and the NEW YORK TIMES for national and foreign reporting.

In his law school office Rusk daily is busy reading, grading papers and preparing lecture notes. He is not writing articles or memoirs, although he still often appears in the news.

Rusk did write an article pleading for public support of a strong United Nations last fall when China was admitted and his prose appeared simultaneously in the WASHINGTON POST and the Sunday ATHENS BANNER-HERALD and the DAILY NEWS.

Despite his criticism of the press, when Rusk appeared before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee last June urging Congress to maintain a firm defense posture, he was, not surprisingly, described by one witness as "looking relaxed and pleased with the attention given him by the press and photographers at the hearing."

Nonetheless, one gets the impression that former public officials addicted to the public spotlight will always find it difficult to ignore the media, however imperfect. ■

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BOOK ESSAY, *from p. 34*

agreed that the universe could be sprinkled with intelligent life. But the reaction to contact ranged from Sagan's optimism through Wald's implied fear to Montagu's attitude that human technological civilization is too destructive a force to visit upon other worlds, and that we must first learn to communicate with ourselves and stop destroying technologically inferior societies. The subsequent debate suggested more about the biases of prominent scholars.

During the debate, Sagan noted that "the kind of exploratory ventures we are talking about seem to me to be precisely the kind that are needed to re-establish a cosmic context for mankind." The exploration has begun; consider how remarkable it is that six books on this once obscure subject were published in this country within 18 months. And think, perhaps, of John MacVey's description of first contact:

On that day an alien hand will have reached out of the darkness, out of the terrible remoteness, and clasped our own. ■

FSJ BOOKSHELF

US-Japanese Relations

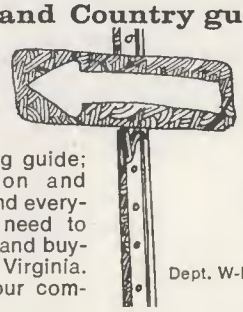
FOREIGN ENTERPRISE IN JAPAN *by Dan Fenno Henderson. The University of North Carolina Press, $17.95.*

WE ARE indebted both to Mr. Henderson and to the American Society of International Law for this monumental study of a problem which for too long has beset US-Japanese relations.

Starting with a summary of Japanese historical and psychological experience with foreign enterprises ("...Japan resolved at an early date to avoid foreign business controls at any price..."). Mr. Henderson then expertly surveys in the first half of the book the Japanese political climate, the economic and business environments and the legal environment for foreign enterprise.

In the second half of the book Mr. Henderson discusses how the Japanese were brought finally in 1973 to a realistic liberalization of the terms for foreign investment, after years of Japanese adherence to treaties promising such liberalization. The author may seem to overstate the actual case on p. 200 when he says "...liberalization occurs only over the 'hot wire' between Washington and Tokyo," but no one can quarrel with his warning of the "deep misgivings of Japanese officialdom (and industry, too, to a lesser extent) regarding intrusions by foreigners into ... corporate and super-corporate institutions." The impetus for internationalization of the Japanese economy, whether over a "hot line," in the OECD, at State, Treasury or Commerce or by the Tokyo Embassy was a genuine accomplishment of American diplomacy in recent years, but the exuberance of some of the arm-twisting and the resistance of Japanese bureaucratic biceps made the success essentially a political one. Now, in the wake of the oil and raw material crises many think Mr. Henderson's warnings about the intransigence of second and third echelon opposition to liberalization in Tokyo more than jus-

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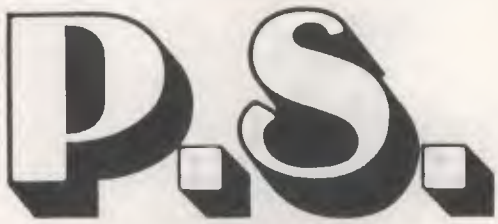
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tified. If there is backsliding, Mr. Henderson's book will prove a good guide to the morass of "administrative guidance," delay and illiberality in which foreign enterprise will again find itself in Japan. Imaginative diplomacy can play a preventive role here, but this time the results might be more permanent if reached in a mutilateral forum.

Mr. Henderson's book has an excellent bibliography, splendid notes, a wealth of useful statistical tables and laws and regulations.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

Two for Reference

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1973-74. *St. Martin's Press, 1500 pp. $13.95.* THE WORLD FACTBOOK 1974: *A Handbook of Economic, Political and Geographic Intelligence. Publishing Sciences Group, Inc., 380 pp. $5.95.*

EACH of these compendiums of factual and statistical information about the nation-states and principal political entities of the world will have their separate place in the professional's bookcase. They are not, however, in the same class from the standpoint of content.

"The Statesman's Year-Book" is by far the most detailed and authoritative, although British-oriented and with budgetary and economic figures in pounds rather than dollars. It also tends to run a year or two late in its listings of statistics and public officials.

"The World Factbook," in paperback, is a country-by-country summary of the barest political, social and economic data, quick and easy to read, but with no citations or depth of information.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

The PR of China

THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF CHINA 1949-1972, *by Jurgen Domes. Praeger, $10.00.*

PROFESSOR DOMES presents a good summary of the development of internal politics during the first fifteen years of the "PR of China" (a rather annoying editorial detail of the book) and follows it up with yet another detailed and speculative version of the extraordinary events during the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. Despite some 800 references and footnotes that put the stamp of objectivity on the work, its whole tone is reflected in Domes's concluding skepticism about the future of the present government, because "it stands in an antagonistic contradiction to the continuing longing for freedom" (p. 244) of the Chinese people. This conclusion appears to be somewhat unrealistic. Perhaps some of China's older intellectuals, who constitute a fraction of one percent of the population and who may have known freedom as it is known in the West, may still long for it. It is very doubtful that the Chinese workers and peasants whose life is more secure now than it ever was, long for a freedom they never knew and do not really understand. Indeed, if China's regime does topple, it will not be the result of an uprising by China's masses intent on gaining intellectual freedom, but rather a result of a power struggle of those leaders who are already intellectually free.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

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LETTERS TO FSJ

Localitis

■ When I first started reading the editorial in the Foreign Service JOURNAL of March entitled "Defending Our Integrity" I thought it was an answer to the article by Roger Morris in the February issue entitled "Clientism in the Foreign Service." The Morris article needs a reply, which was not in the editorial, and which I do not intend to try to give in this short letter.

I personally consider the article by Morris to be about 99 percent nonsense. We have all seen instances of our colleagues suffering from clientism or localitis, but to write, as Morris does, that *all* Foreign Service officers suffer from this *all* of the time is gross misrepresentation.

Some clientism or localitis does exist, some Foreign Service officers may consider the Morris article applies to some one else, not them. However, the blanket condemnation of the article is directed at *all* Foreign Service officers, and almost anyone outside the Foreign Service reading the article will read it that way. This is more damaging to those of you still in the Service than it is to me.

HOYT PRICE
FSO-Retired

Allison Park, Pa.

Ambassador Caffery

■ I presume that the JOURNALand the Department's NEWS LETTER will have taken due and respectful note of the passing of Jefferson Caffery, who was for perhaps the longest life span of any Foreign Service officer a professional Chief of Mission. In fact, if I recall the New York TIMES obituary notice correctly, he was in the Foreign Service for 44 years—which makes me at 42 years of continuous duty still somewhat behind his distinguished record.

I served under Ambassador Caffery as Minister-Counselor in Cairo at a rather important time since I arrived in Egypt on the day King Farouk left, and Ambassador Caffery had been much identified with the King. It was nothing short of miraculous that in a very short period of time he was able to establish a close rapport with the Revolutionary Command Council, initially headed by General Naguib but actually dominated by my old friend Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser. In consequence, as you will perceive, I served with Jefferson Caffery under conditions which imposed the maximum requirement for skillful diplomacy. In this time of critical importance he showed all of those qualities of skill and experience in negotiation which had characterized his distinguished service for so many years.

One of the qualities which officers in the Department and those of us privileged to work under him in the field were most impressed by was the extraordinary ability which Caffery had in drafting important telegrams of the utmost clarity and brevity of expression. In fact, during the time I served with him, I do not recall any telegram that exceeded two paragraphs and none that went beyond one page.

Would that later bureaucrats could emulate this example!

ROBERT MCCLINTOCK
American Ambassador

Caracas

Hors D'oeuvres

■ In response to Patricia Tua's remark in the letter to FSJ that foreign service wives might supervise an exhibit of painting rather than supervise hors d'oeuvres: yes, they might. But. . . .

Representation is part of our husbands' jobs. This is indisputable because funds are even budgeted for it. So let us examine some pertinent facts:

Fact I: The husband theoretically receives (sometimes this depends on his boss!) X number of dollars for representation.

Fact II: The contacts in the husband's field for whom he is expected to represent invariably number X^{12}.

Fact III: X dollars can conceivably provide one toothpick apiece for X^{12} persons.

Fact IV: Wives, however, are not required to involve themselves in their husbands' representational activities.

Given the preceding, let's go on to the "heads you win, tails I lose" predicament of the foreign service wives who "want the best for their husbands" but who would rather be slaughtered and skinned than entertain for what are essentially "business" reasons. These are her alternatives:

A. She can elect bankruptcy while her husband fulfills his representational commitments elsewhere than in the home, or

B. She can impoverish herself and family by having everything catered in the home. This has the added disadvantage of requiring at least her physical presence. Or

C. She can opt out herself but try to insist that her husband stay within his X budget, save the restaurant bill to document to his superior that taking three nationals to lunch left him personally out of pocket by 26 pesos, and still hope that he will be promoted, or

D. She can bite the bullet, acquiring acid indigestion, hypertension and a vicious temper in the process, and do what we all do —keep those hors d'oeuvres hot and comin' up fast, baby!

H. E. ZIFF

Springfield

Embassies For Sale

■ In its editorial of April 1974 entitled "Selling Embassies" the JOURNAL has brought fully to light the seeming thread of anti-Administration bias that has been running through its editorial policy in recent times and joined some other publications in the current campaign of political hyperbole. The contention that Embassies are indeed "sold" and the sweeping charges that "the best that can be said of the vast bulk of them (contributors) is that while Ambassadors they did little damage to American foreign relations" and that "every officer knows of incidents where non-career Ambassadors of the major contributor sort have done real damage to our national interests" surely cannot fairly and responsibly be supported. If the JOURNAL indeed must, let it confine itself to such welfare matters as higher pay for senior level officers and alleged unfair management practices and refrain from engaging in overt, domestic political attacks which tend to pervert the purposes of a professional journal. If Embassies are in fact on the auction block, would officers with present generous income thus not have a more effective means of themselves short-cutting the promotion process to reach the top.

JOHN C. SHILLOCK JR.

Washington

AFSA NEWS

THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON
By Rick Williamson

It has been said that if you put 15 Foreign Service people in a room and asked them their opinion on a given question, three of them would have no opinion and the other 12 would have 17 different opinions. This last month we got a rather dramatic example of this phenomenon.

Several months ago we received a suggestion from several members that the Foreign Service needed a weight allowance for professional materials similar to the allowance given military personnel. Our immediate reaction was that while this wasn't the biggest item we had to deal with, it was a matter of some concern to our membership both as an employee benefit and as an item needed to advance and foster our professional interests. We raised the question with management of the three agencies and had several discussions on the problem, and were then requested by management to provide them with some indication of the scope of the need for such an allowance and the extent to which it would be used, in order to be able to determine the budgetary costs. We sent a questionnaire to a representative sample of our posts in each geographic area, and asked our Representatives and Chapter Heads to circulate this to all personnel irrespective of rank or Agency. The response has been heartening—we got a far larger return than we had ever expected.

Included in that return were replies from two officers from the same Agency, of the same rank, with the same career specialization, and serving in the same section of the post. One said, in effect, this is one of the best ideas AFSA has come up with, and I hope you will press forward on it vigorously as it would be of considerable personal benefit to me and of general benefit to the Service's "professionalism." The other said, this is a trivial item which won't do anyone any good, and why doesn't AFSA stop wasting its time on foolishness of this sort and work on more important questions.

All of this goes to prove, I suppose, that you can't please everybody, but it also raises a point which at least a few people have not understood about the way we operate:

AFSA, because of its strong corps of volunteers willing to work on a wide variety of questions, does not need to limit its activities solely to the most important questions. We are naturally working on a number of questions with major implications for a large number of our members, such as lifting the ceiling on senior-level pay, pay comparability, promotion and assignment policies, payment of overtime, better shipping and housing allowances for single employees, more due process in personnel policies and procedures, annual educational travel, etc. But because we have volunteers interested in a wide variety of questions, we can also work simultaneously on a number of other questions which may not affect as many people, or affect them as substantially, but still deserve efforts on our part, such as a weight allowance for professional materials, more bicycle racks, improvement in pouch service to a number of isolated posts, changes in the designation of R&R relief posts, elimination of the "deductible" on emergency visitation travel, assignment of Foreign Service communicators to shift work in Washington, or improvements in the rules on mixed modes of travel for AID personnel.

If the Association had to rely solely on its full time personnel, we would naturally have to restrict ourselves to the most significant issues. Fortunately we are in a position to deal simultaneously with the most important issues and with the number of lesser questions which are nonetheless of concern to individuals in the Foreign Service. We think this capacity is a major source of the Association's strength.

This month in Washington saw the first bus strike in recent memory. The effect on the city's traffic was as bad as a major snowstorm. Some people couldn't get to work at all, for others the daily commute took hours. If every cloud has its silver lining, the lining in this case was that for a few days people could talk about the (expletive deleted) bus strike, rather than about Watergate.

The most important development for AFSA this month was that we have signed an agreement with the State Department, regulating the specific policies and procedures to be followed in carrying out the Secretary's Global Outlook Policy, which is reported on in greater detail below.

Of even greater significance to some of our members was the release of this year's promotion lists in state. AFSA had insisted that this year the list for Staff Corps personnel not be held up until the President could send the list for FSOs to the Senate. As a result, the Staff Corps list came out three weeks ahead of the FSO list, and the effective date of the promotions will be far sooner, thus providing more income sooner to those non-FSOs who were promoted. We have already expressed to the Director General our concern over the delay in releasing the lists, and we have agreed to seek to have the negotiations on the precepts concluded much sooner this year so that all of the selection boards can convene by the middle of September and finish before Christmass. If the boards complete their work sooner, hopefully next year the lists can be released several months sooner.

The Safeguards Agreement

As we had indicated in earlier issues of the AFSA News, the Association this month brought its first formal appeal before the Dis-

putes Panel on a USIA matter —the refusal of USIA to sign a "Safeguards Agreement" similar to the one negotiated between AFSA and State. Efforts by the Disputes Panel to resolve this question through informal mediation were not successful, though the meeting did serve to clarify what the principal issue was: The Director does not want to sign a Safeguards Agreement. The Disputes Panel will meet again on this issue on May 17 in a formal hearing to establish the facts and make recommendations to the Board of the Foreign Service.

Meanwhile, the Safeguards Agreement in State is working well. The Department has scrupulously gone out of its way to assure that we were provided all of the information called for in that agreement, so that we could assure ourselves that no one was tampering with the promotion process. The agreement has already accomplished one of its major goals; this year there have been far fewer rumors than in the past that the promotion system was being manipulated.

Goodbye and Hello

One of the bittersweet aspects of working in AFSA is that the key people in the Association keep moving and changing jobs, just like everyone else in the Foreign Service. Ambassador Cross recently resigned from the AFSA Board as a State Representative in order to take on his new duties as Consul General in Hong Kong. He has been replaced on the Board by Dick Finn, who is the Chairman of the Association's Legal Committee. More recently Carl Gebuhr resigned from the Board as USIA Representative to become Public Affairs Advisor at Fort Bragg. To replace him, the Board has elected Stan Zuckerman, who is currently the Japan and Korea Desk Officer in USIA.

On May 17 the Association is undergoing another major loss when Gerry Bushnell retires. Gerry and his wife, "Duf," have made a major contribution to the well-being of this Association. Gerry did a particularly good job of dealing with the Association's serious financial problems. Because of very heavy inflation in recent years, our expenses have gone up dramatically, while our income has remained relatively stable, since we have not had a dues increase since June 1971. If our finances still don't look very good, they have been improved immeasurably through Gerry's untiring, imaginative and far-sighted efforts over the past two and one-half years.

The Board has asked me to extend my leave without pay for an additional year and to take over Gerry's responsibilities as Executive Director. To replace me, we have hired Steve Wallace, who until recently was AFSA's First Alternate Representative in Saigon. Saigon, as you know, is our largest and one of our most active chapters, and Steve did an outstanding job on a wide range of problems, including AID matters, local members' interests questions, housing policies, and grievances. Steve is a career FSR-4 with AID and should bring a valuable new perspective to the Association's operations. We are taking the opportunity that this change presents to realign the functions of the Executive Director and the Counselor. In addition to the Executive Director functions, the Board has asked me to retain responsibility for "backstopping" the State and USIA negotiations. Steve will backstop the AID negotiations and the three-Agency joint negotiations on members' interests, questions and grievances. In addition, he will be responsible for all individual grievance and other individual problem questions. By the way, Steve's picture appears on page 36 of last month's JOURNAL. We are naturally delighted that he was willing to take a year of leave without pay to work full time for the Association.



Tex Harris, Tom Boyatt, Lois Roth and Hank Cohen at the SFRC Hearings, March 12, 1974.

How To Renew Your District of Columbia Driver's Permit When Abroad

Foreign Service Employees and their dependents holding District of Columbia driver's permits frequently find themselves at overseas locations when those permits expire. Renewal of a D.C. driver's permit normally requires a personal appearance at the D.C. Department of Motor Vehicles where a new photograph is taken and an eye test is administered.

For Foreign Service personnel located abroad at the time their permits expire, the D.C. Motor Vehicle Department will issue an "absentee license" by mail without an eye test or photograph. The "absentee license" will be valid for four years during which time the holder is expected to call at the Motor Vehicle Department on home leave or consultation in order to pass the eye test and have a photograph taken. If this is not done during the four year extension period, the employee or dependent must go through the entire process of taking the written examination required for an initial driver's permit.

Here is the documentation required for an "absentee license:"

Photostats of your social security card and your existing D.C. driver's permit (social security number by itself is not sufficient).

Your permanent residence in the United States.

Your actual residence address at your overseas location (give the street number and city—not just "American Embassy Rome.")

Your State Department pouch mailing address.

A check for $12.00 made out to the D.C. Treasurer.

Mail the documentation to the Dept. of Motor Vehicles, 301 C St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

AFSA, Department Sign Out-of-Area Agreement

This month we signed an agreement with the Department governing the specific policies and procedures to be followed in carrying out the Secretary's goal of assuring varied geographic experience for FSOs. The agreement—which is effective immediately—defines the scope of the program, provides for consideration of hardships, established a review procedure on assignments, and provides for negotiations this fall on follow-on procedures to give this agreement longer-range effect.

The agreement is the result of intensive and often difficult bargaining and incorporates many of the views of the Service which we received. We received nearly a hundred replies from posts and chapters overseas to our outgoing cable. In addition, over 400 people took part in a Washington meeting on the question, and we received written and oral comments from scores of individuals in Washington in response to an AFSA "Red Top." While the Service did not have unanimous views on all aspects of the proposed new policy, a basic consensus emerged on the following points:

- The service almost universally supported the Secretary's goal of assuring wider geographic experience for FSOs, but many felt the 20% mechanism was not the best means of achieving this goal.
- Most who responded condemned the failure of the Department to consult with AFSA in advance (though a small minority dissented from this view), and a sizable minority favored filing unfair practice charges against the Department.
- Many expressed the concern that the policy, if not carefully regulated, would undermine the Service's growing language and area competence and thereby reduce our capacity to carry out our primary functions.
- Almost everyone pointed out that "geographic area" for the purposes of the policy should not be the same as the area covered by a geographic bureau.
- Virtually all respondents pointed out that if the policy was worth doing, it was worth doing over a long period. A one-shot operation would impose unwarranted hardships, and could be used by the geographic bureaus, as one chapter put it, to "trade turkeys."
- A substantial majority agreed that the policy should focus on those who had spent the most time in a single geographic area, but there was no agreement as to how such areas should be defined.
- A narrow majority felt the policy should be limited to FSOs at midcareer and above, and should be applied irrespective of function. A strong minority in the Staff Corps, however, also wished to be included under the policy, or at least to be able to volunteer for out-of-area assignments, and many FSOs felt the policy should apply to certain functional specialists but not others.
- Many pointed out that hardship considerations and personal interests must be taken into account.

During the negotiations, AFSA made strong representations which cleared up certain problems described in the AFSA Red Top without requiring specific mention in the agreement. In particular:

- The problem of those who already had orders has been solved. Virtually all who wished to continue with their assignments were permitted to do so; those who preferred other assignments were generally given that option.
- Similarly, those who had been assigned but had not yet received orders have, we believe, generally been treated fairly, and many assignments which had been frozen have since been permitted to go ahead.

The agreement, which is long and rather technical, has been sent to the field and distributed in Washington. It contains the following major provisions:

A statement of the purposes to be achieved through this agreement, particularly the Secretary's goal of assuring under geographic experience, the need to carry out the program so as to enhance, rather than detract from the ability of the Service to carry out the foreign policy objectives of the United States, with due regard for the need to promote the well-being of people in the Foreign Service.

A limitation on transfers under the program to those already eligible for reassignment, officers in Washington, and volunteers.

A definition of the base on which the 20% will be calculated. The effect of this provision is to limit the base group to FSOs at midcareer and above, currently serving in positions having a clear area focus.

A definition of the officers whose reassignments will count towards the 20% goal.

Guidelines for use by management in selecting officers for out-of-area assignments, with the primary rule established that management should place greatest priority on those with heaviest area specialization and least outside experience.

Establishment of the principle that a geographic area for the purposes of this policy need not be the same as the area of the geographic bureaus.

Extension of the possibility of out-of-area transfers to those not otherwise covered by the policy (for example, the Staff Corps) who wish to volunteer for an out-of-area assignment.

A listing of the hardship and special circumstances which should be taken into account in making assignments under the policy. Creation of a new review procedure for assignments which in our view is one of the most important features of the agreement.

A commitment that the policy shall not be a one-shot operation, which calls for follow-on consultations this fall on subsequent procedures which will both increase emphasis on language and area specialization, and on the other hand will assure that the goal of more varied geographic experience will be met in the future.

Things To Keep In Mind

Awards

As we announced in last month's JOURNAL, the time is upon us for the Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards. These AFSA-sponsored awards, which through the generosity of their founders carry $1000 honorariums, are a major means for the Service to reward those who have displayed the best qualities of integrity and willing-

ness to dissent. The awards are open to Foreign Service personnel of all ranks, irrespective of pay plan or Agency. Anyone can nominate any colleague. Nominations are particularly needed from AID, USIA and the Staff Corps.

Elections

The recent revision in the Association's Bylaws changed the period of service of the Association Board from every other winter to every other summer. For this reason, the present Board will only serve 18 months. The election call for next summer's election will go out in the February edition of the JOURNAL. So, the time to be thinking about candidates and slates is rapidly approaching.

Membership

As you all know, the Foreign Service has been shrinking since 1967. In spite of this, our membership is back above 7,100, the highest in over two years. As a consequence, our membership as a percentage of those eligible to belong is the highest in many years. Nevertheless, our membership level could and should be higher. A strong membership base not only provides the Association its sole source of financial strength, but also our "clout" with the Congress, the courts and the Foreign Affairs agencies. Please take a few minutes of your time to encourage a colleague or two to join. By doing so, you will be doing a great deal for AFSA with relatively little effort.

Finances

The new Bylaws call for a general meeting in Washington each June to present an account of its management and its financial program for the coming fiscal year. The meeting will be announced to the Washington membership through other channels, and will already have taken place by the time you receive this. We will make a full report of the meeting in the July issue of the JOURNAL. As a preliminary matter, however, you should know that inflation has been taking a heavy toll on the Association's finances. Through sound and farsighted planning on Gerry Bushnell's part, the Finance Committee has been able to cut losses drastically and avoid a potentially serious problem for over two years. However, in coming months, we may be faced with hard choices if we are to (1) avoid another financial deficit and (2) place the Association on a sounder, long-term financial basis.

Foreign Service People

Marriage

[redacted] May

Chevy Chase and three children from a previous marriage.

Lord. Marjorie Lord, wife of FSO-retired John H. Lord, died on March 7, in Plymouth, Mass. She is survived by her husband, 42 Warren Ave., Plymouth, Mass.

McManus. Neil C. McManus, FSO-retired, died on April 19, in Washington. Mr. McManus entered the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at London, Paris, Belgrade, Panama City and as consul general in Belfast before his medical retirement in 1973. He received the Meritorious Honor Award for his service in Northern Ireland. Mr. McManus is survived by his wife, Clare, of 4514 Connecticut Ave., N.W., two sons, Jeffrey, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Neil A., of St. Johns, V.I., and his mother.

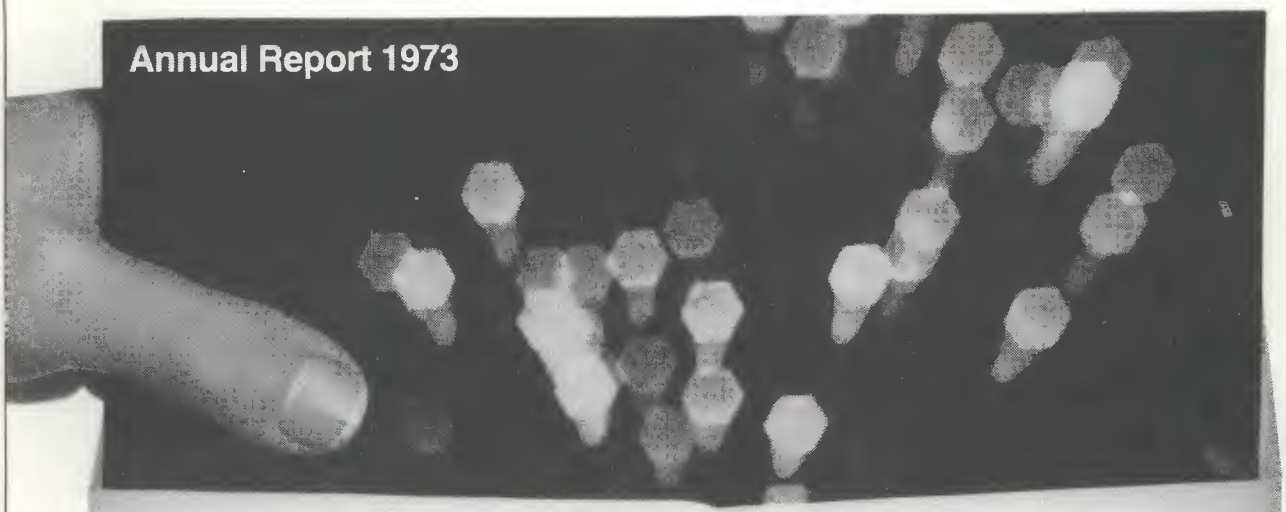
Murphy. Mildred Taylor Murphy, wife of Robert D. Murphy, Ambassador-retired, died on April 10, in Washington. Mrs. Murphy accompanied her husband on assignments to France, Belgium, Spain, Germany and Japan. She is survived by her husband of 7112 Plantation Lane, Rockville, Maryland, and two daughters, Mildred Pond and Rosemary Murphy of New York City.

Reichard. FSO Hugh C. Reichard died on April 27 in Washington. Mr. Reichard joined the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Caracas, Buenos Aires, The Hague, Tel Aviv and Djakarta before his death. He is survived by his wife, Muriel, of 1630 North Greenbrier St., Arlington, Va. and three children, Peter, John and Martha (Mrs. Philip George) and a grandson. Memorial contributions may be made to the American Foreign Service Association.

Thurston. Walter Thurston, Ambassador-retired, died on March 31 in Orange, Virginia. Ambassador Thurston entered the Foreign Service in 1914 and served at Mexico City, Guatemala, Berne, San Jose, London, Managua, Sao Paulo, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Asuncion, Madrid, Moscow and as Ambassador to El Salvador, Bolivia and Mexico. There are no immediate survivors.

von den Steinen. Erica von den Steinen, mother of FSO Erwin von den Steinen, died on April 20, in Washington. Mr. von den Steinen is stationed at the American Consulate, Zagreb.

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This was equal to $4.17 per common and common equivalent share, an increase of 10 percent over 1972 per share earnings of $3.79, before extraordinary gains of $6.5 million and $6.7 million in 1973 and 1972 respectively.

On balance, 1973 was a year in which there were record accomplishments and actions in virtually all our business areas which give us a head start toward our dual Project 80 goals: business growth and greater service to people throughout the world.

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