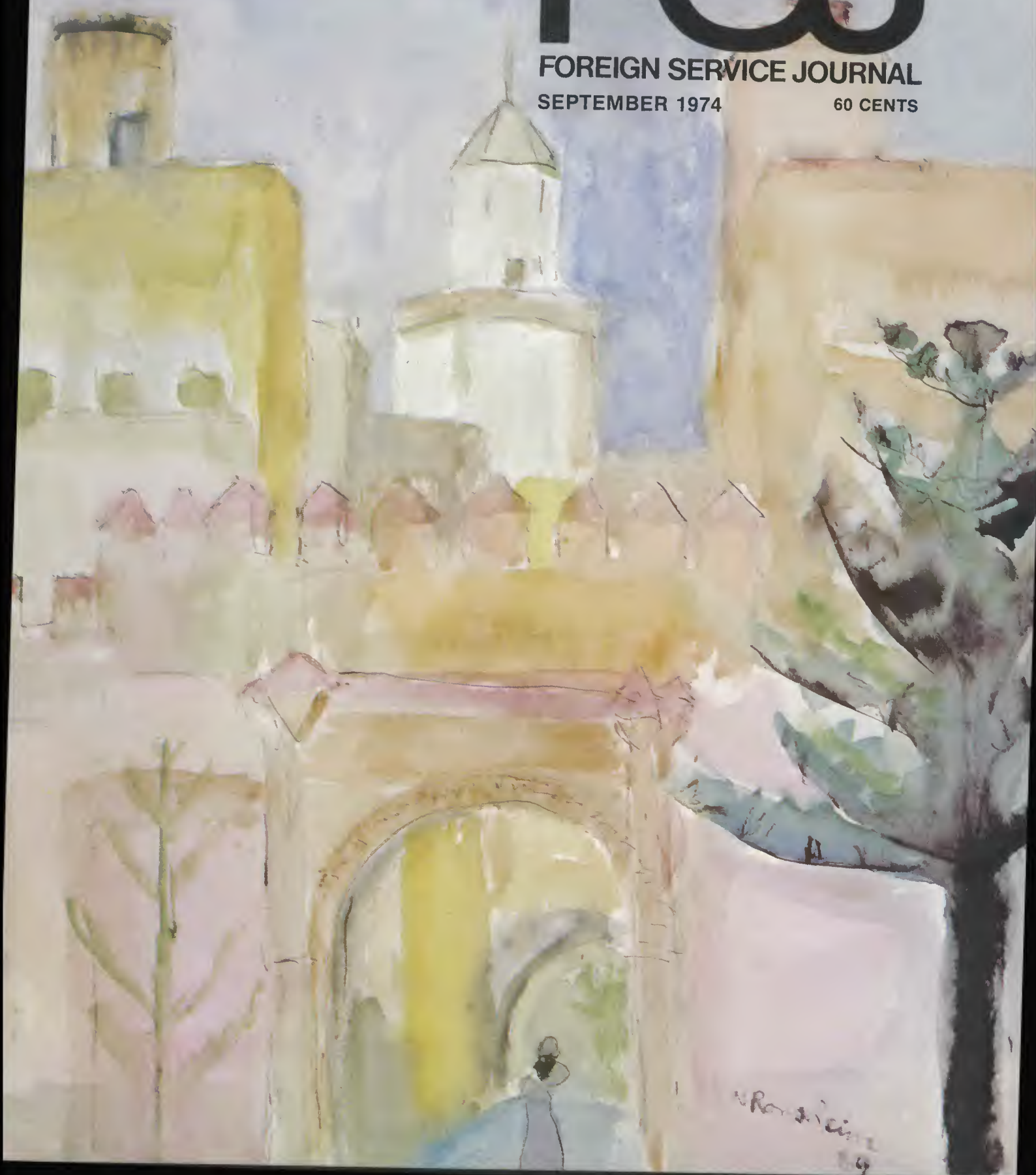


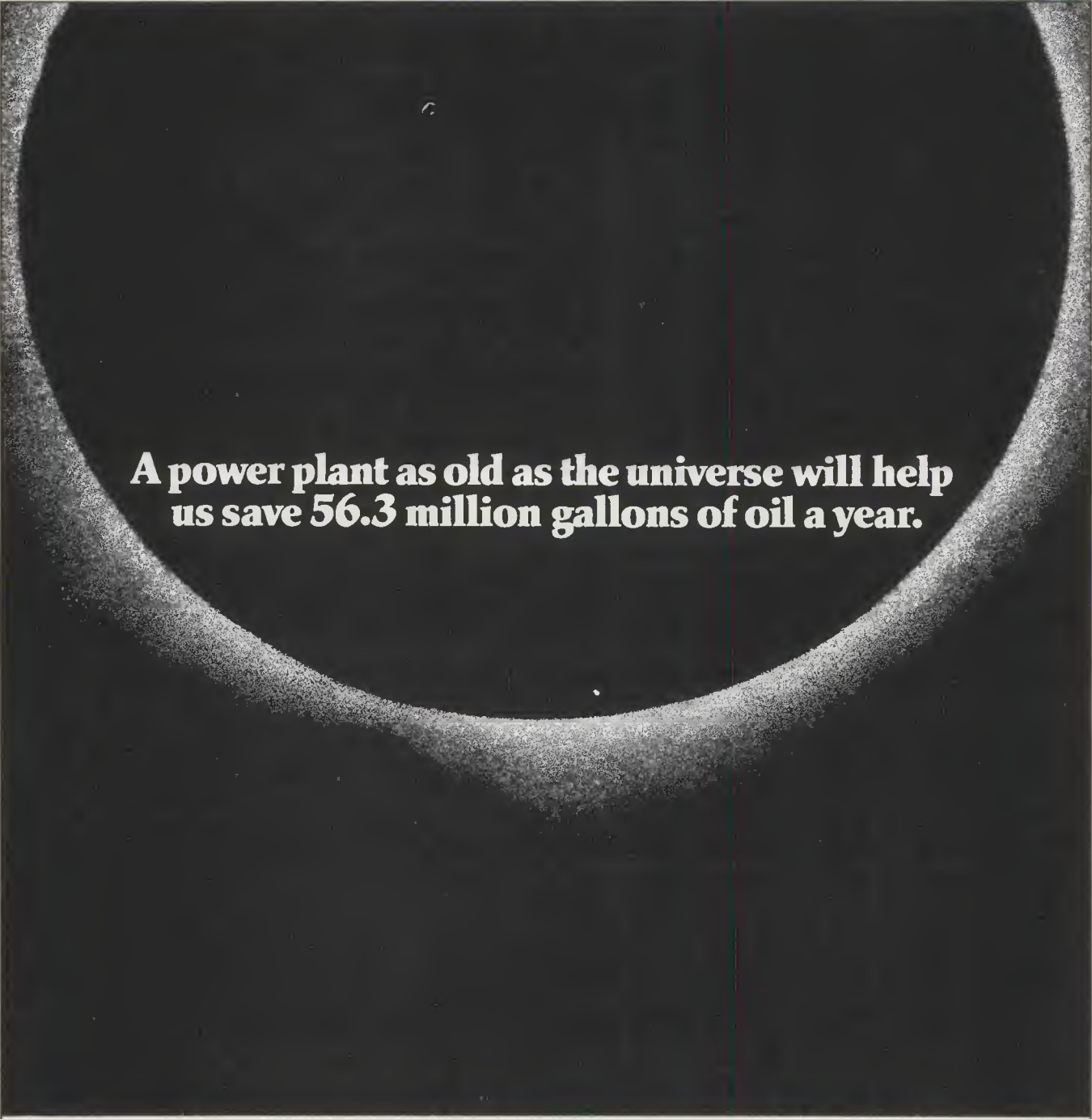
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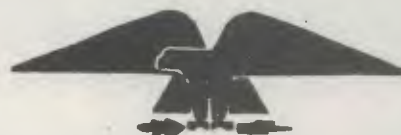
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They Only Wait Who Also Serve

By C. L. SULZBERGER

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia—It is startling to recall that 50 years ago the United States, which is now the world's most diplomatically involved nation, had no adequate Foreign Service. Only in July, 1924, when the act sponsored by Representative John Jacob Rogers of Massachusetts became law, did today's efficient system of representation develop.

The idea of having regular foreign envoys was always somewhat repugnant to most Americans who were imbued with a romantic concept of isolation from the nasty outside world from which they and their ancestors fled. A Department of Foreign Affairs was created in 1781 by the revolutionary government which had to enlist aid abroad and finally to negotiate peace. In 1789 this was reorganized into the State Department.

For years its representatives were appointed on the basis of a political spoils system. In 1856, the thought of merit as a qualification was first legally acknowledged. Subsequent acts in 1906 and 1909 gave civil service status to those serving in foreign missions.

However, it was only with the Rogers Act that the existing diplomatic and consular services were joined into a single Foreign Service that admitted qualified applicants after examination and then assigned and promoted them according to need and merit. By establishing a uniform scale of salaries and representation allowances (always far too stingy) it became possible for individuals without private means to serve the State Department.

One useful result of the welding of diplomatic and consular officials into the same career service was that it opened doors to the highest office to competent consuls who would otherwise have been prevented from playing active policy-making roles. An outstanding example has been Robert Murphy, a young vice-consul in Munich when the Rogers Act became effective. He subsequently rose to the rank of ambassador and Under Secretary of State.

Had there been no Rogers Act or its equivalent, the United States would be in no position to play its extraordinarily active role in international affairs today. In 1924 the United States had only 122 persons in its diplomatic service—plus 511 consular officials (including Mr. Murphy). Now the Foreign Service numbers 3,290. In 1924 Washington was represented by 54 small diplomatic and consular posts abroad. Today we have 129 embassies alone.

The trend begun by the Rogers Act has not, however, been completed. At the time of its enactment only 35 per cent of our missions abroad were under career diplomats. Now 68 per cent of the far larger number of missions are headed by career officers; yet that figure means 32 per cent of our embassies are under noncareer envoys. In other words, the spoils system is still far from dead.

The American public was recently shocked to learn as part of the fall-out from the Watergate scandal how flagrantly some diplomatic posts overseas have been peddled about by political influence merchants and fund-raisers. Some of the resulting appointments have ranged from embarrassingly comic to well-nigh catastrophic.

However, it cannot be forgotten that certain of our noncareer ambassadors have been among the most distinguished public servants the United States ever produced and rank with such early amateur envoys as Benjamin Franklin and John Jay.

Nevertheless, while always leaving space for specially qualified noncareer ambassadors, it seems only just that the implied intentions of the Rogers Act should be fully carried out. Each and every post abroad should be open to members of the career Foreign Service with adequate pay and allowances to maintain even the costliest embassy out of public funds.

As things stand, the most luxurious positions are most coveted by beneficiaries of the spoils system. Likewise, the most difficult and dangerous positions are always awarded to career diplomats. Thus it was a hard-working pair of US public servants, Ambassador Cleo Noel and George Moore, who were kidnapped in Khartoum, Sudan, across the Red Sea from here, by Palestine Arab guerrillas and brutally murdered. Similar tragedies have involved career diplomats in Brazil and Guatemala.

In the United States where equality of opportunity has always been stressed—as well as equality of hardship or danger in times of crisis—it would be useful to recall this philosophy in assigning overseas posts. There is no sense continuing even vestigial favoritism or amateurism—when not fully qualified by talent—at the expense of that industrious, courageous body of men, largely unknown, who serve us in a world from which we cannot isolate ourselves.

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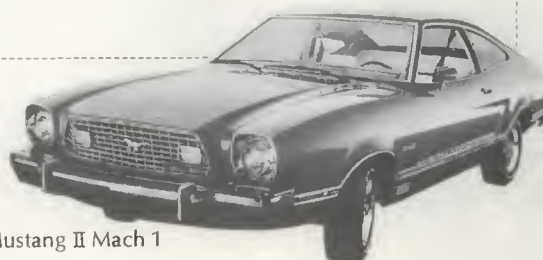
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June 31, 1975

Nelson P. Quagmeier
American Consulate General
Leipzig
Dear Quag:

This is in reply to your letter of May 15, in which you asked for my frank appraisal of why you were not on the 1975 promotion list.

Actually, Quag, I think another quarter-inch would have done it. That may sound cryptic. I am referring to the 50 percent section of the rating box in part IIIA of the new O.E.R. form. As you can imagine, the panels had a great deal of difficulty evaluating the markings in this section. The far right and far left were fairly obvious (upper 30 percent or lower 30 percent), but the marks in between were more troublesome.

So very early it became necessary to devise a clear plastic overlay for this section, dividing it up into ten parts and making it possible to determine in which five percent sub-unit the officer was ranked. Unfortunately, rating officers and typists were not so precise in their marking.

In your case, the "x" just missed the 65 percent block, which happened to be the cut-off point in 1974.

(Quantification is the in-thing this year; narrative sections have been pretty much abandoned as not lending themselves to careful measurement.) In fact, if the typist had used pica type instead of elite, the "X" might have just grazed the 65 percent line and have been scored as "in." Sorry about that. Next year try to persuade the typist to use the larger type form. And upper case.

One other little thing: Part IIIB hurt you a bit. Your rating officer checked "Perceptiveness," "Systematic Work Habits," and "Ability to Anticipate" as least characteristic of you. Of course we know this means only slightly less characteristic than all the other fine qualities—after all, why the careful entrance examination procedures? But let's face it: the panels unavoidably view these "negative" marks with some gravity. So next year, if you do not consider it inappropriate, you might hint to your rating officer that he tick off "Creativity" (this quality is not valued terribly highly), "Empathy" (no one is really quite sure what this means), and "Policy Orientation" (this is meaningful only at the 0-1 level). Another option is "Selflessness"—this term suggests a tiny bit of masochism at worst and sainthood aspiration at best. The panels are big on neither.

So there you are, Quag. I hope you will find this information helpful. If I may be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Warmly,
J. STEFAN BARFF
Area Personnel Officer

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There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.—Woodrow Wilson (1917)

Morality and American Foreign Policy

Was Woodrow Wilson Right?

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

IT IS FIFTY YEARS since Woodrow Wilson died, but it does not seem 50 years: more like 250. We are uncomfortable with Wilson in the 20th century, he seems more the kind of man who came early rather than late in our national life when of a sudden we were to find that far from being the youngest of governments we had become virtually the oldest. Yet none would disagree that he shaped this century as no other American has done. Herbert Hoover in his last book, "The

Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson" (they were very alike, Wilson and Hoover, though Hoover was the more prolific author), put it fairly:

For a moment at the time of the Armistice, Mr. Wilson rose to intellectual domination of most of the civilized world. With his courage and eloquence, he carried a message of hope for the independence of nations, the freedom of men and lasting peace. Never since his time has any man risen to the political and spiritual heights that came to him.

There was no one like him, then; there have been none since. Except perhaps Lenin. That case could be made. Men alike primarily in the way they differed from their own people whom they were nonetheless able to inspire and to mobilize as no leaders before or since have done. But as an American figure, he is singular.

If we do not quite know what to make of Wilson, this is not least because it is still so uncertain what

he made of us. The American people, the object of his highest hopes, his strongest passions, were not somehow part of his being. The apocrypha has it that he once began an address to a peace-conference occasion saying that when he thought of mankind he did not think of men in dinner jackets. Which only extends the mystery from what he thought of Americans to what he thought of mankind. It is clear enough that once he entered politics he came more and more to think about the working masses, sweaty in those days and scarcely Calvinist, whose party he was soon to lead. (The International Labor Organization, established by the Versailles Treaty, was by no means, to his thinking, the least of the organizations of the League system. He had contrived for Samuel Gompers to head the commission at Paris which drew up its Charter. The speeches on his great trip through the West in 1919

Daniel P. Moynihan is currently serving as Ambassador to India. His books include "The Politics of a Guaranteed Income," "Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding," and, most recently, "Coping," a collection of essays which contains several pieces originally published in COMMENTARY. An earlier version of the present article was read this past February at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Woodrow Wilson. Reprinted from COMMENTARY, by permission; Copyright © 1974 by the American Jewish Committee.

are remembered as explanations and defenses of the Covenant of the League. But he also spoke repeatedly of the ILO, asking that more heed be paid to the charter of rights for the working man embedded in the peace settlement. In turn the inclusion of the ILO had more to do with the defeat of the treaty in the Senate than standard histories are so far wont to record.) He came to think, surely, of mankind as including persons who spoke languages other than English (although not necessarily those who spoke English with an Irish accent). And in his Western speeches he would say so with a candor—engaging and unashamed—now quite foreign to American public life.

"Do you know where Azerbaijan is?" he asked his audience, speaking of the Paris peace conference in San Francisco on September 18, 1919:

Well, one day there came in a very dignified and interesting group of gentlemen from Azerbaijan. I did not have time until they were gone to find out where they came from, but I did find this out immediately, that I was talking to men who talked the same language that I did in respect of ideas, in respect of conceptions of liberty, in respect of conceptions of right and justice. . . .

It is at such points, of course, that one inclines to quarrel with Wilson: how can he ask us to believe that he believed such things? Worse: what if indeed he did? And for a new generation influenced, if at all, by Wilson, then at most by what I should suppose is now an attenuated Wilsonianism, there are vastly greater difficulties with his concluding assertion:

And I did find this out, that the Azerbaijanis were, with all the other delegations that came to see me, metaphorically speaking, holding their hands out to America and saying, "You are the disciples and leaders of the free world; can't you come and help us?"

I suppose there are among us those who would be willing to advise the Azerbaijanis on the correct pricing policies for crude oil. But for the rest . . . no, we fall back in disbelief—even such as I, taught, if anything, to move forward in acceptance.

What then does it matter what he thought of mankind? It matters because therein resides the essence of his quest for legitimacy in the world order, a quest which still

eludes us, and which, if I am not altogether wrong, honesty requires that we acknowledge cannot any longer be successfully pursued in strictly Wilsonian terms. Wilson's vision of a world order was a religious vision: of the natural goodness of man prevailing through the Holy Ghost of Reason. The beliefs from which this vision came, while still widespread and deeply felt among individuals, are no longer seen to imply political belief as well. Wilson in that sense speaks to us with a diminishing, ever more distant voice. And yet a distinct one to which today we need to listen again.

HE DIED, as recorded, in Washington in 1924, but of course he died in the public sense five years earlier on his way back from Pueblo, Colorado, when he suffered an incapacitating stroke. He was only once ever again to speak in public, on Armistice Day in 1923, a short while before the final end. The Pueblo speech deserves to be reread. It is surely a premonition, an evocation almost, of death. A speech from the cross. A speech, to be sure, by a Presbyterian St. Jerome, contesting texts to the very end, but a Passion withal. It is a premonition of his own death,

"It is a premonition of his own death, and a prophecy, I suppose, of the death of the Western civilization that would not be saved. Excepting always that those who believed would be saved, the city would not be saved; the city would be lost to war and rumors of war."

and a prophecy, I suppose, of the death of the Western civilization that would not be saved. Excepting always that those who believed would be saved, the city would not be saved: the city would be lost to war and rumors of war.

The biblical cadence, the New Testament ecstasy in that extempore speech are as moving as anything in the language of the American Presidency:

Again and again, my fellow citizens, mothers who lost their sons in France have come to me and taking my hand, have shed tears upon it not only, but they have added, "God bless you, Mr. President." Why, my fellow citizens, should they pray God to bless me? I advised the Congress of the United States to create the situation that led to

the death of their sons. I ordered their sons overseas. I consented to their sons being put in the most difficult parts of the battle line, where death was certain, as in the impenetrable difficulties of the forest of Argonne. Why should they weep upon my hand and call down the blessings of God upon me? Because they believe that their boys died for something that vastly transcends any of the immediate and palpable objects of the war. They believe and they rightly believe that their sons saved the liberty of the world. They believe that wrapped up with the liberty of the world is the continuous protection of that liberty by the concerted powers of all civilized people. They believe that this sacrifice was made in order that other sons should not be called upon for a similar gift—the gift of life, the gift of all that died—and if we did not see this thing through, if we fulfilled the dearest present wish of Germany and now dissociated ourselves from those alongside whom we fought in the war, would not something of the halo go away from the gun over the mantelpiece or the sword? Would not the old uniform lose something of its significance? These men were crusaders. They were not going forth to prove the might of the United States. They were going forth to prove the might of justice and right, and all the world accepted them as crusaders, and their transcendent achievement has made all the world believe in America as it believes in no

other nation organized in the modern world. There seems to me to stand between us and the rejection or qualification of this treaty the serried ranks of those boys in khaki, not only these boys who came home, but those dear ghosts that still deploy upon the fields of France.

He tells of visiting a cemetery in France where French women tended American graves:

France was free and the world was free because America had come. I wish some men in public life who are now opposing the settlement for which these men died could visit such a spot as that. I wish that the thought that comes out of those graves could penetrate their consciousness. I wish that they could feel the moral obligation that rests upon us not to go back on those boys, but to see the thing

"Further and fatefully, a kind of corrupt Wilsonianism carried on as a dominant theme of American foreign policy for years after him. The Republicans who took over scarcely abandoned his ideals."

through, to see it through to the end and make good their redemption of the world. For nothing less depends upon this decision, nothing less than the liberation and salvation of the world.

What is one to make of this? Was he right? We have almost given up asking such questions, much less answering. But this, surely, is clear. It was very late in the history of the West to put any large public question in such terms. Carl J. Friedrich and Charles Blitzer are correct, surely, that with the religious revival of the 17th century, and the wars of that century, "Once again, and for the last time, life was seen as meaningful in religious, even theological, terms. . . ." For the last time.

But was he right? In 1944, a quarter-century after the Pueblo speech, when we seemed well into the hideous future Wilson had foreseen, Gerald W. Johnson asked this question:

It is not a pleasant idea, for if he was right, the rest of us were wrong. . . . Dead men scattered from the Solomon Islands to Italy suggest that we may have been wrong. Fine ships by hundreds shattered and sunk suggest that we may have been wrong. Billions upon uncounted billions wrung from our toil; mourning in every city and town, in crowded tenements and lonely farmhouses, weeping women and prematurely old men . . . suggest that we may have been wrong.

And "those dear ghosts that still deploy upon the fields of France"—what do they suggest?

EVENTS up until the time Johnson wrote, and in the three decades since, suggest at the very least that the United States remains as uncertain as ever about the terms on which the then President of the United States helped, first, to set in motion an extraordinary world dynamic of political independence accompanied by a rhetoric of personal freedom; and sought, secondly, to establish a world order which, by legitimating and channeling these forces, would sufficiently contain them. Events suggest further that having failed, or having

insufficiently succeeded, in the second effort, the United States has commenced to recede in its commitment to the first. The events in this instance are better known than the argument to be made for them, for indeed the argument lies essentially in the acceptance of the seemingly ineluctable events. If the Wilsonian thesis was too wordy, a shade too eager to persuade, its antithesis stands in something very like "dumb insolence"—a serious charge in British courts martial, not least because it is so difficult to prove and impossible to bear. In a word, events increasingly persuade us to act as if Wilson were wrong.

Our susceptibility to such doubts goes far back. Wilson as President failed, did he not?: never good for a reputation. More importantly perhaps, for Americans, as in the course of the 1920s the person emerged from the President, it came to be seen that the person himself was not without failings. Johnson writes: "He was full of faults. They stuck out like spines upon a cactus . . . he was arrogant . . . bullheaded . . . puritanical . . . vengeful . . . icy . . . blistering." His racial attitudes were certainly deplorable. At times he displayed a measure of selfless devotion to political gain such as to qualify as a case history in Puritan aberration. In this regard, his speeches just before entering active politics as Democratic candidate for Senator from New Jersey in 1907 are of textbook quality. Addressing the Southern Society at the Waldorf Astoria, he feared that "America has fallen to the commonplace level of all the other nations" because she had abandoned her egalitarian ideals. "When she ceases to believe that all men shall have equal opportunity she goes back upon the principle on which the nation was founded." And how best to have equal opportunity? By not discriminating. Which is to say by not having a graduated income tax. "There is only one sort of tax-

ation that is just, and that is taxation that does not discriminate." Or redistribute income: "I know of only one legitimate object of taxation, and that is to pay the expenses of the government." ("WOODROW WILSON ATTACKS PATERNALISM," went the New York TIMES headline, "Government Can't Do Everything, He Tells Southern Society.")

Familiar stuff. In office, of course, he became a guarded advocate of graduated taxes, and devised more than a few new ways of spending them. There are words for such behavior and they are directed, with no special impact, to most public men. The craft of President ordains a certain craftiness. But Wilson had rather implied that he was not to be measured by any such standards. The greater the shock, then, when the doings at Versailles began to leak out, as inevitably they were to do, and it became unavoidably clear that in dealing with leaders of the Allied Powers Wilson, in order to win the Covenant, had accepted many more "lesser evils"—Hoover's term—than were ever proposed in the way of reservations to the Treaty of Versailles which the moderate Senators had held out for and with which it would have been ratified. In a word, he did for Clemenceau what he would not do for Senator Frank B. Kellogg or Senator Porter J. McCumber; he was willing to bend a principle for Lloyd George, but not for William Howard Taft or Elihu Root or Charles Evans Hughes.

Further and fatefully, a kind of corrupt Wilsonianism carried on as a dominant theme of American foreign policy for years after him. The Republicans who took over scarcely abandoned his ideals. To the contrary, the 1920s were nothing if not the era of American-inspired disarmament conferences and treaties renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. The problem was that, as with the Great Experiment itself, the men in power were willing to proclaim the ideals but not to enforce them. Or, some would say, to proclaim ideals that were unenforceable. It comes to much the same thing: irresponsibility. In what must surely be the best writing yet on this subject, Ernest W. Lefever has given the name of moralism to this kind of

irresponsibility; it is, he says, the corruption of the foreign-policy traditions of both "rational idealism" and "historical realism," of Tom Paine and Walt Whitman on the one hand, Burke and Madison on the other. Moralism evades both of these moral traditions. Morality is a synonym for responsibility. Moralism is a conscious or unconscious escape from accountability.

There is first of all in this mutant a fundamental hostility to authority. "The soft moralistic view tends to distrust the state, especially its coercive power, while Western ethical thought affirms the necessity of the state and insists on the responsible use of its power." In another variant, it sets the most unavailing of all criteria for worth: "Soft moralism tends to associate virtue with weakness, just as it associates vice with power." Whence the lunging forward to do good and the reeling back when it is learned what will be required—"This strange combination," to continue Lefever, "of reform-intervention and security-isolation [which] turns foreign policy on its head." The first task of foreign policy in what we would hope to be our ethical tradition is peace and security. Moralism substitutes—for this—the modes and objectives of internal policy to the disadvantage, even denigration, of first things. When it fails, moralism will typically prefer no foreign policy to a necessary one.

The reform-intervention phase of this mindset became manic in the years just after the period in which Gerald Johnson wrote. From Lake Success onward to about the Bay of Pigs, it seemed at times almost to prevail (again with Republicans succeeding to and acquiescing in a kind of Democratic heresy). A necessary counter-argument was made by men such as George Kennan, and before the era was over "Wilsonian idealism" had become synonymous with dangerous nonsense: the prattle of soft and privileged people in a hard and threatening world. Vietnam, with its own sequence of "reform-intervention" and "security-isolation," appeared all the more to confirm the folly of that world view. That the subsequent "neo-isolationist" argument came so often from precisely those who had

"And in the absence of religious conviction, it is not possible to establish an obligation of the Wilsonian kind to the state. Our elites accept the state rather as Margaret Fuller accepted the universe, and it might be said of them what Carlyle said of her: By gad, they had better."

earlier made the case for intervention seemingly settled the matter: a tendency of thought, a tone of voice, a tintinnabulation of the school-yard bells that we had best as grown-ups put behind us.

BUT THIS was a corruption of Wilson. Surely we can accept that now, what with the naïveté of the Kellogg-Briand treaties behind us and the worst of the cold-war obsessions also, and with the United Nations over to one side, doing what it does and about what it can do. The essential Wilson remains, the Wilson whose singular contribution to the American national experience was a definition of patriotism appropriate to the age America was entering at the time of his Presidency, which is to say patriotism defined first of all as the duty to defend and, where feasible, to advance democratic principles in the world at large. (In this he expanded the original—and singular—American definition of citizenship as a matter not of blood or soil or religious faith, but of adherence to political norms.) Always to defend them—prudently if possible, but at the risk, if need be, of imprudence.

One suspects this came easily to Wilson in an intellectual sense: Scotch-Irish, his father a Presbyterian minister, his mother a Presbyterian minister's daughter, in whom, Richard Hofstadter wrote, the Calvinist spirit burned with a bright and imperishable flame. "Their son learned to look upon life as the progressive fulfillment of God's will and to see man as a 'distinct moral agent' in a universe of moral imperatives." His belief in his country was an extension, a secularization I suppose, of his belief in his God, a belief of concreteness and content virtually absent from the Presidency since. (Kennedy, however, believed in God. I think this to be true, although I do not know it. It rather embarrassed some of those around him, for it had become unfamiliar

in the Presidency, even awkward. At the time a member of the White House staff assured me that he was not really a Catholic, but, well, like a Unitarian.)

The American people in the aggregate appear to retain their religious beliefs and practices very much intact. But such conviction has all but evanesced among political elites in the United States much as it has done, for example, in Britain. And in the absence of religious conviction, it is not possible to establish an obligation of the Wilsonian kind to the state. Our elites accept the state rather as Margaret Fuller accepted the universe, and it might be said of them what Carlyle said of her: By gad, they had better. If, for Wilson, the properly directed state was an instrument of his Calvinist God, then obviously for Wilson patriotism, however physically demanding, posed no intellectual problems. But it does pose intellectual problems for the American and British political elites today: it is, verily, a crisis of faith.

There remains, however, in both countries—and very much in both countries—a strong ethical sense with respect to public matters, a sense of justice and procedure, a feeling for law, which is wholly serviceable as a belief system around which to organize a national life. What was missing then and is missing now is the dimension of duty. Again, it appears as a problem not so much of people in general as of elites. Hofstadter describes Wilson as "the preacher of a mission of world service to the most insular and provincial people among all the great powers." He could have added—and would have done, I think, had the point been raised—that Wilson succeeded to a considerable extent in this mission. The American people were with him on the Covenant, as were, overwhelmingly, the peoples with whom he was in touch abroad. If survey research tells us anything, it is that this conversion, warts and

backsliding and all, is very much intact a half-century later.

It may be noted in this connection that of all the institutions of American public life, the one which has never wavered in its Wilsonian commitment is the one perhaps most expressive of the popular ethos—the labor movement. Presidents have come and gone, and the labor movement has disagreed with most of them on these matters, and shows not the least distress at having done so. One does not know how long this will continue. It may be a generational phenomenon. But so long as it does continue, the American labor delegates to the annual International Labor Conference will insist, for example, that a free trade union is what Samuel Gompers and his associates thought to be a free trade union when they drafted the ILO Charter in Paris in 1919, and only that, and that no necessity or convenience of state has any power to make them pretend that a captive trade union is a free trade union. None. The case could generally be made that the mass of the American people has remained substantially loyal to the standard Wilson raised. It is the others who come and go.

This is the kind of thing Wilson knew. He was a learned man. He knew, for example, that you could trust Gompers, who for his part told an audience in Paris, doubtless also in dinner jackets, "You do not know how safe a thing freedom is." (Oh for the age when English was spoken.) Wilson knew that the most distinctive fact of the American polity was the degree to which it had informed the thought and action of ordinary citizens with a conception of patriotism that elsewhere, in democratic nations no less than autocratic ones, was rare to the point of being a preserve of privilege.

IN HIS Southern Society speech of 1907—reflecting the frame of mind in which he forsook the academy for politics—Wilson took patriotism for his topic, quoting Tennyson's lines:

*A nation still, the rulers and the ruled;
Some sense of duty,
Something of a faith,
Some reverence of the laws ourselves
have made,
Some patient force to change them
when we will,*

Some civic manhood, firm against the crowd.

"Patriotism, properly considered," he said, "is not a mere sentiment; it is a principle of action, or rather is a fine energy of character and of conscience operating beyond the narrow circle of self-interest." Then an unusual point, as if to emphasize how explicit he meant to be. "Every man should be careful to have an available surplus of energy over and above what he spends upon himself and his own interests, to spend for the advancement of his neighbors, of his people, of his nation." That the specter of statism hovers about such words need not be contested. It always will, when attachment to the state rather than mere submission is proposed. But the state as an extension of the moral force and responsibility of the individual is a different thing from the state as the mere monopoly of force. The Wilsonian state might properly claim its tithe in energy and resource (whether or not raised by graduated income taxes!).

This at least is not moralism, it does not discover virtue in weakness. It argues, rather, the unique and necessary virtue of strength, of men and women becoming all they are capable of being, beyond anything accorded them as possible in the past. For, said Wilson, it was in America that the ordinary citizen was first "put in the way" of such "statesmanlike thinking."

I like to recall that passage of de Tocqueville's in which he marvels with eloquent praise at the variety of information and excellence of discretion which our polity did not hesitate to demand of its people, its common people. It is in this, rather than in anything we have invented by way of governmental forms, that we have become distinguished among the nations, by what we expect of ourselves and of each other.

Is it a sustainable vision? Hard to say. The history of this century is that of men and women enduring the most awful trials in pursuit of visions every bit as secular, differing only in their willingness to submerge the individual in the mass. Wilson argues the elevation of the individual, the differentiation of each. It may be more than we can do: but this very thought, so much a product of the events that followed Wilson, is the essential case for trying. And the context for any such effort remains exactly

that which Wilson first perceived: the worldwide struggle between free societies and those not free.

Wilson conceived of patriotism not as an instrument of the state, but as an expression and extension of the moral capacities of the individual, specifically of men seeking freedom in its many manifestations. He saw that in the age then commencing such a patriotism would be meaningful only as it manifested itself in a world setting, engaging its energies in a world struggle. Democracy in one country was not enough simply because it would not last. In 20th century America Wilsonianism has been disparaged for enthusiasm, much as high Anglicans disapproved of the Methodists of 18th century England. And yet the Methodists, had they been ordained, almost surely would have kept the English people in the church, and possibly also their bishops. Instead the people wandered away into nothingness. Does not the American faith in democracy face something of this dilemma, and are we not adopting much the same course at the silent behest of men who know too much to believe anything in particular and opt instead for accommodations of reasonableness and urbanity that drain our world position of moral purpose?

It may be that no other leadership is coming our way and we will have to make do. But before becoming too accepting, or admiring, of the course events are taking, we still have time, surely, to consider where such a course is likely to lead. Granted, we may end up alive: no small virtue in a policy, explicit or implied. But we shall also very likely end up lonely, which is no small disadvantage.

It comes to this: the Wilsonian world view is already half achieved. Most peoples of the world live in independent states demarcated along lines of hoped-for ethnic legitimacy. This very achievement makes for intense difficulties with the remaining internal ethnic divisions. Nevertheless the principle of self-determination has not only succeeded at the level of a norm but has also largely been implemented.

The quality of the incumbent regimes is another matter. Few measure up to Wilson's hopes.

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It would be madness to let the purposes or the methods of private enterprise set the habits of the age of atomic energy.—Harold Laski (1945)

Global Challenges and the WUDDGE FACTORY

HARRY C. BLANEY

IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID about generals that they are always planning for the last war. One wonders whether this image might just as aptly apply to the Department of State and its officers. Are we not basically preoccupied with diplomacy that is barely adequate for a generation ago but which can hardly cope with the present, much less the future?

What are some of these changed circumstances? The old diplomacy was concerned with boundaries, legal and consular conventions, traditional alliance building and the protection of American citizens and property abroad. It was largely reportorial. It was a diplomacy which required some style and often not a little courage in the face of physical adversity. Rarely was it analytical, and even more rarely was it policy oriented. To borrow from Milton, "its ghost yet haunts us."

The age of global challenges is significantly different from the earlier period. Vast armies do not await the order to move against some other country confident in their vision of victory and success. Rather, nuclear weapons assure destruction of all—victor and vanquished.

FSO Harry C. Blaney, III is now a member of the Policy Planning Staff. Before this assignment he was on leave as a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, where he went after being told by the Personnel Office that "Global Challenges" were not "priority" enough to be supported by a training assignment to the Center. He served previously as Special Assistant to Russell E. Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and in the same capacity with Daniel P. Moynihan, then Counselor to the President. He also had assignments in EUR/RPE and served in the US Mission to the European Communities in Brussels as political officer. He has written a number of articles for publications over the last few years.

Power, which remains a constant, is now employed in very different forms but for all of its newness holds no less danger. Even military power takes on new characteristics as unforeseen technology brings into question old power balances and assurance of security.

The dangers to our air, to our water, and to the foods we eat are the new challenges which the Department of State must face in an age of vast technological change and global pollution. The lead content in our food and water, sulphur oxides and carbon monoxide in the air we breathe, and the potential pollution of our oceans which may destroy our oxygen are the real dangers of this age. These slow poisons, contained in our society's toxic wastes, are our long-range problems, more so than the balances of power which plagued diplomatic policy of old. It is these elements, with their ubiquity and respect for no international boundaries, which provide new challenges for our diplomacy. Yet we have not devised an international system to protect ourselves from these menaces of the new modern world. At best, preoccupation on the part of a Foreign Service officer with problems of world environment, including population growth, food and resource scarcity, too often generates from many of our senior FSOs a smile of condescension and at worst a banishment to that special category of second class citizen when promotions and assignments are given out.

Among training tools needed by Foreign Service officers are "Delphi" exercises which attempt to predict the future and technology assessment. The latter is simply an attempt to predict systematically the secondary and tertiary consequences on society of the introduc-

tion of new technology. The nature, the limits and the dangers and even the opportunities of a new world system will be, indeed are being, formed more assuredly by the introduction of new technologies and the discoveries of science than any other single factor.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. We are now entering into an age when the energy crisis appears to be a long-term phenomenon. It will require an imaginative, creative and comprehensive international approach if safe and abundant energy is to be available for the needs of a growing world population. Technology will provide much of the answer through utilization of fossil fuels and from nuclear reactors, particularly in the period before the year 2000. Hopefully, after the year 2000, much of our energy will come from non-depletable and renewable energy sources such as solar or geothermal power and, most importantly, thermonuclear fusion.

Before we enter into that golden age, we must provide for large increments of power from nuclear reactors. This power must be obtained from a combination of new nuclear reactors and associated enrichment technology which essentially transforms natural uranium into the highly enriched uranium which is required to power most of the reactors which will be built in the next generation. This technology is identical with that which produces the raw material for nuclear weapons.

The danger to the world is that while we need this enriched uranium, the proliferation of this technology creates the widespread availability of weapons grade uranium, which can have disastrous consequences for the security of all nations. If many nations had access to this technology and de-

sired to divert the product of enrichment for nuclear weapons purposes, this world would be a far more dangerous place than it is at present.

Another technology related to nuclear power is the development of the "fast breeder reactor." Fast breeder reactors produce, as a by-product of power generation, weapons grade plutonium which can be used easily for weapons production. Such plutonium could be used either by governments through diversion from their reactors or it could be diverted in a clandestine way by private groups for use in terroristic activities. In addition, this plutonium and highly enriched uranium would be vulnerable to diversion in the reprocessing and transportation phases of these materials.

Obviously with these dangers there must develop a strong international program of control, inspection, and overall guidance in handling of these materials. One possibility worthy of consideration is the establishment of an international body or organization which would provide nuclear power to non-nuclear weapons states and would control fast breeder reactors and possibly new uranium enrichment plants. If other countries were assured of the benefits of nuclear power for their peoples and for their legitimate development needs through such an organization at relatively low costs, perhaps even subsidized costs, then there is a possibility they would accept international controls on this technology.

It is clear that such an effort would require major support on the part of large powers on this globe, including the US and the USSR. Such a proposal now is regarded as visionary, but perhaps in the future it will not be so seen, given the dangers which are the alternative.

Another area of major impact on the international system is the development of new world communication systems. This new technology will profoundly affect the future evolution of culture, education and international politics.

The Foreign Service is now enrolling a new generation of Foreign Service officers who can be truly called the "TV generation." During much of their early life their image of the world was determined

by the television set. This image of the external world was napalm bombs falling in Vietnam, student unrest throughout the world and the needs of the developing countries. These images were brought to them vividly and strongly through the mechanism of modern communications in a way quite different from that experienced earlier.

In an even more profound way, modern communications will have an impact on the political and economic development of the globe. The world is being profoundly changed through satellite communications. Within a short period of time direct broadcast satellites will be going into Indian villages and into small towns on the African continent. With this new communications system will go new images, new possibilities and new problems.

What kind of a globe and what kind of a world political system will this new technology bring? It can bring a shared sense of unity to this frail globe through the common experience of events. This was aptly illustrated in the world-wide attention to the moon visit by American astronauts. These kinds of common experiences, with the advent of satellite communication, will grow and will have an impact upon the world political context.

Further, interdependence will grow with the increased utilization of navigational, communications and resource satellites. This will mean access to information and data unparalleled in the world's history. It will necessarily have a profound impact upon governments which wish to limit their citizens' access to information. No longer will a country be able to be part of the modern world and still limit access to information in the data banks which will be accessible because of the new communications systems.

This technology, like most major innovations, has an impact on the old politics. The new communications systems can be a new means of power for those who control them. There is resentment on the part of those without this technology. Discussion on the use of this technology has become an element in North-South tension. Many governments wish to prevent or control the beaming of "communi-

cations" directly to their peoples from foreign controlled satellites. Who and what is right—"freedom of information and dissemination" or "sovereign rights of governments?" The decision by the world community is still pending and will be fundamental to the kind of world our children will live in.

Included in this category of new challenges for which we need new approaches and new institutions are food and resource scarcity, population growth, control and use of the oceans and outer space, rapid changes in weapons technology, the application of worldwide terrorism utilizing new technology, and the preservation of the environment. These areas deserve greater attention by the Department, especially by the 7th floor, than they have yet been given.

Yet there is another part of all this that must be examined. This element is the growing awareness that these scientific and technological developments have not fully served the broad needs of mankind. It has gotten us to the moon, it enables us to destroy the whole globe in a matter of minutes, but it has not prevented pollution.

It is apparent that this new technology not only can be a blessing but also can bring dangers. These dangers are not fully understood or fully controlled by responsible authorities either at the national or at the international level. We need to establish at the national and the international level new institutions to deal with this problem. The irony is that in the US Congress there is a new office of technology assessment, but the federal executive has yet to develop a comprehensive mechanism for dealing with the negative consequences of new technology. Likewise the world community has yet to develop mechanisms to deal with the secondary and tertiary consequences of technological change.

This new technology also provides the opportunity for all peoples to make significant gains in improving the quality of their life. We can, with present technology, clean up our air and our water. We can with present communications technology provide greater knowledge for most people on this globe. We can through an international program insure the security, safety

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The world cannot continue to wage war like physical giants and to seek peace like intellectual pygmies.—Basil O'Connor

The Murphy Commission - and Murphy!

BY ROSE H. FALES

THERE ARE career diplomats all over the world. They begin as neat, tactful and well spoken young men and usually nothing exceptional happens to them. Bob Murphy and Harold Macmillan, however, were asked to make history and, as part of their official duties, they did so.***

Ambassador Murphy is still doing so. The Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy is referred to as "The Murphy Commission" rather than by any bureaucratic acronym—a recognition of his commitment to the service of American foreign policy for more than fifty-five years. (If legislation results, it will presumably be known as Murphy's Law.)

Ironically, the circumstances under which the Murphy Commission was born have changed to the point where one might almost be tempted to ask, Why go on with it? In 1971, when the idea for such an inquiry was brought to fruition by Messrs. Fulbright and Aiken, the United States was still undergoing the full agony of its Vietnam involvement—and the immediate concern was: how do we organize our government's foreign affairs machinery so that this won't happen again? Moreover, there was the new phenomenon of an almost overwhelming polarization of foreign policy decision-making in the White House. And last but not least, relations between the Executive Branch and Congress were at a markedly low level.

To say that all these things have

changed to the extent of making the Murphy Commission "obsolete," however, would be (1) to oversimplify, (2) to ignore the continuing nature of the organizational problem, and (3) to overlook the special role of that Diplomat Among Diplomats, Robert D. Murphy.

While efforts at restructuring are not exactly a novelty in US Government annals, the fact that the Murphy Commission's mandate is to deal with *organization*—not policy—is nonetheless the essence of its utility. Policies change (a point which probably needs no elaboration), but we still have to go on living—in an increasingly complex and dangerous world environment. It might be said that the Commission's task is to equip us for this "experience," taking into account an almost incredibly broad range of factors—from energy resources to domestic cultural attitudes.

The scope of the Commission's mandate also is important: it includes recommendations for both the Executive Branch and Congress, as well as relations between the two; and it does not even eschew recommendations for amendment of the Constitution.

In building up its basic fund of data, the Murphy Commission has spent the past year in hearing testimony from a host of present and former officials in the Executive and Legislative branches, as well as from many non-governmental experts. At the same time, it has carried out a program of independent research. When the work of this "Phase A" period (not a Murphy Commission label) is completed—as it is expected to be in the near future—the Commission will come up with its initial set of findings and recommendations.

That, however, will not be the end of it, since there lies ahead a very broad inquiry into the views of private organizations and individuals throughout the country. In

this connection the Commission—with assistance from state and local governments, the academic community, and World Affairs Councils—will hold four sets of regional public hearings: in Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Ambassador Murphy's life today is the sort of shuttle trajectory familiar to the 7th and 8th floors of the Department. A very active Honorary Chairman of Corning Glass, he travels to many parts of the world for them, and his network of friendships in high places, his ability to make any professional relationship lasting and warm, is doubtless invaluable to Corning, as it always has been to the Foreign Service. The demands made upon his lifetime of experience with the major turning points of American Foreign Policy—from the Grand Design of Roosevelt to the great conceptual changes of the Nixon-Kissinger era—keep him as busy as a one-man task force.

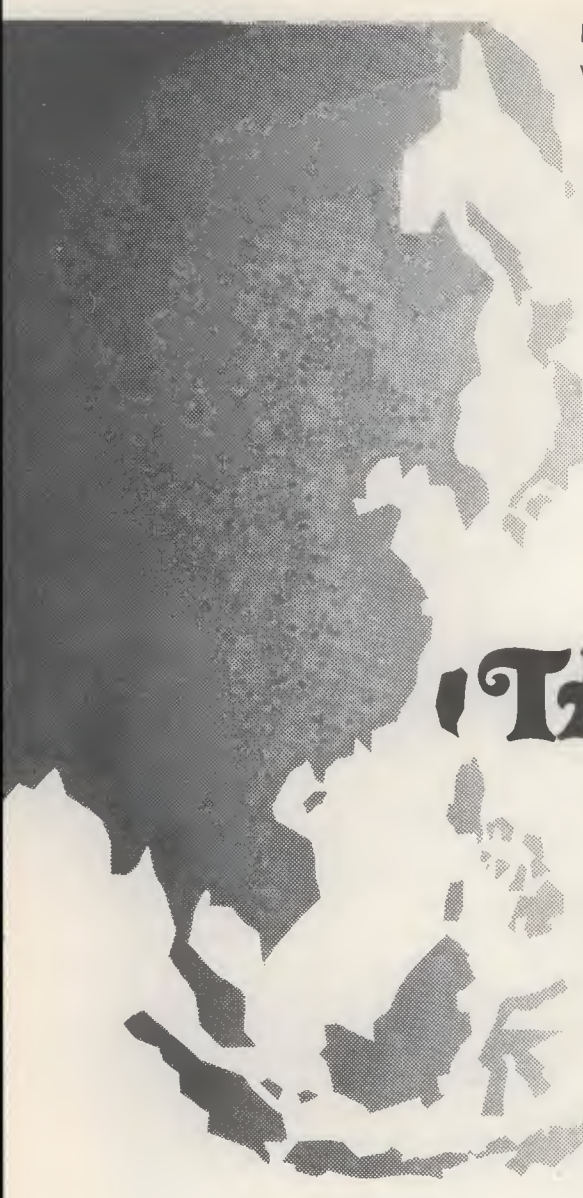
Weekends are spent here in Washington, and in spite of the lure of the 18th hole, he keeps a close eye on every phase of the work of the Commission. When one talks to him about the Commission, it is clear that he has risen to this challenge with the same energy and determination to succeed which he brought to his other tough assignments as diplomatic trouble shooter for Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. Moreover, he brings his own special gifts to this complex and sensitive task of blending the often jealous and disparate elements of the foreign policy process into an efficient whole. These gifts are great tact, an Irish sense of humor in even the most serious situations, an understanding of the intoxication of power which overtakes bureaucrats as well as politicians, a personal simplicity which bans pretentiousness, and above all, an unswerving belief

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*John Lardner, NEWSWEEK correspondent, in a reference to the service of Murphy and Macmillan in Algiers during World War II.

Mrs. Fales is the widow of FSO Herbert Peck Fales and a long time observer of the world diplomatic and political scene. She accompanied her husband to posts at Vienna, London, Berlin, Bonn, Heidelberg, Jakarta, The Hague and Paris. A free lance writer, she has had recent articles in the WASHINGTONIAN and the Chattanooga TIMES.

Honor is like an island, rugged and without a beach; once we have left it, we can never return.—Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux



TAIWAN

Our hardy perennial problem

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

THE FEATURES of Taiwan life today that are reminiscent of the treaty ports are not accidentally so, because they have in fact been inherited. The treaty-port system

from the 1840s to the 1940s provided the institutional framework for the mediation of contact between China and the outside world of the Western trading powers. The big Chinese coastal cities—Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton, as well as Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze—were the meeting places of two worlds. Their institu-

tional structure represented a balance between opposing cultures and civilizations. When the Chinese Communist rise to power in the late 1940s abolished these institutions for foreign contact and expelled the Westerners, the island of Taiwan continued as a meeting ground. It still does so today. The features of treaty-port life there have been updated, but they are still recognizably descended from the nineteenth century.

China's first commercial contact with the international trading world had been at Canton, which after the Opium War and the Nanking Treaty of 1842 became the first treaty port—a place where Englishmen and eventually all other foreigners could reside and trade with the privilege of extraterritoriality: the protection of their own legal system administered by a consular officer. Eventually Shanghai, as the focus of trade in the whole Yangtze valley, became the treaty port par excellence, but at the height of the treaty system in the early twentieth century there were some 90 other treaty ports or ports of call for trade, covering all China with a network of foreign privilege and access. The treaty-port system was devised, built up, and sustained chiefly by British consuls with the support of the British navy. The unequal treaties were abolished only in 1943 by the British and Americans, yet through our military presence we continued to have a special status in China right down to 1949.

The unequal treaty system has been denounced in retrospect by Chinese patriots of all camps, and since it has ceased to exist, no one has spent much time trying to defend it. Like any other large aspect of modern history, its merits and demerits can be endlessly marshaled and debated. Surely the beginning of wisdom, however, is to accept the fact that the treaty system was no one man's fancy but rather a product of long-term interaction between the Chinese people and the expanding outside world. To be thankful that it is no

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more is not necessarily to deny that it once served a purpose as a mechanism of mediation between two very different types of society and culture. Nor is it intellectually adequate to denounce the whole era of the unequal treaties as simply a century of Western imperialism, meaning by that term aggression, domination, and exploitation practiced by foreigners against Chinese. In such simple black and white terms the unfolding of events cannot easily be understood. Within the over-all framework of the Western invasion of the old Chinese empire, successive phases and several planes of contact must be analytically distinguished in great variety.

The century from 1842 to 1943 was even more turbulent in China than in the world at large. It saw the end of the imperial monarchy and the Confucian social order. Party dictatorship eventually came to supplant dynastic family rule. Today imperial Confucianism has given way to the Maoist exegesis of Marxism-Leninism. During this long era of China's demoralization, decline, subjection, and rebirth, the treaty system changed shape as the means to accommodate foreign contact. Beginning as a basis for trade it soon became a basis, even more, for property holding and corporate enterprise in China. But current studies are making clear that its operation involved Chinese as much as foreigners. The foreign trader in the treaty port soon found that his Chinese comprador had to handle his firm's local operations. Out of the foreign trade emerged a new Chinese merchant class as well as the great port cities of Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Wuhan, Dairen in Southern Manchuria (as the Japanese called it), and most of the other centers of new trade and industry. In time, treaty ports became the urban centers both for Chinese reformist thinking and for nationalist sentiment and, soon afterward, the havens for China's revolutionaries. Canton, Shanghai, and Wuhan are prominent in the histories of both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party.

Taiwan today is thoroughly interconnected with the world of trade and higher technology that is now expanding so explosively throughout the northern hemis-

"The result is that Taiwan is a favored part of the Japanese-American trading world. Commerce and industry are dominant, and the government acts as their handmaiden."

phere. The new plants that smog the air of Taipei and clog its traffic are producing for overseas markets in Japan, America, and Europe. In 1973 the Nationalist government still had some twenty foreign-aid missions at work in Africa, with more than 800 technicians offering help in Africa's development. Cheap but skillful labor and shrewd business management with government support are making Taiwan a competitor even of Japan in the markets of more industrialized countries. Economic growth through this corporate enterprise produces great disparities of income in the midst of a rising Gross National Product, yet social services and agrarian development programs are also advancing, with the result that the average Chinese living standard on Taiwan is higher than on the mainland.

All this growth is, of course, connected with foreign finance and enterprise as well as Chinese, in various forms of economic partnership. One result is that Taiwan, like a treaty port, seems to be a place attached to the foreign world; and the foreign presence and influence, both the American and the Japanese, bulk rather large.

In addition, Taiwan, like the treaty ports, has a mixture of sovereignties. There is no question that Taiwan is Chinese territory, not a colonial domain of any foreign power. China's sovereignty is acknowledged by treaty, and the treaties today are no longer in the unequal form that used to give the foreigners special privileges. Yet in fact the foreigners—in this case, the Americans—do have special influence. For example, by the Mutual Security Treaty of 1954, there have been American troops stationed on Chinese soil in Taiwan, and in the usual fashion they have been under the immediate command of their own military, subject to American jurisdiction. Chinese sovereignty has been less impaired than before, but the American military have had their rights, and in some criminal

cases Chinese have felt that their laws could not reach American malefactors. In other words, the status of forces agreements of recent times have constituted a partial carry-over of the extraterritoriality of the treaty period. Quite aside from the letter of the law, the fact or prestige of being American may sometimes be of use to Americans in trouble with local Chinese courts. It may even be reminiscent of the treaty-port era that the Chinese government on Taiwan is often a willing collaborator with foreign activities there. The result is not a condominium, but at least there is cooperation in a Sino-foreign institutional set-up. This might seem like normal modern relations were it not for the great sensitivity to foreign influence so widespread on the mainland of China.

Again, just as the treaty port existed primarily for purposes of trade, Taiwan is remarkable today for the 40 percent or so of its GNP represented by its foreign trade. In some years its trade has been greater than that of all the mainland. Where the international settlement at Shanghai, or the foreign-concession areas in other treaty ports of old, gave the foreign merchant his special sense of security and opportunity, today on Taiwan the government has given foreigners special free-trade areas where they can import, process, and export materials, free of tax, among other inducements catering to foreign enterprise. The result is that Taiwan is a favored part of the Japanese-American trading world. Commerce and industry are dominant, and the government acts as their handmaiden. This helps to account for the industrial prosperity and development of the island, on quite a different scale and basis than on the Chinese mainland.

The secret of the treaty-port (and of Taiwan's) economic development lay in the combination of foreign capital and technology with Chinese skilled labor and merchant enterprise. A full century and a half

"The old Chinese culture is dealt a blow, while the international culture receives a Chinese input. But there is little doubt of the dynamism of the hybrid society."

ago at Canton, young John P. Cushing of Boston helped the leading Hong merchant, Howqua, to invest in international trade; later the Boston firm of Russell and Company put some of Howqua's investments into American railways. Today on Taiwan the multi-national corporations headquartered in America and Japan are securing skilled Chinese participation in their growth.

Back of the economic growth in the treaty port centers of Sino-foreign cooperation lay the guaranty of property rights through maintenance of law and order, backed by military force. The foreign gunboat concretized this guaranty, reminding local officials and patriots of China's defeat by foreign firepower, whether it was in 1842, 1860, 1885, 1895, or 1900. Representing the international trading system imposed upon China by force, gunboats symbolized the threat of a further use of force to uphold the principles of the international community. Today, the American military on Taiwan represent the Mutual Security Treaty of 1954, which provides an American guaranty to defend the island against an attempted takeover by force from any source.

The end result of the joint economic growth is, of course, an institutional growth and an assimilation of Taiwan to the culture of the international trading powers. The influx of foreign products and foreign amusements, foreign advertising and commercialism, are marked features of Taiwan today. Just as the Victorian traveler could feel somewhat at home in Shanghai of the 1880s, so the American businessman will find a Hilton Hotel, a Hertz Rent-a-Car, and other familiar amenities in Taipei. The influx of the commercial culture may be resented all the more by Chinese patriots because it comes from abroad rather than being generated, as in America, by one's fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless, the commercial economy

sweeps up many enterprising young people, who go in for Western styles and the latest vogue in music and entertainment. A society of mixed culture is no doubt always distasteful to many of its participants.

The cultural ambivalence of a treaty port made it a sink of iniquity and opened the door for pure opportunists and careerists of all kinds, both foreign and Chinese. Prostitution was only the most obvious symptom of the resulting confusion of morals, the triumph of commercialism as the commonest bond between cultures. Aesthetics suffer in this cultural confusion. Chinese taste in street signs in present-day Taipei is an offshoot of Broadway, Los Angeles, and Tokyo. The old Chinese culture is dealt a blow, while the international culture receives a Chinese input. But there is little doubt of the dynamism of the hybrid society.

The Latent Issue

One cannot talk to foreign-policy makers in Peking and Taipei without concluding that the Taiwan issue is not dead but only dormant. Since we are party to this issue, we shall have to face it sometime. In the Nixon-Chou Shanghai communiqué of February 1972, we acknowledged and did not challenge "that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China." Yet we continued to deal with Taipei as a separate government while developing contact with Peking. How far can we go in this two-faced fashion before we run counter to the unending force of Chinese nationalism? The American effort to counter Vietnamese nationalism with bombs and other devices has not been helpful to us. Can we avoid some future showdown between Chinese nationalism and American "honor" over Taiwan?

As China watchers learned in the late 1940s, messengers reporting bad news may be denounced, but

historical forces nevertheless continue to operate. Taiwan today is the latest manifestation of American "intervention" in Chinese life, yet this intervention is also a manifestation of the spread of "Western civilization." The essence of modern East Asian history is that Western civilization has intervened in Chinese life and thereby produced a great cultural-historical fault line conducive to political earthquakes. In Taiwan today we are sitting on this fault line.

Let us put this another way. The year 1972 was a turning point in Chinese-American relations, but as with so many turning points welcomed at the time, it is not yet sure where we are headed on our new course. Two major tendencies are at work, perhaps at cross-purposes. One is the American desire to continue a rewarding trade and contact with Taiwan, the other is our readiness to acknowledge the integrity of the new Chinese realm. We seek both old and new benefits, adding the new to the old, but unable to dispense with either one.

Note the ambivalence of our record. In 1945 the United States confronted a civil war in China and Ambassador Hurley chose to support Chiang Kai-shek. We later tried to disengage, but the Korean War led to our military guarantee of Taiwan, which in 1973 we still maintain. Now we are again in touch with the Chinese Communist leadership and are seeking gradually to normalize our relations with the People's Republic. The myth maintained for over two decades in Taipei that the Nationalists are the rightful government of the mainland has now been supplanted by the more potent myth asserted in Peking, that Taiwan is a province of a single China. But two themes have run through the 28 years since 1945: the theme of Taiwan's participation in the international trading world and the theme of the unity of the great revolutionary Chinese nation. Our peaceful future with China will depend on how well these two themes can be harmonized.

The new Chinese nation is rapidly coming out into the world. Prime Minister Chou En-lai's junior colleagues, like Ambassador Huang Hua at the United Nations and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Ch'iao Kuan-hua, who has led

the Chinese delegation there, are making their presence felt. Groups of athletes, doctors, scientists, journalists, scholars, and all sorts of technical specialists shuttle back and forth between the two countries. Representatives of Wall Street visit Peking while Chinese acrobats tour New York. Yet at the same time more American banks are opening Taipei offices and American firms are assembling television sets in Taiwan for the American market in an effort to compete with Sony and Panasonic. We seem to be trying to move in two directions at once.

The Nixon-Chou communiqué of February 1972 stated that the relationship of Taiwan to the mainland is for the Chinese to decide, but how can we avoid contributing our part to the decision? Look at the Japanese example. We snubbed them in early 1972 by the surprise announcement of President Nixon's visit to Peking, but they jumped ahead of us in September by recognizing Peking so as to normalize their relations with China. Japan ceased to have diplomatic contact with Taiwan, yet in the same breath, in both Tokyo and Taipei, there were established informal peoples' associations staffed by former diplomats to carry on the minimal consular functions, so that trade and contact in fact still continue. Is this a precedent we can follow? If we try to do so, what becomes of our mutual-security treaty with Taiwan? Many other questions lurk beneath the surface euphoria of our new relations with Peking. These questions will not go away because they are in the nature of things, bequeathed us by history and not to be wished away or axed out of our path by sudden pronouncements.

The twin-motifs of US-China relations

The historical roots of our Taiwan problem can be analyzed under the two headings of the Taiwan trade and Chinese unity. We did not invent either one, but now we are caught between them. This ambivalence has always underlain the American approach to China, though usually we have overlooked it. From the 1840s to the 1940s our China policy had two cognate motifs: gunboat diplomacy (for trade and contact) and the national integrity (or unity) of China.

"Even allowing for that besetting sin of historians—to give weight to the continuity of tradition—I believe any view of the last century of China's foreign relations will indicate the continued strength of the interests and practices now evident on the island of Taiwan. Having been detached by nature long ago, though an undoubted part of the Chinese realm, it still functions as a meeting place between China and the outside world."

Toward Taipei and Peking today this dualism still continues.

Gunboat diplomacy asserted our way of doing things; it demanded contact on our terms, principally the opportunity for trade but also for travel, evangelism, and Christian good works. Although Britain fought the Opium War, the United States got its share of the unequal treaty system that resulted. The national integrity of China emerged as a formal American policy in John Hay's second Open Door circular of 1900. The original idea of preserving China's territorial and administrative entity had been implicit in the British idea of the Open Door for trade, but gradually this evolved into American support for China's becoming a modern nation-state, rather than being swallowed into the East Asian empire of another power, whether British, Russian, or Japanese. Our support rested on a strategic instinct that we should oppose any other power's monolithic domination of East Asia just as we did of Europe. Latter-day successors of these two motifs—trade and contact on our terms and China's national unity—still underlie Chinese-American relations, even though the scene has often been confused by ideological concerns over imperialism, communism, nationalism, and self-determination.

Since with all its inadequacies Taiwan is a going concern, it is hard to see how pressure from Peking could destroy its trade, supposing this were desired. Even if Tokyo should yield to a Peking demand and cut off Japanese trade, which seems unlikely, the financial-commercial relations of Taiwan and Japan could continue through third parties and in other markets. Even allowing for that besetting sin of historians—to give

weight to the continuity of tradition—I believe any view of the last century of China's foreign relations will indicate the continued strength of the interests and practices now evident on the island of Taiwan. Having been detached by nature long ago, though an undoubted part of the Chinese realm, it still functions as a meeting place between China and the outside world. In this respect, of course, it compares with Hong Kong, which is actually under a foreign sovereignty and yet functions on the fringe of China in ways useful to both sides.

The problematic aspect of Taipei is not its trade so much as the question of its sovereignty. The formula that there is only one China and Taiwan is a province of China has thus far served the Nationalist government as a useful device for maintaining itself as a government of China in exile superimposed upon all of one province (Taiwan) and part of another; the other province is Fukien and the parts of it are the island strongholds on Quemoy outside Amoy and Matsu farther outside Foochow. The legal fiction that the Nationalist government of China is still engaged in civil war has made it possible for martial law to continue and the Taiwan garrison command to maintain its security control while the government in Taipei provides sinecures for aging mainlanders. The Taiwan provincial government at Taichung has had a rather restricted sphere of operation. The continued existence of the Nationalist government in Taipei in effect continues the Chinese civil war. The cessation of civil war could be symbolized by the withdrawal of the offshore island garrison from Quemoy. But Peking and Taipei have a common interest here, for a Nationalist withdrawal

to the single province of Taiwan might lend plausibility to the idea of Taiwan's independence from China. Ostensibly Peking's program, as evident in the United Nations, must be aimed at denouncing, reducing, and destroying the Nationalist claim to sovereign power over all China. But this claim has been eroded by time and circumstance. While a formal renunciation of it is perhaps too much to expect, a mere declaration from Taipei that the regime is ruling only its presently held territory might be enough to create a new situation.

For Americans the main pitfall in the Chinese scene is the idea of self-determination and Taiwan's independence. Viewed from the great distance of the American Middle West, one might assume that an island people who have not been under mainland jurisdiction for almost eighty years, and have a quite independent economic and political existence, could well lay claim to being a separate nation. The facts of the matter at first glance seem to offer every support for a projection of this natural American concept. Taiwan is such a natural spot for the invocation of Wilsonian ideals! Yet, as President Wilson found to his dismay in 1919, Western concepts do not apply automatically to East Asia.

The concept of the unity of China has been supported for the last half-century or more by Chiang Kai-shek, as a main expression of his patriotic devotion. Having put national unification decidedly ahead of social revolution in the 1920s, he lived his historical career as its exponent. He could not abandon the concept on Taiwan. As a consequence, an island regime that might conceivably in the 1950s have gained ready acceptance as a nation in the United Nations has consistently taken the opposite tack to claim that Taiwan is part of China. For two decades this concept helped to keep the Americans at odds with the People's Republic, but in the new deal of 1972 it finally worked to Mr. Nixon's advantage, and he could implicitly concur that there is but one China and Taiwan is a province of it. This acknowledgment of the unity of China has got us off the hook for the moment, at least, and is the chief basis for the

rapprochement with Peking.

This is no accident, for the unity of China is not merely the patriotic sentiment of a new Chinese nationalism, but in addition lies close to the heart of the Chinese political myth of the state. The expediency of unity, of course, lies in the fact that it means no civil war; the sanction for Chinese unifiers of the past has always been that they brought peace. Thus this is one of the oldest active political concepts in the world, with a lineal descent of more than 2,000 years of practical politics in the Chinese subcontinent. Even in the centuries of the Warring States, before the unification of 221 B.C., the Chinese political order was conceived as headed by the ruling house of Chou. The unification by the First Emperor in 221 B.C. thus invoked an ancient idea of monarchy but gave it new institutional expression in a centralized imperial government. Thereafter the great dynasties of Han, T'ang, Sung, Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing all gave expression to the ideal of unity and reaped its alleged benefits. The unity in question was that of the Chinese realm, including its people, territory, economy, polity, and culture, even when the ruling house, as under the Mongols and Manchus of the Yüan and Ch'ing periods, was from non-Chinese peoples. In effect, no country has had a stronger traditional basis for a modern sentiment of nationalism. It is only in the light of this sentiment that one can account today for the cohesion of 800,000,000 people under one regime. For us to counter the idea of the unity of China is, to say the least, counterindicated.

Our salvation in confronting the complexities of the Taiwan question may lie in distinguishing two levels, those of political concept and economic fact. The aims and interests of Peking and Taipei we may hope are somewhat differently focused on these two levels. For Taipei the essential goal, we may imagine, is to maintain the integrity of the island as an economic concern administered on its present lines and not controlled by a security system from the mainland. The claim to be a separate government is a means to preserving the present socio-economic order rather than an end in itself. For Peking we may imagine that the

chief aim is political, or perhaps one should say diplomatic: to encompass the end of the Nationalist government as an international agency with embassies abroad; in short, to create a situation in which the regime on Taiwan claims no more than to be a province of the China that heads up in Peking. This would signalize the end of the civil war and open a way toward a relationship between Taipei and Peking of mutual advantage to both sides. While these formulations by an outside and distant observer may seem quite inadequate to the parties involved, the fact remains that neither the island nor the mainland is going to disappear nor cease to be concerned each about the other.

THE TRAP yawning before the United States is that our continued expansion of economic relations with Taiwan may lead us on toward support of a movement to assert Taiwan's sovereign independence from the rest of China. This would turn the clock back and close the Nixon opening toward Peking. We may argue that American participation in the economic growth of Taiwan is part of the worldwide industrial-technological explosion of our times, as valid a fact of history as the rise of Chinese nationalism. Yet nationalism is a more durable fact, a long-term motivation of peoples where they live, not just a matter of business calculation and investment from abroad. Any intervention by us against nationalism in East Asia is likely to be less and less rewarding as time goes on. Our problem is how to reduce rather than expand our political-military commitment in Taiwan. To accomplish such a feat we must help devise some successor situation to our present security treaty. It can be renounced in proportion as some equivalent basis for stability can be found to take its place; for example, a unilateral statement from Peking that Taiwan's status is a domestic political matter not soluble by force (as Chou En-lai has already indicated), followed by a statement from Washington that this Peking policy is applauded and the 1954 treaty is being given up, though the United States of course will feel free to change its policy if the Peking policy should change. ■

MURPHY COMMISSION

from page 15

in the constructive moral forces of his country.

This summer marks the halfway point in the work of the Commission, and Ambassador Murphy says that it is well within its schedule. Preliminary hearings have been held with State, USIA, AID, ACDA and the Peace Corps, as well as with the Departments of Defense, Treasury, Commerce, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Members of the NSC, CIEP, and OMB from the Office of the President have appeared before the Commission. Expressions of opinion from many organizations in the private sector involved with foreign affairs have been sought and obtained: AFSA's views have been put forward on an individual basis and will be presented, as an organization, at a later date. Other agencies and departments of the government which have less substantial interest in foreign policy such as NASA, AEC, Justice, etc., have attended hearings or submitted reports. Chiefs of Mission and former Chiefs of Mission, career and political, have been asked for comments and many useful ideas have been sent in by them.

The months of April, May, June, and July were spent with the Legislative branch whose initiative created the Commission. The Statement of Objectives of the Commission stresses that "The role of the Congress is critical in both the formulation and implementation of foreign policy." The mandate of the Commission provides an opportunity to study how the Legislative branch, with its committee system, operates in the area of foreign affairs. At the same time, interest on the Hill in the reorganization of the Executive is beneficial to the Commission.

Two parallel series of studies have occupied the Murphy Commission in its year and a half of intense activity. One group of studies is concerned with insuring that the final recommendations of the Commission scheduled for July of 1975 lead to concrete results. (Since 1945 there have been more than eighty significant official attempts to unclog different parts of the assembly line of the foreign affairs machinery in Washington.)

Ambassador Murphy says that this Commission, with legislative support, is determined to be effective. Some studies have concentrated on the lessons to be learned from these previous reports; others have analyzed the organizational changes adopted by other Western democracies, for the United States is not alone in facing political disillusionment and governmental frustration. Another study in this series is attempting, for the first time, to identify the characteristics of an efficient system for the conduct of foreign affairs, and to outline alternative methods of operation such as "a strong State, or a strong White House" approach. Still another differentiates between policy decisions made below the top echelon of government and those made at the very top, which necessarily reflect the decision-making styles of the individuals at the pinnacle of the power pyramid. A very detailed study appraises the relevancy, value, and disposition of the generally routine work which absorbs most of the energies of the vast mechanism for processing

foreign policy. (Over sixty agencies in Washington have overseas interests.)

The second series of these concurrent studies concerns itself with many of the issues which have dominated the foreign policy decisions of the United States during the past five years, as well as those that concern the present and the foreseeable future. These are examined, *not* for substance, but to determine how and why such decisions were adopted. Some of these studies explore in depth actual major policy decisions, distinguishing between those of routine or crises nature, estimating the degree of success and failure, and measuring the quality and quantity of input in each instance. Other studies, using the same criteria, explore the role of the United States in such troubled international areas as the environment, international arms control, the Law of the Sea, the control of limited natural resources and the role of multinationals.

The Staff of the Commission, now numbering about sixteen professionals, has been selected for

How the American intellectual left tried—and failed—to influence public opinion on Vietnam



THE LONG DARK NIGHT OF THE SOUL

By Sandy Vogelgesang. This incisive new book examines what such writers as Chomsky, Mailer, Sontag, McCarthy, and Podhoretz thought and wrote about the war in Vietnam in the pages of

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tance of the White House and the
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sion members also meet two days
each month in the offices of the
Majority Leader of the Senate,
Senator Mike Mansfield, whose
support—together with that of his
Congressional colleagues, Senator
Pearson and Congressmen Zab-
locki and Frelinghuysen—they rate
as invaluable.

When asked what the Foreign
Service may gain from the
Commission's work, Murphy says
he believes that its effectiveness
will be greatly strengthened by fit-
ting into a logical, more contem-
porary, closely-knit Federal or-
ganizational structure for the for-
mulation and implementation of
foreign affairs. In spite of the fact
that the Foreign Service is respon-
sible for the daily, intimate work of
foreign relations, it enjoys no
monopoly in the field of foreign
policy. Better use should be made
of the professional skills of the men
and women of the Foreign Service,
and the importance of traditional
diplomacy should be recognized.

The Ambassador defines tradi-
tional diplomacy in a typically
pragmatic way: it is pursuing the
national objectives of one's coun-
try by any and all means at hand,
whether bilateral, multilateral, or
unilateral, while at the same time
maintaining a perception of the na-
tional objectives of other countries
which are bound to vary from our
own.

There really is nothing new to
this experienced diplomat either
about the power schisms or the
bruised egos which currently de-
bilitate Washington. He has served
under strong and weak Presidents,
and for strong and weak Sec-
retaries of State. He has seen the
Foreign Service and the Secretary
of State bypassed in the decision-
making process, and he has been
embarrassed by learning first from
allies what transpired in Washing-
ton. He has been privy to secret

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negotiations of the most critical nature. He has fought against a policy position which he believed wrong with every bit of influence he could muster, and when he lost the fight, he remained en poste to carry out the directives which he opposed. He has been underpaid and understaffed. He has been GLOPPED and CONED. He has suffered interminable absences from a devoted family.

Ambassador Murphy is well aware of the timeliness of the Commission's inquiries as he watches the give and take between the chairmen of Congressional Committees and the Secretary of State, and listens to the troubled and acrimonious debate on detente. He believes that the system of checks and balances can work better than this, although he understands that the inherent need for publicity which affects a politician must be balanced with the statesman's equally inherent need for discretion in delicate negotiations. Domestic pressures on an Administration inevitably affect major policy decisions, but the

Ambassador is heartened and impressed by the level of interest and information which the American public now has—a new and effective ingredient in the policy making process.

Ambassador Murphy has dealt with Russians in close contact. To him detente is not a policy unique to this or any other Administration, but is Lenin's doctrine of peaceful co-existence, first proclaimed in 1921, which directs the USSR to paper over any differences with another country from which it wants something. This convenient long-range doctrine surfaces at irregular intervals; this time when Brezhnev dusted it off, the West called it detente. Ambassador Murphy believes that our policy on such historic occasions should verify what they want, and then use the opportunity to obtain for our side whatever advantage we can. He stresses in conversation, as he has in his memoirs, "Diplomat Among Warriors," that no one should be vain enough to think that personal relationships will ever affect basic policy decisions in the

Kremlin.

With the irony characteristic of his long perspective on foreign affairs, Ambassador Murphy thinks that the energy crises (if capable of solution) will be a force for good. It will have been dramatic and painful proof to the American people and to their government that domestic and foreign issues are inseparable in this age of increasingly complex global problems. This, after all, is the philosophy behind the inquiry of the President's Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs.

IF FORMULAS can be established to make the process of creating and implementing foreign policy not only more effective, but more responsive to the will of the people by fusing the Legislative and the Executive into a mutually responsible relationship, Robert D. Murphy, with the distinguished members of the Commission, is just possibly the one man who might bring it off. ■

FOREIGN POLICY

NUMBER 16, FALL 1974. \$2.50

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Edward M. Kennedy

Japan's Dilemma:
To Act Or Not To Act
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IS THERE A STRATEGIC
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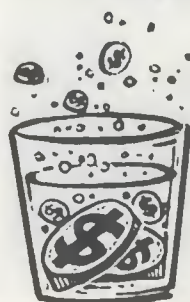
Letters

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WAS WOODROW WILSON RIGHT?

from page 12

Numerically there are not many more democracies now than in 1919 (although of the two additions to this short list, India and Japan are scarcely insubstantial). Even so, most of the other regimes dare not speak of themselves except in terms of Wilsonian ideals. In other words, these ideals—seen widely as American ideals—still establish the internal right to govern, just as, equally, Wilsonian ideals establish the national right to exist.

DOES this not impose a duty? Wilson would have thought it did. Not many do today. Very well, then, does it not at the very least make a certain claim on our calculations—namely, that it is not a circumstance likely to go away, and like it or not, it is going to influence, even dictate, a great many things we shall find ourselves doing, even as it does already? The reason for this is quite external to the political eschatology of Wilsonianism. It resides, rather, in a political reality for which he had no little distaste: that of a multi-ethnic population.

We are a nation of nations and inextricably involved in the fate of other peoples the world over.

This was already wholly clear at the time Wilson governed, although he does not give the impression of having understood just what forces his principles of self-determination of nations had set off within his own nation. Indeed, he saw perhaps too many Azerbaijanis in Paris (one could wish he had got to know Ho Chi Minh, who was then busy about the conference) and perhaps too few Irish in Washington. The loss of Irish support damaged the prospect of the Covenant—and scarcely improved the peace treaty, if self-determination was what it was supposed to be about. Less noticed at the time, the first armed rebellion (the Ghadar rebellion) against British rule in India had been planned in Stockton, California among immigrant Sikhs in the early years of the war, and after aborting in India itself, was prosecuted by the American government when the United States entered the war.

But offsetting these losses was the support of all those Central-

European nationalities whose homelands gained independence through the treaty, such as the Republic of Czechoslovakia which was formally proclaimed in Pittsburgh during those months. This was a foretaste of the pressures to which American foreign policy would be subject in the years of world-power status to come. The reality has exceeded any expectations and will in all probability go on doing so, for while the matter has not received much attention, the United States is quietly but rapidly resuming its role as a nation of first- and second-generation immigrants, almost the only one of its kind in the world, incomparably the largest, and for the first time in our history or any other, a nation drawn from the entire world. The Immigration Act of 1965 drastically altered the shape of American immigration and increased its size. (I should not be surprised if one-third of the population increase of the United States today consists of first-generation immigrants or their children.) Our immigrants in wholly unprecedented proportions come from Asia, South America,

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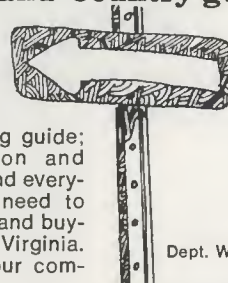
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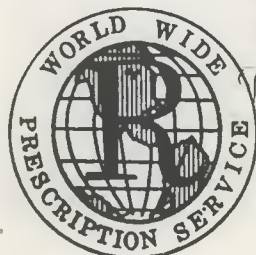
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and the Caribbean. (In fiscal year 1973 the ten top visa-issuing posts were Manila, Monterrey, Seoul, Tijuana, Santo Domingo, Mexico City, Naples, Guadalajara, Toronto, Kingston. I would expect Bombay to make this top-ten list before long. By the end of the century there should be a million Asian Indians in the United States—unless, that is, the Secretary General of the United Nations is successful with his recent proposal that a world-wide system of emigration taxes be established in order, somehow, to benefit the underdeveloped nations.)

In short, by the end of the century, given present trends, the United States will be a multi-ethnic nation the like of which even we have never imagined. This means at least one thing. There will be no struggle for personal liberty (or national independence or national survival) anywhere in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America which will not affect American politics. In that circumstance, I would argue that there is only one course likely to make the internal strains of consequent conflicts en-

durable, and that is for the United States deliberately and consistently to bring its influence to bear on behalf of those regimes which promise the largest degree of personal and national liberty. We shall have to do so with prudence, with care. We are granted no license to go looking for trouble, no right to meddle. We shall have to continue to put up with things obnoxious about which there is nothing we can do; and often we may have to restrain ourselves where there are things we can do. Yet we must play the hand dealt us: we stand for liberty, for the expansion of liberty. Anything less risks the contraction of liberty: our own included.

IT IS NOT likely to be a formally welcomed role. The political elites of most of the world are poisonously anti-American, and will remain so while the spell of Marxism and the British universities—what Orwell cited as the “right Left people”—persists. This circumstance is well known and much noted. Our own intellectuals are becoming demoralized, even victimized, by it (although I should

think such influence will much diminish over the next thirty years or so). Less well-known is the parallel circumstance that the peoples of the world remain extraordinarily faithful to Wilsonian ideals, no longer much if at all associated with him, but still widely associated with the United States and giving every sign of persisting. Among these peoples, I count the American people: not as an act of piety or wishfulness but rather, and assertively, as a fact repeatedly established by voting behavior and opinion research. Wilson's photographs are nowhere to be seen, but in the working-class homes of Pittsburgh, in the barrios of Bogotá, in the mud villages of South India, portraits of John F. Kennedy will be found next to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or Bolívar, or, as I have once seen, Gandhi, for Kennedy too was in the Wilson tradition. It is not the only tradition of American foreign policy, and that it can be an aberrant one no one any longer questions. But that we lose it at the risk of the ethical integrity of the nation ought not to be questioned either. ■

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GLOBAL CHALLENGES *from page 14*
and development of abundant power for all the world's people through an act which is both generous and at the same time most responsive to enlightened understanding of our national interest.

Yet, in a world which cries out for the development of institutions which will be able to serve a truly interdependent community of nations, we seem increasingly to be moving in a direction which attempts to destroy not only the interdependence that has grown since World War II, but in effect to move back the clock to that terrible dark period of the '30s when each country attempted to gain its own particular advantage and thereby brought a new age of destruction.

The question thus arises as to whether this Foreign Service, in this age, can respond to these new global challenges. As one looks around one can only be pessimistic and feel that indeed we seem to still be fighting the old wars, tilting at the old windmills, and never able to grasp fully the changes that are taking place around us.

There is no single action which can change the way this Department responds to these global challenges. A good move is the early establishment of the new Bureau for Oceans, Environment and Science. But certainly this is not enough. The Bureau's new head should have easy access to the Secretary and his support for major new policy initiatives which are badly needed. There should be a NSC Interdepartmental Group for this field since the involvement of other agencies is crucial for any effective international program. Beyond this there needs to be a new orientation and emphasis by the Department's principals so that Foreign Service officers can be more assured of recognition and support if they follow a course aimed at solving some of these new problems. We should also be even more liberal with our training programs so as to strengthen our intellectual depth—vital to any leadership role in such complex areas. Finally we may have to look at the structure of the Department and ask if it serves competently a pol-

icy and management function in these areas and, if not, have the courage to change it.

But at this moment, the Foreign Service, like many other institutions today, seems to be really in a kind of future shock. We seem to be overburdened with information which is incoherent in the framework we have created for ourselves. We keep on fighting insignificant battles while the major problems of the age whirl around us and events seem to be in the saddle rather than man.

If we continue along this path surely we will either lose our relevance to this day and age, and the area of responsibility which normally is ours shall be taken from us by other institutions. And it should justly be so. On the other hand, if we can master events, if we can change our own orientation, our own structures, perhaps we can become again the creators of a better age, and count ourselves among the leaders of a country that looks forward to the next century and to a very different kind of world than has existed up to now.

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A Tour de Memoire

AMBASSADOR FROM THE PRAIRIE, or *Allison Wonderland*, by John M. Allison. Houghton Mifflin, \$7.95.

A REMARKABLE QUALITY of John M. Allison's memoir is its fascinating blend of insights into American character with insights into American diplomacy. It is a kind of Jacob Riis or Edward W. Bok memoir in American diplomacy, simply told but with endless light and shadow upon everything Americans have tried to do in the world and particularly in Asia where so much of our effort—private and public—has been expended to ease the lot of the unfortunate and insist upon fair play among the Powers. Like a many-mirrored scone, it throws more illumination on this country and its diplomacy, the character of the Foreign Service, the ways of the State Department and the influences to which both are subjected than normally issues from the candle of a single officer. To the truly distinctive full-length memoirs of career colleagues, beginning with Willard Beaulac's in 1951 and continuing through Joseph C. Grew's, Robert Murphy's, George Kennan's and Charles E. Bohlen's, this one must be added—a clear-flamed, straightforward account of a versatile, resourceful, down-to-earth, cultured team player who possessed real leadership quality and capability of meeting not only the demanding requirements of Department and Service but of Presidents, Congressmen and public as well.

Having received his commission in 1932, Allison had to effect the transition from the old to an activist Service and he emerged as one of those officers who was far more than the usual suave, superficial, period piece able to go through only the motions of adaptation. One asks himself what there was in background and mentality which enabled him to do this, avoiding the prevailing parochialisms, guild loyalties and defense mechanisms.

First, I think, was the fact that he came from an unpretentious, democratic, up-and-doing mid-

West family and an equally unpretentious, democratic schooling. At the same time, he was an avid reader—a bibliophile, no less—and hence possessed a thoughtful, cultured outlook, his mind constantly stimulated and recharged, his perspective kept alert and elastic, and therefore offering no hospitality for myths, preconceived notions, cronyisms and false preoccupations with assignments and promotions, all of which victimized so many Foreign Service officers.

Background and reading, in turn, bred a diversity of interests and contacts, which made Allison as much at home with students and teachers, police and peasants, as with businessmen, government officials and military officers and, again, enriched his experience and thinking, making him adaptable to whatever and whomever came along. From the beginning he was as active outside his office, including weekend hiking through the countryside, as within it.

The *cordon consulaire et diplomatique* never had a chance with him. Finally, he did not enter the Foreign Service fresh from college. Having some inclination for both the teaching and publishing worlds and having taught in Japan and represented General Motors as its advertising manager in China before gravitating to the Service, he had other interests and possible careers to fall back upon and, as John Tuthill once pointed out in these pages, these nurture an independence of mind, initiative and courage. All of this may also explain why the Allisons never suffer, as junior officers, the frustrations of so many of their peers who feel downgraded and left out of "the action." The Allisons are too busy doing, observing, analyzing and learning, to feel left out.

And so in this volume we have fascinating accounts of the series of chance encounters in Japan and China which led Allison to the Foreign Service and preparation for the Service examinations (which in those days required some professional familiarity with such subjects as international law and diplomatic practice); early tours of duty in Japan and China, where he received his baptism in war and crisis diplomacy as the Japanese military machine bombed and flamed its way forward on the

Asian mainland, and in the State Department's chronic inability—or unwillingness—to keep American consular and diplomatic officers promptly and fully informed; internment in Japan, its severity tempered by the judicious expenditure prior thereto of representation funds on police; our London embassy during the war; Allison's and his wife's counter-thrusts against McCarthyism (of which less informed critics of our diplomatic establishment may well take note); his service in the Department having to do with Far Eastern affairs, including the Korean War, drafting and negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty and development of our Pacific security pacts (which many Americans, among them a distinguished retired colleague whose recent book betrayed an ignorance of this, will discover, were not a psychosomatic response to a containment obsession or a projection of John Foster Dulles's legal logic); and the trials of an American ambassador to Japan and Indonesia who, although an expert on Asia, had to contend with an incredibly arrogant State Department summit in league with a CIA chief who knew nothing of Asia and a career colleague notorious for his back-stabbing proclivity.

A lot of things happen quietly in a diplomatic establishment which makes it difficult for outsiders or briefly acquainted short-term residents to judge it and its officers accurately. To such people one warmly commends this book. And to the current Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, which seems busily preoccupied with tired old issues of organization *per se*. It would be reminded that organization is not as important as the people in it and hence the question of people holds the key to many problems of organization itself. Memoirs like this are what AFSA activists should be reading, too, and ruminating over as they search for basic problems for, however pressing bread-and-butter questions and personnel grievances may appear, these are but symptoms of causes which AFSA's doctoring to date has failed to reach and are frustrating the achievement of the highest quality of professional diplomatic performance.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Making A Touch

■ In the June issue of the Department of State NEWSLETTER the Director General speaks directly to the heart of the Efficiency Report problem (perhaps unwittingly) when he summarized his three columns of comment with the following statement:

"If you report frankly, with perception, care, intellectual sweat and a touch of eloquence, you can earn your subordinate an honest promotion."

This is so true, but in essence what the Director General has said is that a rated officer not only needs to put in a good year's work, but he needs also have a supervisor that is a Superman with a pen. The rated officer need not only work hard and be superior in every way, he also needs a boss who can provide that "touch of eloquence" that is required if the panels are to take notice of the report.

Eloquence is far too often a factor in the rating process. We need only look to the findings of the social scientists and the work of the semanticists to learn that we tread on dangerous ground when we depend so much on the nuances of the English language to sift and sort in rank order the performances of all of the officers in a given class. The lessons of these specialists should tell us that the last element we want in the rating process is that "touch of eloquence." What we really need to do is to limit the vocabulary of the rating officer to straightforward, easily understood English whose meaning will neither be added to or detracted from in the evaluation process.

I will not go on in this forum to articulate in detail what I think is needed to have a more objective Efficiency Report system, but it does seem obvious to me that the more narrative reporting we crank into the system, the less objective and accurate will be the result. Narrative reporting would be better used to explain the exceptionally high or exceptionally low rating, but not to rate every officer in a class.

The real question is whether the officer is doing the job he's being paid to do. From that point it becomes a matter of degree as to how

much better or worse than the average the officer is doing his assigned task. A numerical system of rating may seem oversimplified, but it would cut out a lot of the unnecessary and often unobjective verbiage that panels are forced to wade through each year. The fact that each year brings forth a new batch of almost unbelievable quotes from efficiency reports should be an indication that a narrative system has severe limitations.

The aim should be to minimize the amount of material a panel has to consider, however recent trends have been in the opposite direction. Let's face it, it is humanly impossible for a panel to objectively rank order 200 or 300 files, especially when they must depend on that "touch of eloquence" to do the job.

AFSA should lead the way in seeking out new and imaginative ways of rating officers. Let's stop putting new patches on the same tired old system that has proven unequal to the task time and time again. I believe some very imaginative programs would be submitted by FS officers if they were asked to do so.

ROBERT A. POWERS
Guadalajara

Kudos to FSJ . . .

■ "The Question of Commitment" by Louis Halle (FSJ 6/74) is just the kind of thing I have always longed to see in the JOURNAL. Halle is always worth reading, and this was certainly no exception. Congratulations on whoever decided to include it.

DALLAS JONES
Bethesda

. . . and to Cecil Lyon

■ I have just read "The Lyon's Share" by Cecil B. Lyon, published by Vantage Press. I have found this book, written by a distinguished Foreign Service officer and Ambassador, extremely interesting and informative. The thought occurred to me that it might well be suggested reading for young diplomats going into the field. Ambassador Lyon gives a vivid and clear picture of many important events and crises in our nation's diplomatic history. He has managed at the same time to give his book a light touch and there are

many charming vignettes and stories of behind-the-scene happenings.

It is a well-written description of the life of a Foreign Service officer from the bottom of the diplomatic ladder to the Ambassadorial rung. I believe "The Lyon's Share" would be of much interest and value to all young officers just starting out, and it will certainly give pleasure to many in all ranks of the Service.

MRS. BURGEVIN EGAN
New York

Negotiating One's Way to the F.O.

■ I was appalled to read, in the July JOURNAL, that the Association's President had sent a letter to Senator Fulbright protesting the Administration's nomination of Stanton D. Anderson as Ambassador to Costa Rica on the grounds of alleged lack of experience. Since the letter indicated that it represented the views of AFSA members, let me assure you that it does not represent mine. Bluntly, I don't think it is AFSA's business to set itself up as a judge of individual Ambassadorial nominations.

I don't know Mr. Anderson at all. He may be the best or the worst personnel choice for the Foreign Service since Benjamin Franklin. My guess is that his qualifications, like those of the rest of us, lie somewhere in between.

But this isn't the point. The question is: by what right does the Association set itself up as the judge of potential Ambassadors? Your letter to Senator Fulbright says that it "represents the views of the American Foreign Service Association." Where in the Association's rulebook does it say that it has the collective right to represent the membership on this question? And what kind of consensus was taken to indicate that anybody outside of the AFSA office thinks that Mr. Anderson is or is not qualified? No one bothered to contact me on the issue. My response would have been to suggest that the initiators of the survey were unqualified to represent me.

Is this the beginning of a process whereby AFSA tries to judge every Presidential nominee as Ambassadors, as State or other foreign-agency officials or as Foreign Service officers? Who de-

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cided that the fact that Mr. Anderson's Spanish is not fluent should be a major factor in rejecting him? I have worked for ten Ambassadors over the years, only one of whom could handle the local language. The others were also good men but they couldn't negotiate their way to the Foreign Office in the local lingo if they had to.

I would suggest that the Association's rump Committee on Ambassadorial Qualifications dissolve itself, and that AFSA stick to the only professional aspect of this subject that is relevant to the interests of its membership. This, of course, is to promote support for increasing the number of career officers in Ambassadorial positions. This is a legitimate and necessary point for the Association to make, one that truly represents its members' views as well as the national interest.

WILSON P. DIZARD

Washington

The Animal Farm

■ Alas, one of the last vestiges of the second class citizenship ascribed to AID employees by the Department of State has at last surfaced. This is the total absence of an AID Notary Public in the New State Building. I was pointedly told that I should go to an AID notary to have my document notarized. The nearest one happens to be located across the Potomac River in Virginia, a distance which means that least an hour must be spent to have a five minute notarization performed. But I was told that "you AID people have NO right to utilize the notary services of State Department employees."

These ugly vestiges have been removed overseas. Isn't it about time that the same thing occurred in Washington, D.C.?

ROY A. HARRELL, JR.

Washington

Subject: UNIPAY

■ Congressional unwillingness to raise the ceiling of executive salaries, coupled with willingness to authorize cost-of-living increases within this ceiling, has not only, in a relative sense, reduced the real income of certain Foreign Service officers by as much as 35 percent (perhaps more), but has resulted in a situation in which an in-

creasing number of FSOs receive identical pay regardless of grade or responsibilities shouldered. Indeed, assuming further inflation (rapid or gradual), it would be only a question of time before a complete "UNIPAY" would inevitably obtain.

Would it not be possible to seek temporary (and hopefully early) relief within the context of what Congress appears willing and not willing to do? I have in mind a joint resolution which, while leaving the executive salary structure as it presently stands, would apply duly authorized cost-of-living increases to all currently employed government personnel on an individual basis, "structural ceilings notwithstanding."

ROBERT O. WARING

Beirut

Time in Flight

■ It is perhaps not inappropriate, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the passage of the Rogers Act, to observe that from a personnel standpoint, the Foreign Service has arrived back at the pre-Rogers Act period—a separate "Diplomatic Service" (Political Cone); a separate "Consular Ser-

vice" (Consular Cone); a separate "Staff Corps" (Administrative Cone); and a separate "Commercial Attache Service" (Economic Cone).

This would be laughable if it were not so sad.

PAUL W. MEYER

FSO-Retired

Tolland, Conn.

Community Action

Jakarta, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Tehran are among posts improving the quality of life for their resident American communities. To assist the foreign affairs community in this process a special one-week workshop, "Community Action" will be presented at the Foreign Service Institute from September 30-October 4, 1974, under the combined auspices of the Office of Medical Services and the Workshop for Foreign Service Families. The course is open to employees and dependents over the age of 14. Those interested in participating should contact Mrs. Sally Moore, DG/MED, Room 2909 NS, telephone 632-7350 for further information and registration.

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Rick Williamson

THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

Washington this month has been something less than normal as the drama of history being made has coupled with the strike of National Football League players to mesmerize and depress nearly everyone. Some doubted seriously the capacity of this nation to survive major crises in two of its most important institutions, the Federal Government and Professional Football. But the crisis of government is now over and we all have the feeling of a fresh and clean new beginning, and the football strike has been put, at least temporarily, into a "cooling-off" period. The nation is saved, its most cherished institutions remain intact. Given the national sickness over professional football, I mean that only half in jest; as to the ending of our constitutional crisis, there can be no jesting. Irrespective of political preferences and personal beliefs, it appears that virtually the entire country breathed a sigh of relief and determined to assist President Ford in getting the nation back on track. In that regard, we know from his speech to the Association on the 50th Anniversary of the Foreign Service, that President Ford knows he has the full backing of the entire Foreign Service.

There is some good news and some bad news this month concerning AID Foreign Service promotions.

First the Good News: AID Evaluation Panels now meeting are operating, for the first time under policies and precepts negotiated between the Agency and AFSA, acting as the exclusive representative of AID Foreign Service personnel. Thus, for the first time in the Agency's history, the Foreign Service employees in AID have had a real and substantial input into the rules which govern their promotions. These negotiations resulted in a number of basic changes

designed to improve AID's personnel policies and procedures, provide more due-process protections, and eliminate abuses which had occurred in the past. In short AID has never had a better promotion system for its Foreign Service employees.

Now the Bad News: There won't be any promotions this year.

As Steve explains in his column, AID has frozen promotions above FSR-5 and FSS-7. This action, and a number of equally ill-considered steps such as the RIF, have brought relations between AFSA and AID to an all time low. As you may know, AID has consistently had one of the worst reputations in government for its employee-relations and is apparently doing everything in its power to assert vigorously its claim to the title as "Worst Government Employer."

In any case, dealing with AID has been our major preoccupation this month. Clearly, something must be done about the Agency

quickly, not only for the sake of AID employees, but for the good of the entire Service. If AID is allowed to get away with its current shenanigans, dangerous precedents will be established which could undermine the rights of all Foreign Service employees.

In State, we continued our discussions on the precepts for this year's selection boards, and made real progress on the general precepts, and on the precepts for the Threshold panels. The results of our poll on the intermediate board precepts and an outline of the AFSA proposal to management are reproduced elsewhere in the JOURNAL. Another major topic which has taken up our time this month is selection-out in State and USIA, which is also discussed elsewhere.

In one respect, this was an excellent month for the Association. We received the news that the Senate passed an amended version of the Foreign Service Retirement Bill,



President (then Vice President) Gerald R. Ford is introduced to Rick Williamson, Executive Director, AFSA, by Thomas D. Boyatt, AFSA President, at the July 1 Association luncheon where President Ford spoke on the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Service.

which will bring about significant benefits both for those still on active duty and those who have already retired. We have some hopes that the House will also move on this bill, which we discuss elsewhere. Equally encouraging, there is some indication that, as a fall-out of the testimony that we and other organizations made on the problems caused by the present ceiling on senior level pay, the chances of some relief by this Congress have been substantially improved. There is no prospect, however, of action before the election. Finally, we received a response from the Secretary to our letter, quoted in last month's edition, in which we expressed our concern over the release of the Khartoum terrorists. The Secretary's letter, quoted in this edition, indicated that he shared our concerns, and suggested the establishment of a joint State-AFSA working group to look into the issues.

This month in USIA, we succeeded after an excessive delay on the part of the Agency to get Agency agreement to drop their "cover" on Congressional mail. The Agency had been using a system whereby Congressional mail addressed to an individual was routinely opened unless it was marked personal. While we agreed with the Agency that some system was needed to assure that official business correspondence from the Congress was handled in proper channels, we pointed out that the system currently in use was a flagrant violation of the rights of employees, and a violation of the rights of Congressmen as well. The Agency has now agreed, through an exchange of correspondence with Stan Zuckerman of the AFSA Board, to drop their existing practice, and instead to adopt essentially the same system as is used in State whereby employees are reminded, through a stamp on the letter, of their obligation to place the correspondence in official channels unless the letter is personal. The privacy of the correspondence will thus no longer be violated. Given the present atmosphere in Washington, we are particularly delighted to have been able to agree amicably to this elimination of an unwarranted intrusion by the Agency into the privacy of its employees.

Steve Wallace

Mutiny in Aid's Bounty

What was viewed in last month's column as a period of irony and hope has unfortunately transformed rapidly into a state of war between AFSA and AID management. With the callousness of Captain Bligh but with more pain than is wielded by a cat-o'-nine-tails, AID management has embarked on a series of drastic actions aimed at improving its image with various Congressional critics, but at the expense of its Foreign Service personnel. Suddenly we have become innocent scapegoats of AID's past poor personnel management. First came the blow of the general promotion freeze without prior consultation with AFSA and with no more than a superficial explanation of the freeze to employees. This freeze occurred at a time of transfer to a new evaluation system in which employees have had to wait 15 months for completion of the evaluation cycle. This meat-axe approach to problems, adversely affecting almost all employees in all job categories is totally inexcusable, since overranking in all grades and in all fields does not exist. (Details on AFSA's response to this problem were covered in AFSA "Red Top" 74/13.)

Next came the shock of the first RIF notice against 66 AID Foreign Service personnel in Public Safety, many of whom have been arbitrarily assigned questionable occupational category codes for the mere convenience of "RIFability." This occurred, again without consulting AFSA, after the Association had already filed an unfair labor practice against AID's RIF policy; when AID was already under its OMB-imposed personnel target for June of 1975; and despite the fact that Public Safety personnel have had an attrition rate of 11.5 employees per month since November 1973. In other words even without much help from AID's outplacement and retraining programs, the Public Safety personnel problem would have self-corrected within six months anyway.

Concurrently, AFSA has filed unfair labor practices against AID for failure to consult on the specific RIF Guidelines and for failure to consult on the promotion freeze. AFSA has also filed formal appeals

on the conversion and termination of time-limited employees and on AID's continued practice of effecting administrative promotions.

Nevertheless, all of the above actions are not enough at this time. The rights of AID Foreign Service employees and our rights as their exclusive representative continue to be ignored by AID management as if we were mere pawns in a portended "new order." Well, the Executive Branch is still legally accountable, and this applies equally to AID management executives!

The AFSA/AID relationship can change if and when AID management wants to treat its personnel justly and humanely. In the meantime, other measures are necessary. AFSA has hired lawyers and has begun steps to take legal action against AID on the RIF matter; AFSA has gone to the press in its criticism of AID personnel practices; and AFSA is going to Congress with its complaints. AID employees are also urged by the Association to write their Congressmen and Senators on the issues of the promotion freeze and RIF. Since AID management is tuned solely to Congress, the injustices wrought on AID employees must be heard through Congress as well. For the Association does not believe that Congress' desire for Agency reform implies a desire on the part of the Congress for unnecessarily harsh treatment and the abridgment of individual employee rights. Our strategy is as unorthodox and normally taboo as that strategy currently being applied against us, but until AID management starts sympathizing with employee concerns and bargaining in good faith with AFSA, the Association—in concert with its constituency—must use every available avenue to be heard and felt to expose the injustices of AID management.

The end does not justify the means even in AID, and though management's extreme measures against its Foreign Service employees are more cretinous than criminal, they clearly demonstrate a need to open the gate for a watershed in employee treatment and in AFSA/management relations.

NEEDED—reactions to the Treasurer's Report in last month's JOURNAL. Please read and react.

Letter from the Secretary

Dear Mr. Harris:

No reasonable person could fail to share the sentiments you express in your letter of July 12, 1974. And no reasonable person could fail to admire the courage of the men and women of the Foreign Service who accept so many risks to serve their country abroad.

Like you and your colleagues I was dismayed by the decision of the Sudanese Government to release the eight convicted murderers of Ambassador Cleo Noel and Curtis Moore. And like you, my concern for the safety and protection of our representatives abroad has been heightened by the death of Vice Consul John Patterson.

Clearly, the leadership of the Department and I have a duty to ensure that the dangers to the lives and safety of Americans overseas are reduced to an absolute minimum.

Thus, there should be no doubt that we are committed to doing all that is necessary and reasonable to protect the lives and safety of our personnel—and of all Americans abroad. Our obligations and our sense of responsibility allow us to do no less.

As you are aware we have approached the task of deterring and punishing terrorism at several levels:

- We have sought to mobilize an international consensus against these outrages so that governments and the international community will deal effectively with terrorism.
- We have vigorously sought to encourage governments to arrest, try or extradite those who perpetrate terrorist acts. In keeping with this policy, the Sudanese and other governments have been left with no doubt of our grave concern and disappointment over the release of the eight murderers. We are, as well, cooperating with the Mexican authorities to bring to justice those responsible for the death of John Patterson.
- We maintain a policy of paying neither monetary nor political ransom to terrorists. Obviously this policy did not prevent the deaths of Cleo Noel, Curtis Moore and John

Patterson. But I believe it is clear that it has substantially reduced the risk to our personnel. The no ransom principle has only been sustained through the courageous support it has received from the members of the Foreign Service.

There can be no room for complacency about our policy. We must always ask whether we are doing enough or whether we are doing the right things to translate our sense of anger and outrage into effective action.

Those leading the Department and the Foreign Service share a common interest in assuring that our answers to these questions are the correct ones. AFSA should be a participant in these deliberations. Thus, I have asked Ambassador Hoffacker to contact you directly to explore the establishment of a joint Department-AFSA working group to review our policies and actions and make such recommendations as it deems advisable.

Best regards,
HENRY A. KISSINGER

AFSA Working Group Formed

AFSA has established a Working Group on Extraordinary Dangers to examine and make recommendations on the impact of terrorism and other extraordinary dangers to American Foreign Service personnel.

Pursuant to the Secretary's letter to AFSA, this group will constitute the AFSA section of the joint Department-AFSA Working Group to review US governmental policies and make recommendations. Ambassador Lewis Hoffacker, Special Assistant to the Secretary for Combating Terrorism, has promised his cooperation in this joint effort.

AFSA members are requested to direct suggestions and views on this topic to Harry C. Blaney, c/o AFSA, Room 3644, New State (telephone 632-1964). The views of the membership are particularly requested in order to assist the new Group with its work and its representation to the Department. Those also interested in working with the Group should be in direct contact with Mr. Blaney.

AFSA Poll on Promotion Precepts

AFSA has polled its overseas chapters and Washington members in State on options for structuring promotion competition under this year's selection board precepts at mid-career. One hundred and ten posts overseas responded, but unfortunately some chapters did not

report their views in "tallyable" form. Those which did not show the same trends as the tabulated results. There were 794 individual responses. The results as of August 12 (with a few late stragglers still coming in) are as follows:

A. The role of functional specialization at mid-career. Respondents were asked to indicate their views on how officers should be competed by function at mid-career.

1) Across-the-board exclusively—13.1%

2) Primarily across-the-board, but with some functional competition—36.7%

3) Primarily functional competition, but with some interfunctional—37.1%

4) Functional competition exclusively—13.1%

B. Organization of the boards by pay plan. Respondents were asked to indicate their views on whether all pay-plans should compete together, or separately.

1) Competition by functional specialty among employees of all pay-plans—27.0%

2) Across-the-board competition among employees of all pay plans—9.3%

3) Separate competitions among employees of each pay plan, i.e. FSOs compete against FSOs, FSSOs against FSSOs, etc.—23.9%

4) Generalists in one category, specialists in another (this option would essentially place FSOs in one group, and all other pay plans in another, with some exceptions)—39.8%

The poll results clearly indicate several key facts concerning the Service's views, which we have already taken into account in this year's negotiations on the State selection board precepts:

—A substantial majority favors some form of splitting competition by pay plan, with the largest group favoring a system which would place FSOs in one category and all other pay plans in another. Incidentally, this basic view was held by a majority of FSOs and a preponderant majority of FSSOs, FSRs and FSRUs.

—The two extreme positions on the role of functional competition at mid-career (all functional and all across-the-board) have lost ground since our last poll, and almost three

quarters of the Service now favors some mix of functional and across-the-board considerations for promotion.

—The number favoring solely across-the-board competition was identical to the number favoring solely functional competition. The number favoring primarily across-the-board competition was virtually identical to the number favoring primarily functional competition. In fact, they were exactly four votes apart.

—If the scores on the poll concerning functional competition at mid-career are weighted on a scale so as to answer the question "How much weight should functional considerations be given?" the result would indicate an almost exactly even emphasis, in the views of the service, on considerations of across-the-board, interfunctional and functional competition. The weighted index would be 50.13% functional.

In light of these views, we have put forward to management a counter-draft on the special directives for the intermediate boards which contains the following basic elements:

1) FSOs will be considered separately from FSSOs, FSRs and FSRUs.

2) FSSOs, FSRs and FSRUs will be considered together by specialty, with a very limited form of interfunctional competition within this group for those who are serving outside their specialty or whose work embraces more than one specialty.

3) All FSOs will be competed at mid-career on a class-wide basis and also in one of the four major functional groups. Equal emphasis will be given to the two in making promotions. In order to assure that the Department has enough officers with a concentration in various functions, "need" will be taken into account in allocating functional promotions.

We have just passed this proposal to management, and will keep you informed as the negotiations evolve.

Selection-Out

In the same poll of chapters and Washington members, we asked for views on selection-out. About half of those who expressed views on the precepts also expressed views on selection-out.

Fourteen respondents (4.3%) expressed the view that there should not be any selection out except for cause, or that it should be limited to the two thresholds, or should be limited to time-in-class, or should be used only in lieu of a RIF. Of the remainder, 78.8% favored the AFSA position that there should be no automatic linkage between rigid percentages for low ranking, and that selection-out decisions should be on the basis of the failure of the officer to meet the absolute standard of the class. Only 16.6% favored the management position, which calls for the use of low-ranking percentages while 4.6% volunteered the view that percentages should be used for identification purposes, but that the selection-out decision should be on an absolute basis.

The other basic issue facing us on selection-out concerns the role of the "Special Review Panel," which is charged with reviewing all selection-out cases. State management favors only a limited review by the Special Review Panel, confined to a review of the procedures employed in arriving at selection-out decisions. Of those responding 9.1% favored the management position and 90.9% favored the AFSA position, which would require the Special Review Panel to make its judgments upon a full review of each case referred to it.

Based on these strongly held views by the membership, we have informed the Department that the management proposal on selection-out is totally unacceptable, but that we are prepared to work together to find a solution which will provide fairness and full due-process protection. Such a system, however, cannot have any automatic linkage between low-ranking percentages and selection-out and must provide for a full, judgmental review of any selection-out decision with all due process rights protected.

Foreign Service Retirement Bill Passes Senate

On July 17, the Senate, on a voice vote and without opposition, passed an amended version of the Department-proposed Foreign Service Retirement Bill. As we have reported in previous editions of the JOURNAL, AFSA strongly supported this bill in testimony last

November, but we urged a number of changes designed either to overturn certain retrogressive features of the bill, or to propose additional changes which we felt were needed for the Foreign Service. Since then, we have continued to work very closely with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff to obtain the best possible bill, and to get the SFRC to move the bill forward. In this, we received help from other organizations, particularly DACOR. Much of the credit for getting the bill through the Senate rests with Senator Pell who chaired the hearings, and sponsored the bill on the floor.

The bill as passed by the Senate contains a number of major improvements in the Foreign Service retirement system including:

1) An increase in survivors' annuities from 50% to 55% and a reduction in the cost of providing survivors' annuities. It also eliminates elements of sex discrimination in granting survivors' annuities.

2) Immediate coverage of Foreign Service Staff Corps personnel under the Foreign Service retirement system. This provision now corresponds to that which we have already obtained for Staff Corps personnel in AID. Under present law, Staff Corps personnel in State and USIA must wait ten years before they are covered under Foreign Service retirement. This is one of the features of the bill we were particularly glad to see passed in the Senate version.

3) Substantial increases for certain widows who, under present legislation, were nearly destitute.

4) Conformity with the Civil Service retirement system with respect to eligibility for cost-of-living increases upon retirement subsequent to a cost-of-living increase going into effect.

5) Mandatory retirement for Career Ministers at age 60 except when serving in Presidentially-appointed positions.

6) An ingenious new provision thought up by the Senators themselves which will have the effect of making future benefit changes in the Civil Service Retirement System carried over on a semi-automatic basis for the Foreign Service. At present, Foreign Service personnel must wait two to 15 years to get legislation passed

which extends new Civil Service retirement benefits to the F.S.

We are especially pleased that a number of AFSA-sponsored changes were included in the bill. In particular, we obtained:

1) Elimination from the bill of the Department's proposal to do away with the \$2400 minimum survivor's annuity. This would have worked an extra hardship on the most junior FSOs, FSIOs and FSRs, and on many in the Staff Corps. The Senate agreed with AFSA's argument that this was one area where the Foreign Service and Civil Service retirement systems should differ in light of the increased risks which Foreign Service personnel face.

2) Elimination from the bill of a provision which would have had the effect of wiping out retroactively military, Peace Corps and VISTA service of Foreign Service personnel upon reaching the age where they would qualify for Social Security. This provision, if allowed to stand, would have been an abomination costing literally hundreds of Foreign Service personnel several thousand dollars in retirement benefits.

3) Provision for a refund of excess contributions. In the Civil Service, employees contribute to their retirement fund as long as they are on active duty. However, those with more than the maximum creditable service (40 years) receive a refund with interest upon retirement for all contributions made after the maximum number of years of creditable service had been reached. In the Foreign Service, however, employees receive no such repayment, and thus make contributions for benefits they do not receive. AFSA proposed that the 35 year ceiling be raised to 40 years of creditable service (which the Senate turned down) and also proposed that the Foreign Service also receive repayment for excess contributions, which the Senate accepted. For those many Foreign Service personnel who accumulate more than 35 years of creditable service, this provision will bring about refunds of hundreds or even thousands of dollars upon retirement, depending upon the number of years of service and the rate of pay. Some very senior officers with long years of service may receive in excess of \$15,000 in cash refunds.

4) Elimination of the freeze on total compensation for retired personnel working for the government. Under present law, Foreign Service personnel who retire and then obtain employment in other branches or agencies of the government may not receive total compensation from their new employment plus annuity greater than the amount they received prior to retirement. If the total compensation would be greater, the annuity is reduced by the same amount. The Association agreed that the Foreign Service should not become like the military with its double compensation for former military personnel who obtain government employment. We indicated to the Senate, however, that we disagreed with the effect of present legislation which was to deny any form of increase to affected personnel. All other active duty and retired personnel get periodic pay comparability of cost of living increases. We proposed therefore, that the limit be changed from a dollar amount to an amount equal to that currently being received by employees with the same rank and step as the annuitant held at the time of retirement. The Senate approved this suggestion over the objections of the Administration.

There were a number of other changes proposed by the Association, including 20 year retirement, coverage of Staff Corps personnel under Foreign Service retirement while in the Mustang, FSRU and similar upward mobility conversion programs, etc., which the Senate did not agree to. On balance, however, we believe the AFSA input has greatly strengthened the bill, and that the bill, as it now stands, is a major improvement over present legislation.

The bill is now before the House, where its prospects are uncertain. We believe there is no prospect for action on the bill before the election, but some possibility of passage during the lame-duck session. If not passed then, the bill would have to be reintroduced in the Senate in the new Congress. We urge all AFSA members to write their Congressmen, and ask them to support passage of S-1791. There is no opposition to the bill in Congress, only indifference. A simple letter to your Congressman might help a great deal.

AAFSW News

Dr. Ruth Bacon, Director of the US Center for International Women's Year (1975), will speak to the Association of Foreign Service Women on October 1st at their first meeting of the season. The meeting will be held on the 8th floor of the State Department from 10 to 12 Noon.

All members and those eligible to become members are invited to attend. For information and reservations call the membership chairman, Mrs. Philip Dorman, 484-3497, or the AAFSW desk.

There will be sign up lists and chairmen anxious to have new members join their many special interest groups.

Book Fair '74, October 7-11

The AAFSW year starts and ends with the annual Book Fair. Or so it would seem if one considers The Fair as an on-going activity in which all Association of the American Foreign Service Women are asked to take part by getting into the act.

A grand finale to this year-round performance is scheduled for October 7-11 at the State Department's Exhibition Hall, with a curtain call for both buyer and seller. At this time, roles will merge as the recycling of books, stamps, and art objects becomes a bargain for everyone.

The back-stage crew of committee chairmen and stand-ins will take their places in the wings to assist you in locating specific books, advise you in your choice of art purchase, or rush you through the line at the cashier's counter with your shopping bags full of wonderful books. The prompter will repeat the cue, "Thank you for coming."

Each evening after the curtain goes down and the crowds have gone home, the big spots will focus on back stage and another cast of characters will appear. This property crew, stage assistants, will then restock the shelves with new books from the storage room, setting the stage for Act 1, Scene 1 for the following day. For this heavy act, volunteers are needed: phone 632 3931 or 632 9411.

Preparation for the great five-day event starts with your circling the dates today. Bring your friends and meet the public at the AAFSW Book Fair '74 on October 7-11.

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

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

Foreign Service People

Marriages

Killham-Davis. Amanda Lynn Killham, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Edward L. Killham, was married to Lindsay Wood Davis on July 24 in Evanston, Illinois.

Miller-Holt. Mary Ellen Miller, daughter of FSIO William F. Miller and Ann Murray Miller, was married to Stephen P. Holt on June 8, in Bogota.

Morgan-Hirshorn. Willene D. Morgan was married to FSO M. Bruce Hirshorn on June 17 in Chevy Chase.

Deaths

Brown. Ben Hill Brown, III, son of Ambassador-retired Ben Hill Brown, Jr., and Mrs. Burt H. Behrens, died on July 2 in Berkeley, California. He accompanied his parents on assignments to Iraq, Libya, Turkey and Liberia. He is survived by his father of 539 South Fairfax, Alexandria, Virginia and his mother, P.O. Box 7, Kiganjo, Kenya.

Climer. Robert E. Climer, AID, died on June 15 in Reston, Virginia. Mr. Climer served with AID in Ethiopia, Somalia, Thailand and Kenya from 1960 to 1973, before being detailed to the Civil Service Commission. He is survived by his wife, 1430 Greenmont Court, Reston, Virginia, two sons and a daughter. A trust fund for the Climer children has been established and contributions may be sent to the Climer Childrens Fund, c/o Account 4-223-10-1, National Bank of Washington, 833 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Colligan. Francis James Colligan, FSR-retired, died on June 16 in Washington. Mr. Colligan joined the Foreign Service in 1942 and served as cultural relations assistant at Quito until 1944. He then held a number of posts in the fields of education and cultural affairs before retiring in 1971. Mr. Colligan received the Department's superior honor awards in 1966 and 1971 and a Rockefeller Public Service Award in 1955. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, and a son, Francis S., of 5200 Oakland Road, Chevy Chase.

Grady. Norman H. Grady, FSO-retired, died on June 5 in Washington. Mr. Grady joined the Department in 1951 and served at New Delhi, Tunis and Lisbon before his retirement in 1971. He is survived by his wife of 7207 Beacon Terrace, Bethesda, a son and two grandchildren. Contributions in his memory may be made to the American Cancer Society, Montgomery County, Md.

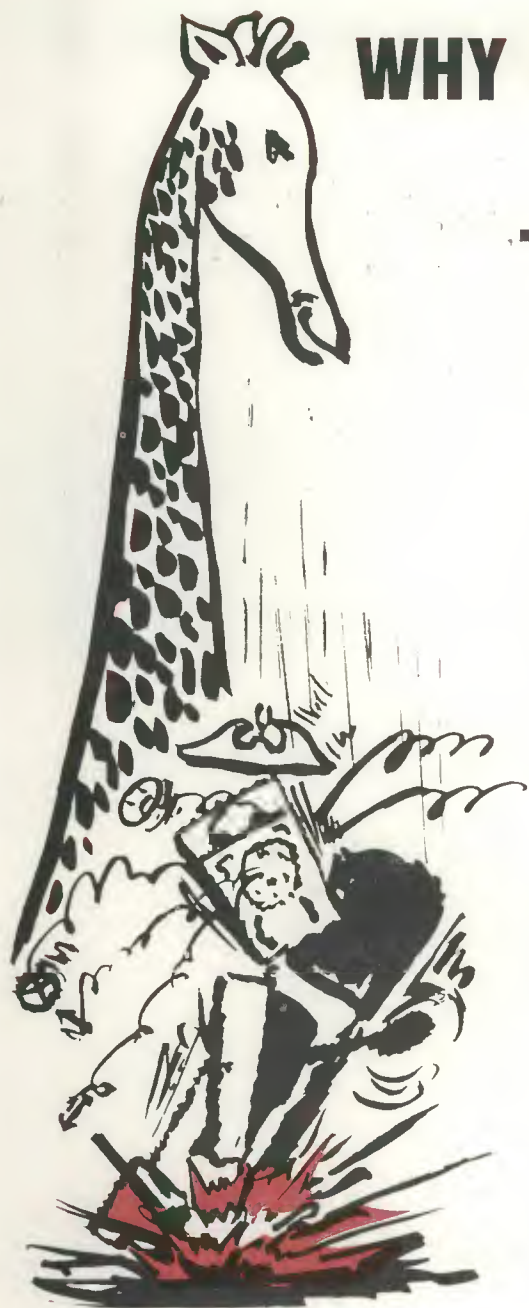
Hopkins. Ruth Hazen Hopkins, wife of FSO-retired Frank Snowden Hopkins, died on July 28 in Washington. Mrs. Hopkins is survived by her husband of 5108 Lawton Dr., Sumner, Maryland, three children, two brothers, two sisters and four grandsons. Memorial contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Sega. Anthony E. Sega, deputy principal officer at Palermo, died on June 26 in Washington. Mr. Sega joined the Foreign Service in 1952 and served at Athens, Frankfurt, Rome, Salzburg, Vienna and Manila before his assignment to Palermo. He is survived by his wife, 3309 Chestnut St., N.W., Washington, three children, Mrs. Carolyn Lowengart, Laura Sega and Christopher Sega, his mother, two brothers and a sister. Contributions in his memory may be made to the American Cancer Society or St. Bartholomew's Sanctuary Fund.

Strauss. Gerald M. Strauss, FSRO-retired, died on March 22, in Eze (Nice), France. Mr. Strauss had served with ECA, MSA, FOA, AID and with the Department before his retirement in 1969. He served at Phnom Penh, Port-au-Prince, Rabat and Tel Aviv. Mr. Strauss is survived by his daughter, Marilyn J. Holmes, wife of FSO H. Allen Holmes, American Embassy, Paris, and two grandchildren.

Winstead. Louise Folk Winstead, wife of FSS-retired George B. Winstead, died on June 4 in Houston, Texas. Mrs. Winstead accompanied her husband to posts at Mexico City, Managua, Asuncion and Port of Spain until his retirement in 1970. She is survived by her husband, 7979 Westheimer, Apt. 1412, Houston, Texas and by two daughters.

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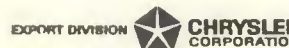
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