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FEBRUARY 1975

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# FSJ

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 1975: Volume 52, No. 2

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1-2,000	48	76	89	101	128	157	27	
2-3,000	49	77	90	102	130	159	33	
3-4,000	50	78	91	103	132	161	47	
4-5,000	51	79	92	104	134	163	66	
5-6,000	52	80	94	106	136	165	81	
6-7,000	53	81	96	108	138	168	95	
7-8,000	54	82	97	109	140	171	110	
8-9,000	55	83	99	111	142	174	125	
9-10,000	56	84	101	113	144	177	140	
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(YES OR NO)

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

## Renewing Our Acquaintance

At the Association's luncheon on the 50th anniversary of the unified Foreign Service, President Ford made a strong plea for the Foreign Service to become far more active in dealing with the American public and in explaining American foreign policy. On that occasion, President Ford stated:

Just as the foreign diplomats who tour the United States find inspiration and give inspiration, our Foreign Service could offer—and perhaps receive—a great boost in morale by renewing personal contact with our domestic scene as part-time ambassadors to our own people . . .

When I served in the Congress, I often heard that our Foreign Service officers spend so many years overseas that they tend to get out of touch with the home country and with their hometowns in Kansas, or Texas, or Michigan. I am suspicious of all such generalizations. But I also believe it is essential for the men and women who represent us abroad to constantly renew their acquaintance with the constantly changing moods and ideas of "hometown, USA."

The President's comments remind us that this knowledge of our own country has always been a vital quality required of Foreign Service personnel. In his book, "Turbulent Era, Volume II," Ambassador Joseph C. Grew made this point quite well when he stated:

Let us re-examine the old question "How shall we represent America abroad? How can we best serve the interests—the highest interests of our people?" That is a complicated question to which I think there is a simple answer. It has been a tradition and an age-old principle of the Foreign Service of our Government that we can represent America best by representing it truthfully. But I think it is not always fully realized that in order to do that we must *know* America: not just the state or region in which we have lived: not just the segment of society in which we have been raised, but the broad sweep of the land and the complex of human beings who live and work in it.

From now on I wish it were possible for anyone who undertakes to represent America abroad, in any capacity whatsoever, to have traveled the length and breadth of this nation, to have understood the meaning of the melting pot in American life, the power that is uniquely American of welding people of many national origins together in the service of an idea; to have appreciated the contribution of many European cultures to our own national culture; to have experienced our sense of unity, and our capacity for infinite variety within that unity. In other words, I want everyone who represents America to have the *feel* of America in his bones, as well as the love of America in his heart. Remember, you who today cross the threshold of this school and pass into the outer world, that America will be judged by what you say, what you write, what you do and what you are. Your responsibility is very great.

All this, our representatives in foreign lands should have. All this is, of course, in addition to a sound knowledge of our domestic history and foreign relations, as well as a high competence in the field of work that sends them abroad.

Perhaps this is too much to ask of the people who represent

America, but I believe we should ask it. The dangers that lie ahead, the problems that confront us in our dealings with the rest of the world demand it. The new position and the new role of the United States in the community of nations make it essential.

Over the years, a number of steps have been taken to help assure a greater degree of contact between the Foreign Service and the country we represent. One such device is home leave. Unfortunately, the utility of home leave has been reduced somewhat by the cavalier attitude taken by the Agencies and by some posts towards permitting personnel to take extended home leave, and as a result many in the Foreign Service have built up huge home leave balances. The situation has not been improved by the attitude of the IRS, which refuses to consider home leave expenses tax deductible (a matter which the AFSA Legal Defense Fund is fighting in the courts). In addition to home leave, there have been a number of other helpful steps taken, such as the activities of the Bureau of Public Affairs, the Secretary's Open Forum Panel, the expansion of details to other agencies, and the revised "Pearson" amendment, which will make it possible to assign up to fifty midcareer officers each year to positions in state and local governments and educational institutions.

The Association has long been mindful of this obligation to maximize contact and interchange between the Foreign Service and the rest of the nation, and to that end (among other things) we jointly sponsor, together with the Carnegie Endowment, the "Face-to-Face" program. That program, under the able direction of first David Biltchik and now "Mac" DeFord, has sponsored literally hundreds of luncheons, conferences, meetings and seminars which bring together, face-to-face, concerned professionals in the Foreign Service with interested individuals in the Congress, the media, academia, etc., for an open dialogue on a wide range of topics. We are particularly proud of this program, which is one of the Association's major professional activities, and which serves a vital role. In order to further improve its efforts, Face-to-Face has suggested that AFSA establish a steering group for the program, and to solicit the views of our members on how the program might be improved and expanded. Suggestions should be sent directly to Mac DeFord, c/o AFSA. At the same time, we would appreciate any suggestions of further efforts the Association could undertake (in addition to Face-to-Face), either on our own, or through efforts with the Congress or the Agencies to further greater two-way contact between the Service and the American public. It is, after all, one of our most important responsibilities as a Service.

# Two new Americans for foreign tastes and needs.

The two newcomers are the all-new Granada and Monarch. They've been designed with international tastes and needs in mind. They've got all-new styling, all-new luxury. And they're the right size and economical to operate and service.

The Ford Granada is a totally new car designed for the efficient use of fuel, space and economy. It comes with an economical six-cylinder engine with choice of manual or automatic transmission, and elegant European features like luxury reclining seats with super-soft vinyl trim, radial tires, front disc brakes, full door trim panels, and

more. There's a full range of sport and luxury options, too.

The Mercury Monarch is our other small, economy-minded luxury car that's new for 1975. It has an economical six-cylinder engine ( a V-8 is available if you desire) with a choice of manual or automatic transmission, and some standard features you might not expect. Like fully reclining all-vinyl bucket seats, woodgrain accented instrument panel and steering column, unique opera window design, new full wheel covers, and a lot more that make the Monarch one of the best looking new cars of 1975.

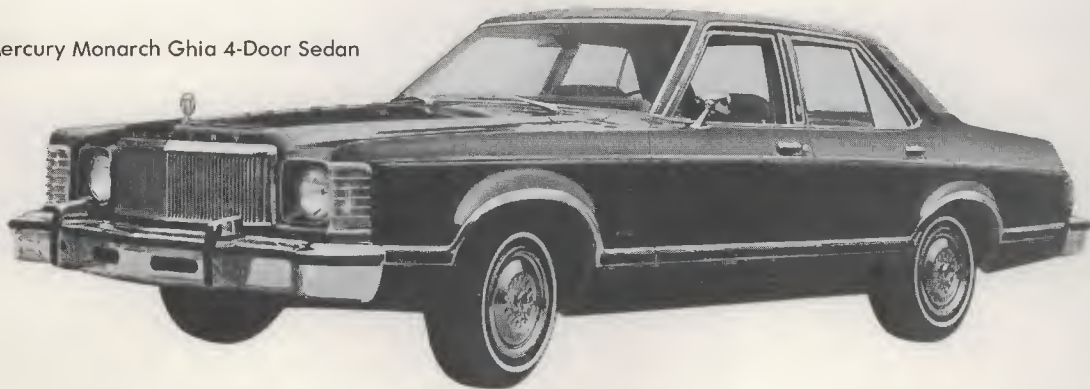
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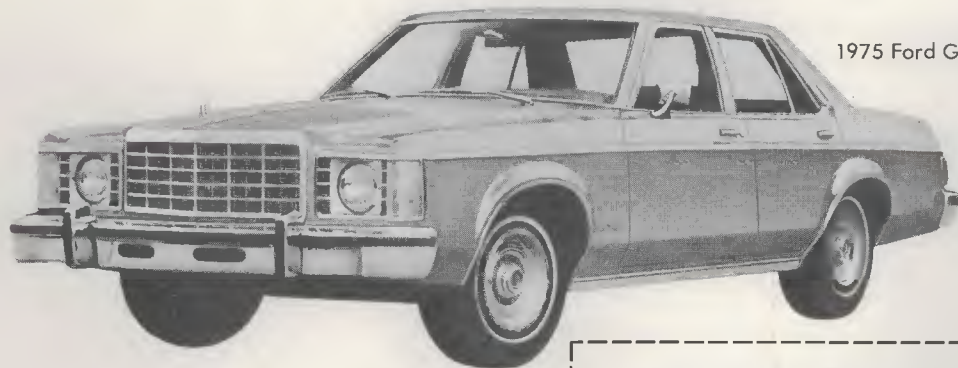
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1975 Ford Granada 4-Door Sedan



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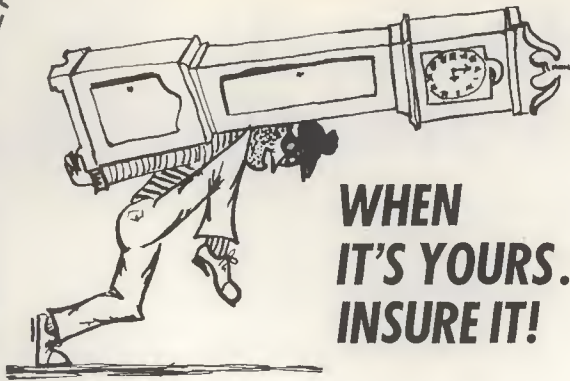
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Oh wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursels as others see us! — To a Louse,  
by Robert Burns

*“Man ought to looke  
a given horse  
in the mouth”*

MARGARET JONES PALMER

AN OPEN LETTER TO  
*The Honorable The Chief of Protocol  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.*

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the recent Department Notice on employee responsibility dated July 11, 1974 directing that all foreign gifts valued at over \$50 made to officials of the United States Government and/or their immediate families be turned over to the Department's repository for disposition. A complete listing of our personally received gifts with a known value exceeding that figure is, of course, on file in your offices. Most of them I have never seen—although there was one memorable twenty-four hour period during which a handsome standing silver tea service and samovar graced our entire living room area in Bethesda. On yet another occasion we admired briefly (but did not touch) a collection of tribal masks and three crates of candied dates. Advance homeward-bound luggage on my husband's official trips was usually kept in its original wrappings of worn brown paper and string and whisked off to the "eighth floor rooms" downtown despite my curiosity and the children's agony. I do confess trying, occasionally, to match certain items with descriptions of those appearing in the auction section of the New York TIMES.

There remain, however, other articles in our possession and memory which give me anxious doubts—not only as to their monetary value, but also as to our wisdom in accepting them. Especially the latter. Another good night's sleep is impossible until I send you my list, to the best of my recollection, of hitherto undeclared items which were, over a period of three decades, presented to members of our family on various formal and not-so-formal occasions.

Back in 1940, a prominent Mexican business man whose name now escapes me, presented me personally, as a single female employee, with a hand woven serape. As it did not appear ever to have been laundered I ac-

*Margaret Palmer is the wife of retired Ambassador Joseph Palmer, II. He served in Mexico, Nairobi, London and Salisbury before going as Ambassador to Nigeria and Libya.*

# Great news for mothers of cavity-prone children!

Most children don't brush properly or often enough. That's why the dental scientists at Lever Brothers invented a new fluoride dentifrice called Aim. If you have children, read on:

Most cavities happen between the ages of five and fifteen.

You're a conscientious parent. You make your children brush with fluoride toothpaste. You don't question fluoride's effectiveness. But they still seem to get more cavities than they should.

Why?

Could be your children have poor brushing habits. Could be they're also eating too many sweets. And they probably don't brush properly or often enough. Surveys show the average child brushes less than 30 seconds at a time. Shocking!

## How new Aim encourages children to brush longer.

Dentists have long stressed that there's *no* better cavity prevention than brushing. Even a fluoride toothpaste can't do its best if a child brushes too briefly or too infrequently.

That's why Lever scientists en-



*Children prefer Aim 2 to 1 over the leading fluoride pastes. Chances are, the better a child likes his toothpaste, the longer he'll brush.*

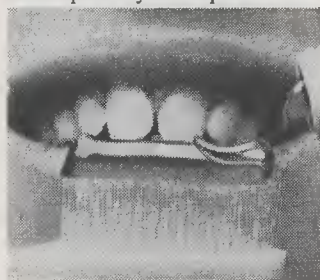
hanced Aim's fluoride formula with flavoring compounds known to be especially appealing to children. The

results were astounding.

In tests with 1,300 children, Aim was preferred 2 to 1 over the leading fluoride toothpastes. Chances are, the better a child likes his toothpaste, the more thoroughly he'll brush.

## Why new Aim is a gel, not a paste.

The speed at which a toothpaste dissolves is called the "Dispersal Rate." Because Aim is a gel, not a paste, it has an exceptionally fast dispersal rate.



*Aim's new clear blue gel formula spreads faster than paste.*

This means when a child brushes with Aim, it spreads its good taste faster than paste in the normal brushing time.

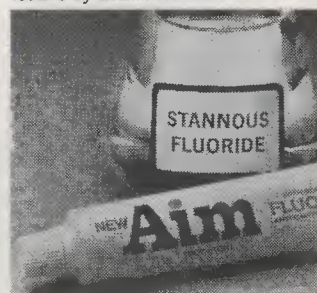
## Unique gel formula is low in abrasion.

In order to clean teeth, all toothpastes must be somewhat abrasive. That's how they keep teeth clean.

But many mothers are concerned about abrasion. So Lever scientists designed new Aim to be among the lowest in abrasion of all leading toothpastes.

## Aim has stannous fluoride, the proven cavity-fighter.

A child in the cavity-prone years needs all the help you can give. Be sure his toothpaste contains an anti-cavity ingredient that's been established as effective by dental research.



*Aim has the precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective against decay.*

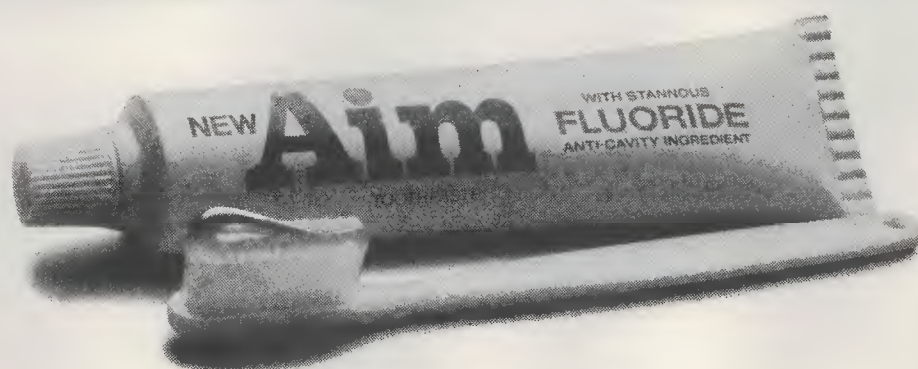
Stannous fluoride has been researched more thoroughly than any other anti-cavity ingredient. Aim has the precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective by dental authorities in reducing tooth decay.

## Ask your dentist about Aim.

Add it up: A flavor to promote better brushing. A gel that disperses faster and is low in abrasion. The precise amount of stannous fluoride established as effective against decay.

Like any dentifrice, Aim can be of significant value only when used conscientiously in a program of good dental care and regular visits to your dentist.

If you have a cavity-prone child, ask your dentist about Aim.



# Take Aim against cavities!

cepted his gift in good faith and it is still in use as a basement floor mat in front of the washing machine. Later that year some small linens and countless sleeping-peasant bookends were given to my fiancée, a junior FSO, and me as wedding presents. I assume these are not in question.

Going out by freighter to our first post in East Africa, the No. 10 hatch was vandalized by dockers in the Port Elizabeth harbor resulting in a salvage decision being made on a crate of nylon hosiery. Most of the foot sizes were 12 and above, but six pairs of size 9 were sorted out and given me by the Chief Engineer whose authority I did not question at the time. These hard-to-find items were, according to local custom, stored in a mayonnaise jar in the cold larder in Nairobi, safe from silver fish, and were a godsend during our four years' wartime duty there.

In Zanzibar, a gregarious clove merchant gave us such a large gunny sack of the aromatic spice that I confess we still have a coffee can full in our kitchen 34 years later—despite many baked hams and toothaches spanning those years.

A Kenya butcher named Mr. Tilley sent me two goat filets (affectionately called "Tilley Mignons" by the local populace) the morning our first son was born. The Nursing Sister on duty and I ate them and decided they eclipsed all floral offerings and stuffed toys. I do still have, however, the copy of the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in which they were wrapped, with weight and value scribbled on the margin of page 1. During that entire period an enterprising Tanzanian papaya grower supplied us regu-

larly with ground papain with which he was conducting experiments on rendering African beef edible. I know I should have paid him, but tenderized meat was too great a temptation and I rationalized a bit by sending him old copies of the NEW YORKER which arrived by sea every year or so.

In Nigeria during one Ramadan we received half a sheep with its hooves and fur still attached. We did share this with the servants, but to be perfectly honest, I think our portion might still be in the freezer at the Residence. You might want to check with the incumbent Ambassador.

Possibly the most expensive gift presented to our children was a full grown donkey which arrived by lorry with the compliments of a local chief named Biney. "Disney" spent some months in the garden tied to sturdy frangipani trees while we all discussed gracious ways to return him to Chief Biney instead of forwarding him to you. It was only after Disney had eaten most of the neighboring Chief Justice's prize cannas that we felt justified in sending him back by lorry—for which we paid, of course.

Then there is my confession of an exchange of gifts between an influential fisherman up Badagry Creek and ourselves. We swapped him a five pound bag of Uncle Ben's Rice for 12 germinating coconuts. I only mention this in passing, as the trees are still growing on United States Government property in Ikoyi, adding immeasurably to its scenic value.

A very rare "cutter grass"—sort of a cross between a porcupine and an armadillo—was delivered one day by special head-load along with a live turkey. Unfortunately

## Did you know that?

- Prior to 1960, when FSO's enjoyed a freedom of choice of contractor, Security and the Federal Storage Company (which merged in 1963) performed 80% of all packing and storage of household effects for State, AID and USIA?
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- While Security does not solicit the export packing of FSO's household effects, many still come for that and, just as important, storage of their left-behind treasures in one of five beautiful depositories? They feel that peace of mind is worth the extra cost.

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neither survived the night and were discovered in a stew pot out back in the compound. I feel we are not liable for that one. A dikdik given one son in one post by a Russian merchant died shortly of bloat when his own daughter overfed it water from a doll feeder so I don't know why I mention that, either.

Then there was a time during the short rains in Rhodesia when a local chicken farmer gave our small daughter a set of Bantams. This prolific pair, along with their offspring, were eventually housed in a splendid coop to the right of the Residence tennis court. I hasten to add that the child's father paid for all the materials and furnished all the labor for this project, thereby adding to the FBO value of government property at his own expense. The Prime Minister of that country, himself, gave me his favorite recipe for a dessert our family now calls "Welensky Pudding." This delectable concoction was quite famous regionally and has never been in print which makes it at least vulnerable to evaluation.

Aside from two valuable Siamese kittens which arrived from a Pakistani Ambassador's wife one Moslem holiday morn, all other animals—horses, dogs, cats, rabbits, guinea pigs, gerbils, monkeys, hamsters, mice and parrots we ever owned were bought and paid for by us. We left the gift Siamese cats with the Danish ambassador when we departed Lagos. I understand he subsequently had them neutered at the request of his neighbors so their value is now diminished.

I am uncertain as to whether you must take into account presentations made from Americans to Americans overseas. When the US Corps of Engineers were

negotiating an alternate ferry route through East Africa they occasionally popped in around Sunday supper time and brought No. 10 cans of snap beans, Coca Cola syrup, bobby pins and Hershey bars from the ATC run. We did of course feed them waffles every Sunday night. All of them.

One final item/items puzzle us as to which category to place it/them in. The gift of a ceramic betel nut server was packed during one transfer right side up on top of the gift of an Italian zabaglione bowl. In unpacking we found the combination pleasing and unusual and have turned it/them into a lamp for our family room. The two objects could be separated in the event it/they properly belong in one of the museums. And we would be *sincerely* happy to donate a dozen or so under-fifty-dollar ceremonial ostrich fans to some worthy GSA cause. The feathers are a bit matted but they are colorful and certainly unique. It's just that as yet we have not been able to find a use for ceremonial ostrich fans. They are, we found, dangerous to use as charcoal grill fanners. And they have a proclivity to nest spiders on basement walls and mildew in foot-lockers.

I want to say in closing that I applaud your renewed efforts to separate the gifts from the givers and the giftees. This is not to say I envy your task of evaluating the hundreds of lists which have, by now, poured into your good offices. It was not easy, either, to accept momentarily a gift of 20 carat matched gold jewelry without batting an eye and to reciprocate with a USIS presentation book on Mines and Minerals in Minnesota. ■



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It is easier for a man to be loyal to his club than to his planet; the by-laws are shorter, and he is personally acquainted with the other members. — One Man's Meat, by E. B. White

# More on Dissent and Loyalty

MARTIN F. HERZ

I YIELD TO no one (well, *almost* no one) in the amount of trouble I've had with superiors either over policy or matters of judgment or because they thought me not "loyal" enough (to them, that is). Later, I've also had my share of problems with subordinates who didn't agree with particular judgments, policies or reports to Washington. Having thus seen from both sides the subject discussed by Bill Lenderking in his article "Dissent, Disloyalty and Foreign Service Finkism," I submit this critique in the hope that it will stimulate others to give us their views also.

The Lenderking article consisted of three parts: (a) examples of what he calls "pressures for conformity," drawn from the Dulles

period and Vietnam; (b) discussion of what he sees as the three alternatives before a Foreign Service officer who disagrees with policy: *resignation, resistance, or acquiescence*; and (c) an implied conclusion that the latter course of action is precarious for the individual (who risks becoming "alienated" and "depersonalized") and perhaps dangerous for the conduct of our foreign relations.

As it happened, the September JOURNAL brought an article by Mrs. Fales about Robert D. Murphy, one of our most successful and distinguished former colleagues, which contained the following poignant passage (*italics supplied*):

There really is nothing new to this experienced diplomat either about the power schisms or the bruised egos which currently debilitate Washington. He has served under strong and weak Presidents, and for strong and weak Secretaries 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 Washington. He has been privy to secret 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 . . .*

This situation doesn't quite fit into the categories of "resignation, resistance, or acquiescence," and I submit that in the real world of the Department of State and the Foreign Service there are in fact several other honorable alternatives. If an officer working on Ruritania, for instance, thinks that our policy toward Ruritania is wrong and dangerous, he can ask to be assigned to another area where he will not have to do anything that does violence to his convictions about Ruritania. The choice, in other words, is not and never has been between heroics and "finkism."

To remain with our hypothetical example, let us assume that the officer remains in a position having to

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*"I waited several months," writes Ambassador Herz, "to see if the article in the May 1974 issue, entitled 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Foreign Service Finkism' would spark a debate in your columns. Since that didn't happen, here is my contribution to getting the debate going."*

do with Ruritania and suddenly a crisis breaks out. Decisions are taken at a high level which he is convinced are wrong and dangerous. It is irrelevant for my argument whether he had an opportunity to make an input. In either case, *staying to minimize the damage* could be another honorable course of action. He may seem a "fink" to colleagues to whom he had rashly and indiscreetly conveyed his innermost thoughts, but by remaining at his job he could render valuable patriotic service. In fairness to Mr. Lenderking, he cites an analogous real-life situation as possibly acceptable, namely George Ball's role as "in-house gadfly" on Vietnam. In Mr. Ball's case I happen to think it would have been better if he had spoken out more clearly and left, but there surely are situations where staying does make a contribution. (I have myself experienced the exhilaration of being suddenly moved from the doghouse to front-and-center because events had made my erstwhile "disloyal" objections more interesting.)

I agree that resignation is usually ineffective, but we have never seen a case of mass resignations. Perhaps a headline some day, like *THIRTY-TWO CAREER AMBASSADORS SUBMIT THEIR RESIGNATIONS AS PRESIDENT APPOINTS CIRCUS CLOWN AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION*" might provoke the kind of movement in the public that could result in reversal of an ill-considered decision; but I believe that a Presidential appointee who publicly challenges the chief executive of our country should be willing to resign: Indeed, those who protested against the 1970 military action in Cambodia would have earned much more respect if they had done so. As it is, they harmed their colleagues by enhancing the then existing paranoid suspicions in the White House that somehow the Foreign Service was unreliable and in devious ways undermining the President's foreign policy.

This raises the question, "Loyalty to Whom?" Mr. Lenderking says, rather ingenuously I think, that "Presidential appointees swear to uphold the Constitution, and are not under oath to support the policies of any given President." Not under oath, perhaps,

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*Perhaps a headline some day, like THIRTY-TWO CAREER AMBASSADORS SUBMIT THEIR RESIGNATIONS AS PRESIDENT APPOINTS CIRCUS CLOWN AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION, might provoke the kind of movement in the public that could result in reversal of an ill-considered decision. . .*

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but it is not unreasonable for a President to expect that the people whom he appoints to positions of trust would not oppose him in public. I once had a superior who constantly spoke of "loyalty" of the members of his team. He seemed fearful that things were going on behind his back that he didn't know about. This made him a less effective executive and encouraged toadyism. My own definition of loyalty is that we owe our superiors, up to and including the President, our best and unvarnished judgments even if they are unwelcome. But just as acquiescing in private and dissenting behind a superior's back is disloyal, so public dissent by an FSO without a willingness to take the consequences is—in my book—less than honorable.

Such problems are, of course, not peculiar to the State Department and the Foreign Service. They must exist in any large organization in which it is impossible to poll all the employees on a particular course of action. Mr. Lenderking seems to deplore that "if disagreement with established courses is frequent . . . those who resist are rare." But what large organization could function effectively if subordinate officials "resisted" every decision they disagreed with? I can imagine that there were people in the Ford Motor Company who thought it a mistake to bring out the Edsel but who nevertheless did their level best to try to make the marketing effort a success—and in my view both their original opposition and their subsequent loyalty in trying to make a bad decision come out right were honorable.

This applies also to Vietnam. In fact, it applies especially to Vietnam. Officers of many different persuasions served there, including many who had doubts about the wisdom of our commitment but nevertheless did their level best to make it come out all right. Within

these parameters, many officers worked hard at the ungrateful task of correcting mistakes and minimizing the damage of a host of insensitive operational decisions. Of course, in any crisis situation things usually move to higher levels very fast, and those higher levels look to the lower levels in the Department and the Service to support and complement and implement, rather than to question decisions that have just been taken. While even within these limitations useful work can still be done, this is more likely to be the case when objections are raised with tact and deference to the vanity of people higher up than if the decision itself is demonstratively opposed with noisy dissent. This, again, is not a problem unique to our Service. It is a fact of life in any fast-moving situation, also for instance in the military or in a hospital.

Actually, this observation seems to hold true more generally and not only in crises or emergencies. From personal experience both as a dissenter and as a recipient of dissent, I can certify that—as Mr. Lenderking indicates—a belligerent form of dissent is almost always unproductive in a "bureaucracy" because it is regarded as essentially arrogant. It may be personally gratifying, giving a sort of liberating feeling to the dissenter because he has "spoken out" against what he believes to be stupidity or nefariousness in high places, but it is usually self-defeating—unless the case is incontrovertible and as clear as "The Emperor's New Clothes." Usually, however, that is not the case.

It was not the case, specifically, in our involvement in Vietnam, contrary to what liberal opponents of US policy then thought. A respectable intellectual case could be made, and was made, in favor of a number of decisions that subsequently turned out to be wrong. (Oddly enough, the Pentagon Papers, instead of demonstrating

stupidity in high places, actually show that a good deal of conceptualization and ratiocination went into decisions which later seemed "obviously" stupid.) But then, in the case of Vietnam we were in a war. In wartime, generalized dissent about the national aims is usually regarded as treason. One should not be surprised, therefore, that people in the Service trod warily when they opposed the commitment itself. They were opposing not just the judgment of their immediate superiors, but the Commander-in-Chief.

So some of them engaged in a form of dissent that I would call niggling or *attrition dissent*. This sometimes happens also in marriages or corporations or parliaments. People who disagree with a basic policy find fault with hundreds of little things. This kind of dissent is unwelcome because it does not address central matters but skirts around the periphery. Some FSOs in Vietnam who disagreed with the basic commitment complained that their reporting was censored when in fact they only tried to report the seamy side of peripheral matters, e.g. unproven charges of corruption or the backbiting of minor opposition figures. Perhaps we should not be too critical of them: Officers who felt strongly that we should pull out immediately regardless of the consequences should never have been sent there. Too often they became victims of a psychological phenomenon also found in other situations: When you hate someone or something, you inevitably find lots of unfavorable things to report. As Drew Pearson once remarked, "when one is known to be an opponent (of a political figure), information [he of course meant *derogatory* information] about him comes to you like lightning to a lightning rod." The information provided by opponents of the war was often a lot more one-sided than the reporting against which they complained.

There was a confusion in the article between dissent on a particular issue and dissent on the general thrust of American policy. Someone who enters the Foreign Service, or remains in it despite grave misgivings, because his principal purpose is to change the general thrust of our foreign policy, is al-

most certain to be disappointed unless or until he gets into a position where overall policy options are considered—and such positions are few. For nearly thirty years our overall policy has been basically one of containment, in greater or lesser degree, because we did not trust the intentions of the Communist countries (particularly their intentions in a situation in which we did not exert countervailing power); and if an officer regards it as "finkism" to cleave to such basics—if for instance he believes that unilateral disarmament is a viable road to world peace—then he should honestly analyze whether his goals in entering the Service were both honorable and realistic.

So we come down, ultimately, I think, to the question of what kinds of people we need in the Foreign Service. Obviously we need many kinds; but there will be special difficulties in it for the type of person whom Charles Frankel, in a recent article (*ENCOUNTER*, August 1974) called the Humanist Intellectual. I have great sympathy for the type because of a personal affinity. The type is rarely happy in any large organization. Here is what Frankel wrote about the tendency of such persons to prefer the grand gesture to the grubby work that is required to make the world a better place in which to live:

In England and America, even in France and Germany, the votes and loyalties of most people are determined by accidents of tradition and belief, and by bread-and-butter issues which humanist intellectuals are likely to find too small, too transitory, to lend themselves to the language of ultimate moral decision . . . From the viewpoint of the modern humanist intellectual, political action thus tends to be perceived as a symbolic gesture, the announcement of one's role in the great drama of history.

We need Humanist Intellectuals in the Foreign Service, but we cannot afford too many of them; and those among them who enter and decide to stay must recognize that their "role in the great drama of history" will for a long time be small; that the Secretary of State will not personally consult them about the large issues nor even perhaps have time personally to read their dissenting opinions. They may draw some comfort from the news that their frustrations are not a matter of hierarchy—there are many senior officials in the De-

partment and a lot of ambassadors in the field who share them. It is not the malevolence of the "system" against which they should rail but the essential tragedy of doing intellectual work, involving *inter alia* sensitivity and moral judgments, in the environment of any large organization; and nowadays there is no other possible mechanism to conduct foreign policy.

So I come to a remark that may infuriate some of my younger colleagues but upon which I invite them to reflect: Life in the Foreign Service inevitably entails a great deal of *service*, in the sense of discipline, doing things well even though one would rather do something else, giving one's best even under circumstances that aren't as good as one would like, accepting the judgments of others even if one thinks one's own are better. Anyone who regards this as the equivalent of alienation or depersonalization will be unhappy in any large organization. Ours is inevitably a hierarchical service, but it also holds out the prospect that advancement will bring greater responsibility. Yet advancement rarely brings real power. Those who enter the service because they wish to move the world with sweeping pronouncements should be in politics, not in the career diplomatic service.

Now, why have I invited brickbats from various quarters by writing this? Because in my opinion the key to a satisfactory career in the Foreign Service lies in the prospect of advancing to policy positions early enough, not as a terminal reward for faithful service but because one has a contribution to make. For that reason I have always felt that our Association would do well to concentrate on the improvement of upward mobility in the Service, on advancement for merit, on the protection of professionalism and determined opposition to interloping by amateurs. But if we ever get to the point where the idea is accepted that "resistance" to the policy of the President of the United States is somehow all right in special circumstances, as Mr. Lenderking strongly implied, then we can kiss goodbye any hope of obtaining the status that should rightly be enjoyed by the Foreign Service of the United States. ■

A diplomatist may be truthful, accurate, calm, patient and good-tempered, but he is not an ideal diplomatist unless he be also modest. — Diplomacy, by Sir Harold Nicolson

# Our Man in Jamaica

GEORGE CRILE

TO SAY that Vincent de Roulet was the worst Ambassador in the annals of American diplomacy is perhaps to overstate the matter (he was, after all, responsible for no invasions or civil insurrections), but to say that he was an unreliable amateur seems to me a fair comment on a record that needs only a few words of introduction. Although he had been the American Ambassador in Jamaica from 1969 to 1973, few people had heard of him until the occasion of his public disgrace. Declared persona non grata by the Jamaican government in July 1973, de Roulet was heard to describe the Prime Minister of that government as "an emotional Yo-Yo." Few diplomats speak in such plain words, and so I was surprised that the American press gave only brief notice to de Roulet's dismissal. No matter how careless their deportment or how profound their stupidity, American Ambassadors seldom get sent home, particularly from small and dependent countries in the so-called Third World. I assumed that there was more to the story than a few paragraphs on an inside page of the *TIMES*. Preliminary inquiries among friends at the State Department suggested so strange a chronicle of folly and embarrassment that I left immediately for Kingston. I was amazed to find that even in remote Jamaican villages there were people who remembered de Roulet's name with derisive laughter.

Still unwilling to believe what I

had been told, I returned to New York to talk to de Roulet himself. He had been described to me as an "aggressively arrogant" man who took pride in his "forthright and pithy" manner of address. He was said to be brooding in his apartment on Fifth Avenue, and, if my information was correct, I reasoned that he would be anxious to tell his side of the story, to rescue his reputation from what I was sure he would regard as the calumny of his social inferiors. In this I was not disappointed.

De Roulet granted me two audiences, on one occasion allowing me to transcribe his remarks on a tape recorder. Throughout both conversations he maintained an attitude of sublime confidence, as if assured that one day the injustice done to him by lesser men would be understood in its proper light. Well over six feet, de Roulet spoke with an impetuous haste that I learned to recognize as consistent with his idea of himself as a man of action.

The following narrative relies largely on de Roulet's own recollection of the events that led to his expulsion from Jamaica. The more implausible episodes in the narrative I subsequently verified (and sometimes amplified) by talking to correspondents in Jamaica and officials in the State Department. I have tried to present the Ambassador's point of view, and I do not mean to detract from what he considers to be his considerable accomplishment.

I first met him at the Links Club on East Sixty-second Street in New York, where Early American prints and ancient wooden globes gave the room an air of civilized

gentility. The Ambassador began by recalling the feeling of ennui that afflicted him in the summer of 1968.

"I had grown sick of sitting around the club simply complaining about things," he said. "I wanted to do something about it—to serve my country."

ALTHOUGH WILLING to consider any form of government service, de Roulet felt that he would be most useful as an Ambassador. At the age of 42 he was a rich man, unashamedly proud of his race horses, his yacht, his clubs, his inherited wealth. He sometimes boasted that he had been born into money, and that his wife—"a Whitney, you know"—belonged to one of the richest families in the country. He believed in the idea of what he called "a certain noblesse oblige in us."

De Roulet was a political conservative and would, no doubt, have contributed generously to Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign regardless of his ambitions. But, having made the decision to invest in the campaign, he thought seriously about exploring the opportunities available to him in a Nixon administration. For the first time in his life he sat down to write his curriculum vitae.

He started by citing his experience in the business world, where he is the owner of Towne-Oller & Associates, a "big, little company" that provides marketing information to the manufacturers of health and beauty aids. This company in turn owns the Patrina Corporation, which is engaged in the business of breeding and racing horses—seven or eight horses at a

*George Crile is a free-lance writer. Copyright 1974 by HARPER'S Magazine. Reprinted from the October 1974 issue by special permission.*

time.

De Roulet's passion for horse racing had led him into his major appearance in public service as a member of the New York State Racing Commission. He also listed his services as trustee of the prestigious Buckley School and as director of a Long Island bank; but his principal work had been in the field of medicine, or, as he put it, "I think I've been chairman of every standing committee of all the hospitals in Long Island City." Finally, he listed his various clubs: New York Yacht Club, Links Club, Links Golf Club, Turf and Field Club, Jockey Club, Twenty-Nine Club, Deepdale, and the Madison Square Garden Club.

Having decided on a government career, de Roulet had to find out how to get an appointment appropriate for a man of his background and experience. "I wanted to deal with the right guy," he said. "I didn't want to go through seventeen committees and all this, that, and the other thing." One option open to him was to inquire of H. R. Haldeman. De Roulet's father had introduced Haldeman's parents to each other, and the two boys had grown up together in Los Angeles, but for the task at hand he sought out another old California friend—a Republican fund raiser who set up a meeting for de Roulet with Maurice Stans.

De Roulet resented the suggestion that he sought to purchase an Ambassadorship. "They've never proved any Ambassadorships were for sale. In fact, Stans specifically told me at our first meeting that Ambassadorships are not for sale at any price." In any event, after the meeting, de Roulet said he spoke to his wife and then decided to contribute \$50,000 to the 1968 campaign; a few months later he "ponied up" another \$25,000, and shortly after the election he was appointed United States Ambassador to Jamaica.\*

IN OCTOBER 1969 de Roulet arrived at Kingston aboard his ninety-foot yacht, *Patrina*. Together with a stable of race horses that he in-

\*All told, de Roulet and his wife contributed \$175,000 to the two Nixon campaigns. De Roulet's mother-in-law, Mrs. Joan Whitney Payson, was also a major contributor—\$113,000 to the two Nixon campaigns, as well as \$83,000 to Republican Congressional candidates.

tended to run at the Cayman track, he brought with him his amateur's conviction that many foreign service officers weren't up to the challenge of true diplomacy. Within a few weeks of his arrival he developed a new respect for the complexity of his mission.

"Everybody thinks of Jamaica as an island in the sun where you drink rum and copulate with octoroons," he said, "but I can tell you it's rough as hell. I jumped to my gun all the time. I even carried a gun in my lap when we drove through Kingston."

Whether or not the Ambassador needed to resort to such extreme precautions, the country had in fact become unusually troubled since achieving independence from Great Britain in 1962. These troubles are rarely seen by the 300,000 American tourists who vacation in Jamaica each year. Inside the opulent tourist enclaves along the coasts, they are isolated from the island's problems. But, as the Jamaicans describe it, there's a "rich man in his castle, poor man at his gate" quality to the country's life, for outside of the affluent tourist enclaves there is true poverty. The unemployment rate is about 25 percent, and the crime rate is extremely high. In recent years, the crime problem has been exacerbated by the growth of the trade in ganja—a powerful Jamaican marijuana that Americans often exchange for guns. Some of the more disturbing features of the times are the occasional shoot-outs between the police and army in Kingston and the assassination of leading businessmen. Underlying all of these problems are a growing racial antagonism and an anticolonial rebellion against US economic control of Jamaica's two major industries: bauxite and tourism.

The Ambassador's apprehensions also were aroused by his first inspection of the Kingston embassy. Not only was the building in a rundown state, but he found that the Jamaicans employed by the embassy did not rise when he approached. He considered this an affront to his office, and thenceforth he required them to stand whenever he passed by. Recalling his impressions at our conversations in the Links Club in New York, de Roulet thought it obvious

why the embassy had been allowed to fall into such dispirited condition. "You have to remember," he explained, "that until I arrived, Kingston used to be the repository of the dregs of the Foreign Service."

The new Ambassador was impatient with the traditional approaches to diplomacy, and he refused to be restrained by the rules of protocol. At times he even transformed the embassy's official business into a kind of comic opera. Every now and then he would have his Foreign Service officers, whom he referred to as his "help," put on "playlets" with each one instructed to act out the role of a Jamaican political leader. He also had them draw a cartoon of the animal each felt he most closely resembled, and then had stamps made in those shapes so that they could be used to sign memos and mark correspondence in animal code: de Roulet became a rabbit; the deputy chief of mission, a pussycat; the CIA man, an elephant.

Outside of the embassy, the new Ambassador quickly demonstrated a talent for offending the sensibilities of his host country. In his conversations with me he spoke of the Jamaicans as "the most spoiled race of people in the world," as "idiots," and as people suffering from a "rampant inferiority complex." During his tenure as Ambassador his public characterizations were even less flattering. He casually referred to Jamaicans as "children," and in *TIME* magazine he was reported to have called them "niggers." He apparently didn't think that he was offending anyone. Neither did he think it impolitic to remark, as he frequently did, that Jamaica offered less for the tourist dollar than any other resort with which he was familiar.

When his dog was lost he placed an ad in the paper offering a \$500 reward—far more than many Jamaicans earn in a year. He loved his dog and didn't understand why the newspapers wrote mocking articles, nor why some Jamaicans criticized him for valuing dogs more than people.

ALL OF THESE SLIGHTS were minor, however, when compared to the fury that he stirred up over the question of visas. For two decades Jamaicans have been leaving

their country for the United States. As de Roulet describes it, Jamaicans view a US visa as "a passport to utopia, to a euphoriant utopia." Today there are an estimated 500,000 Jamaicans living in the US, compared to 2 million in Jamaica itself.

The problem from the standpoint of the United States is that only a fraction of the applicants can be legally admitted under our immigration quotas, which allow just a few thousand visas a year. Jamaicans have traditionally circumvented this barrier by taking out tourist visas and staying on as illegal aliens in the United States. To prevent these back-door entries, the visa laws have been written to provide 31 different reasons for turning an applicant down. The result is that a screening official can, if he chooses, deny any application.

Ambassadors traditionally avoid direct contact with visa applications, but to the consternation of his State Department supervisors, de Roulet became obsessed with visas. He was determined to halt the illegal immigration, and to accomplish this goal he decided that it was necessary to use a kind of shock treatment. Jamaicans are "like women," he explained to me. "They're independent until they need something, and then all of a sudden they're not."

His visa policies soon created a bitter political controversy throughout Jamaica. He was accused of making the application process so exhausting and humiliating that Jamaicans would be discouraged from even applying.

Under previous Ambassadors the embassy had screened all of the applicants who appeared at the embassy on a given day. But de Roulet limited the number of applicants to 150 a day and made the screening process far more exacting. As a result, applicants had to queue up well before dawn to get a space in the line. Fearful of being rejected if they didn't look prosperous, they came dressed in their Sunday best and stood throughout the day wilting under the broiling sun. To add insult to injury he then closed off the embassy's toilet facilities for the visa applicants, explaining publicly that the Jamaicans use too much toilet paper and it clogs the toilets.

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*Then he hid in the closet, where he filled his mouth with lighter fluid; when they came into his room, he threw open the door and spat out the fluid through a lit match. The resulting flames seemed to the granny corps to be fires of retribution, and they fled the embassy.*

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In an attempt to fully describe the daily scene at the visa line, de Roulet showed me one of his confidential State Department cables that he had written on the subject under the title "The Flesh Peddler." After passing the confidential document to me, he suggested I read it out loud to him, which I did.

It was a hot Monday morning. Summer in the Tropics had arrived and I was still in Jamaica, armed with a sinus headache but knowing full well that a long day and a long week lay ahead. I arrived at the Chancery shortly after nine and was greeted by a long line of human flesh, much resembling a funnel in shape. There are three apertures available at 43 Duke Street and the Non-Immigrant Visa line (or cattle chute as it is better known). The front door was choked with people who wanted to go and live in our country, Watergate and other problems not withstanding. With eyes aimed straight ahead at the bowels of my business I made my way through the front entrance with people picking at my arms calling on me to help get them visas.

In another cable, which he also showed me with considerable pride, de Roulet described the desperation of a group of applicants who had been waiting in line since 2:00 A.M.

The Ambassador arrived at Chancery at 9:10 on July 14 as the police guard at the entrance of the visa section was announcing to the NIV applicants that there would be no more interviews for the day. The crowd burst forward and the policeman threw himself into the on-coming mob with flailing fists. By sheer luck a riot was averted.

IN TIME de Roulet's policies led to charges that he was a racist; one television interviewer finally asked him if he looked down on Jamaicans: "Well, when you're six foot, four inches tall," he said, "it's hard to do anything else." When criticized for his policies, he would counter with criticisms of his own. "I didn't throw out a lasso and draw in all the people who come there in country buses. . . . It's a great national disgrace. Why don't you find out why so many people stand in line every night of their lives?"

On the occasion when he showed me his cables to the State Department, de Roulet acknowledged his role in a drama I had previously heard described as "the Marine vendetta." As in a number of the controversies involving de Roulet, accounts sometimes differ. The following is the story of the vendetta as told by the Marines.

A Marine sergeant at the embassy was detached from guard duty and put in charge of the "granny corps," a collection of old ladies who were hired to clean the embassy at night. De Roulet wanted the embassy to be spotless, and complaints had been lodged that the granny corps wasn't doing its job. An investigation revealed that the ladies were all religious zealots who spent most of their time praying. The sergeant failed in his attempts to reason with them, and so he resorted to a threat. He declared that he was the devil and said he would punish them if they didn't start working. Then he hid in the closet, where he filled his mouth with lighter fluid; when they came into his room, he threw open the door and spat out the fluid through a lit match. The resulting flames seemed to the granny corps to be fires of retribution, and they fled the embassy. The next day the embassy was filthy, and the well-intentioned sergeant was put on report.

The Marines were already angry at de Roulet for having taken away their right to buy duty-free liquor. (They had been charged with selling the liquor to Jamaicans at a sizable profit.) In any case, one of the sergeant's buddies apparently set out to right the wrong that he felt had been perpetrated on his friend. While on security duty that night, with a .38 on his hip and a billy club in hand, he entered the Ambassador's offices and began to search through the desk of de Roulet's secretary. He was looking for security violations, and much to his delight found, he claimed, some classified documents. On behalf of his friend, he gleefully put the

Ambassador's secretary on report.

The young Marine's victory was short-lived, however, for while performing his security check he had found and eaten a stash of jelly beans that the secretary had stored in her desk. She retaliated by placing the sergeant on report for stealing her candies.

Now it was the sergeant's turn to avenge his friend; during his next night security patrol, he slipped into the Ambassador's bathroom and relieved himself in the toilet. When the deed was discovered, the outraged Ambassador struck back by putting the sergeant on report yet again—this time for defecating in the Ambassador's commode without flushing.

The sergeant's honor was now at stake, and on his next security duty he returned to the scene of the defecation to seek tougher revenge. After much fruitless searching, he spotted a wooden box on de Roulet's desk, and he carefully took out the screws and opened the box. Inside he found just what he had hoped for: several documents which, although not highly classified, had to be kept in a special safe. The triumphant sergeant put the Ambassador himself on report.

ALTHOUGH de Roulet's idea of diplomacy often seemed to lead to trouble, it was, at least in the beginning, also responsible for a remarkable success. This came in the key area of diplomatic concern in Jamaica—the status of approximately \$650 million worth of bauxite holdings owned by five American aluminum companies—Alcoa, Revere, Kaiser, Reynolds, and Anaconda. The importance of these holdings is substantial; aluminum is made from bauxite, and the United States relies on Jamaica for 60 percent of its imports. The State Department, wary of de Roulet's inexperience, instructed the new Ambassador to avoid any dealings with either the Jamaican government or the American aluminum companies over the bauxite question. The prohibition had a perverse effect on de Roulet; he made bauxite his consuming preoccupation. When he spoke of his efforts in this area, he did so with pride.

His first contact with the issue came immediately upon his arrival in Jamaica. The federal govern-

ment, through its Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), had already extended \$300 million worth of loan guarantees on US bauxite/alumina investments in Jamaica, and it was recommending increasing that amount to \$500 million. All that remained for the new guarantees to go through was for the new Ambassador to grant his approval; it was considered a mere formality. De Roulet, however, surprised everyone by first refusing and then steadfastly resisting pressures to grant his approval. He said the risk to the United States was too great; in his opinion the American aluminum companies had been irresponsible citizens in Jamaica, and he believed that nationalization or expropriation had become a distinct possibility.

For six months, de Roulet held up the loan guarantees. Finally, he gave his approval but only after receiving assurances from OPIC that no more loan guarantees would be issued in Jamaica. The Ambassador didn't approve of the OPIC program—but once the \$500 million in loan guarantees had been issued, he considered it his responsibility to do whatever was necessary to protect the financial interests of his government. If that included disobeying the orders of his State Department supervisors, so be it. "There are certain things a freewheeling guy with lots of money can do," he explained. "I don't have to worry about being sent back to Washington to live in a split-level house in suburbia for the rest of my life."

What ensued was a campaign of unconventional diplomacy in which a Senate subcommittee later found that de Roulet had resorted to special favors and implied threats in order to accomplish the objective he had been specifically instructed not to pursue. He had begun by browbeating the chief executives of the American aluminum companies—insisting that they see to it that their companies improve their public standing in Jamaica.

These companies had come to Jamaica in the early 1950s; they bought up thousands of acres of land, scattering thousands of farm families into the country's overcrowded cities. The Jamaicans received little in return because the American firms succeeded in writ-

ing agreements that allowed them to pay minimal taxes despite the enormity of their investments. Further, the mining process, roughly the equivalent of strip mining, employs relatively few workers and devastates the landscape.

De Roulet's dealings with the aluminum-company executives were pursued in a curiously furtive fashion. Generally he only talked to them on his frequent visits to the United States and then only when he had taken precautions to make sure that his phone was untapped. Usually he called from a pay phone on Madison Avenue near his New York apartment overlooking Central Park.

Until his intervention the chief executives of the aluminum companies had never directly involved themselves with their companies' affairs in Jamaica. But at de Roulet's insistence these executives flew to Jamaica for at least ten meetings with the Jamaican government. As a result, the companies began to seriously support social programs in the country. Encouraged by this success, de Roulet began to extend his interventions into Jamaican politics. An election was coming up, and de Roulet set out to keep the question of nationalization of the American bauxite companies from being introduced into the campaign debate. He wasn't worried about the incumbent Prime Minister, Hugh Shearer, for the two men were friends. Shearer was what de Roulet called a "realist"—that is, a man willing to strike a deal. "In the whole time I dealt with him," de Roulet said, "I never had to listen to a long speech about his little people with withering bellies and the back-to-Africa crap. He was a hard-boiled businessman. He knew where his bread was buttered."

De Roulet was worried, however, about Shearer's rival in the election, Michael Manley. The danger with Manley, he explained, was that "he was much more of a socialist dedicated to an egalitarian society." De Roulet felt it essential to the interests of the United States to keep Manley from taking office, and he devised what was later characterized as a "deal" to get Shearer reelected. The Ambassador's scheme called first for getting Shearer an appointment with President Nixon. Ordinarily a

President would not take the time to meet with the Jamaican Prime Minister, but de Roulet was being assisted in his efforts by his lifelong friend H. R. Haldeman. In the letter requesting an appointment, de Roulet pointed out that Shearer was not only violently anti-Communist but that he could be relied upon to maintain the integrity of American investments in Jamaica. This, the Ambassador observed, was important for a variety of reasons, "not the least of which is the fact that some of the President's closest supporters have extensive real-estate holdings in Jamaica." De Roulet concluded by assuring the President that Shearer was a well-dressed and courteous Negro—not likely to say anything inflammatory or embarrassing, and potentially valuable in enhancing the President's voting appeal with blacks.

The appointment was granted. In addition to the Presidential meeting de Roulet also arranged to have a \$20 million AID loan announced just before the election. As a further concession, he took Shearer to see Richard Helms, the director of the CIA.

"I manipulated it," he said. "Yes, I brought him right into the CIA building," the Ambassador declared proudly. "It gave us a chance to talk about Cuba a hell of a lot, and it gave us a chance to get a hook into him. You know, it makes these guys a Big Thing in the Third World."

In exchange for these offerings de Roulet said that Shearer agreed not to raise the issue of nationalization in the campaign. "I think he got the general impression that the President of the United States in those days was a good man to have as a friend and the bauxite boys were nice people to have as friends."\*

IT WAS a few months later, in the spring of 1971, that de Roulet reached the zenith of his brief career in the Foreign Service. He had violated virtually every diplomatic taboo, but none of that seemed to matter. He was a success. Not a humdrum success, mind you, but a full-blown, officially certified success. The decla-

\*Both Manley and Shearer subsequently denied that they had made any deals with de Roulet.

ration was made by a team of career Foreign Service officers in a confidential inspection report which begins as follows: "Under the vigorous, skillful, and intelligent leadership of a non-career Chief of Mission, Embassy Kingston gets highest marks for its achievements with respect to US objectives." The inspectors commented that the Ambassador's diplomatic style was unconventional, but, they concluded, "It works."

Also at about this time, President Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, flew to Jamaica to attend Mrs. de Roulet's birthday party. The Ambassador pledged Kalmbach \$400,000 for the President's 1972 campaign. De Roulet had begun to dream of an Ambassadorial assignment in Europe. The next year, however, his candidate for Prime Minister unfortunately lost the election. Instead of Hugh Shearer, the Jamaican electorate chose Michael Manley, the son of one of Jamaica's national heroes and himself a deeply popular and charismatic leader. The country's poor embraced Manley as a kind of savior. Jamaicans often assign biblical names to their politicians. They called Manley Joshua and Shearer Pharaoh, and they would chant their approval when Manley told them he would take them out of Egypt to Jerusalem. Then he would hold up a cane that he called his "rod of correction" and say he would use it to sweep out the corruption of Pharaoh.

This was not the kind of rhetoric that would comfort de Roulet, and I can imagine that on the day after Manley's election he began to lose interest in Jamaica. He was suspicious of Manley, suspicious of him despite his polished manners and education at the London School of Economics. Among the people in Manley's government de Roulet saw only a pitiful parallel to the kinds of government officials found in postcolonial Africa.

"You know," he said, "somebody once said that every one of those cute little countries always got a guy who was twenty-eight years old from the London School of Economics as Finance Minister, and it's so true. It's sooooo true."

Whatever the reason for his despondency, de Roulet soon gave up his interventions in high affairs and

resumed his fitful questioning of unworthy visa applicants. He began to use his authority to harass those applicants of whom he disapproved. The first of these was Miriam Makeba, the African singer and wife of Stokely Carmichael. She was staying in Jamaica as the guest of Dudley Thompson, the Minister of State, but, when she applied for a visa to travel to the United States for a concert performance, de Roulet refused to grant it. He again showed me a cable that he had sent to the State Department, in which he referred to Miss Makeba as Stokely Carmichael's "apparently well-known, corpulent, and well-endowed singer wife," later as a "lilting songbird" and the "chanteuse of Guinea."

De Roulet looks back on his confrontation with Carmichael over the visa application with the unmistakable pride of a triumphant warrior. "He didn't even make me mad. I expected something, you know, really something fiery and passionate and articulate. The funny part of it is he's a creep."

When news got out that de Roulet would not authorize the visa, articles appeared in the Jamaican papers and finally in the TIMES. Legally, the State Department cannot overrule an embassy decision on visas, but when calls started to pour in complaining that Miss Makeba's visa was being denied because she was black and married to Stokely Carmichael, an official in the visa section intervened. He felt that de Roulet was simply toying with Miss Makeba, and he ordered the Ambassador to grant the visa.

Undaunted by this rebuke, de Roulet soon created an even bigger headache for the State Department when he refused to grant a visa to Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones. This incident was equally troubling because Jagger was trying to get to a charity concert on behalf of the Nicaraguan disaster relief fund. De Roulet said he couldn't grant the visa even if he had wanted to because he "had reason to believe" that Jagger was using drugs. The Ambassador entitled his cable "Rolling Stones Gather No Grass," and once again he informed his supervisors that he would not grant the visa to the

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I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations. — James Madison

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# A Survey of Freedom

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RAYMOND D. GASTIL

AMERICANS ARE no longer so sure as they once were about what is meant by "the free world." As Alexander Solzhenitsyn reminded us when he came in out of the cold, however, the distinction between free and unfree is not entirely obscured. Though he does not like everything he sees in the democratic nations, he immediately experienced the differences in the quality of freedom. There are discernible differences that make it possible to speak of "free," "partially free," and "not free" nations. Every nation is in fact marked by a "mix" of civil and political liberties granted, threatened, or withheld from its citizens. The obvious pitfall for the serious analyst of freedom is to weave complex criteria into a simplistic scheme by which one country is pronounced "free" and another "not free." The determination of who is and who is not free is more complicated than that. A serious survey of freedom is a matter of weighing each nation against the scales of freedom in other nations. When it comes to human freedom, no nation has finally "arrived." "Comparative" is the key word.

With this understanding Free-

dom House created in late 1972 the Comparative Survey of Freedom. The semi-annual surveys have received international attention in the news and in editorials, and are widely used by political scientists in the United States and abroad. Despite admitted weaknesses, the attempt is to provide an objective reference by which to judge political and civil rights within the maelstrom of emerging governments and changing standards. Americans in particular have often been asked to go to the aid of other countries because their governments represented democratic systems similar to our own, or were struggling against forces inimical to democracy. A frequent criticism is that there is little to choose between the alternatives offered by our would-be client states. Equally serious, many Americans find it hard, in the face of crises such as Watergate, to make a reasoned appraisal of the state of freedom in their own country. The Freedom House Survey attempts to fill such gaps.

In the 1960s it was fashionable among political analysts to avoid the issue of freedom by judging political systems primarily in economic and organizational terms. Such an analysis might see President Nixon as a poor manager of internal party affairs, or judge that Afghanistan's government was recently overthrown because it failed to solve the nation's economic problems. Freedom is seen alternatively as a means to administrative ends or as the result of a certain stage of material and political progress. Such a view of freedom is a natural consequence of the

materialistic, technocratic, "value-free" ethos of our time. It is also relatively simple to know if things work better this year than last, if wheat production is higher, or if there are beggars in the streets. However, for those whose memories extend back as far as the '30s it seems preposterous to claim that freedom inevitably accompanies economic or organizational progress, or that people who enjoy such progress without freedom necessarily prefer bread to liberty. All kinds of questions go begging: How can we know what people think or want unless certain basic freedoms exist? Why is there so little evolution toward freedom in the Soviet Union, despite great advances in organization and technology? Why, if freedom comes from material progress, are so many worried in this country about the impact of further technological and organizational change upon freedom?

There is more to political organization than efficiency. It was hoped that the Freedom House Survey would at least emphasize the fact that freedom is a goal that must be pursued separately from modernization. The survey also aims at making it harder for leaders of new nations to believe that material results are all that count, or for citizens of developed democracies to lapse into a comfortable feeling that the freedoms for which so many have struggled in the past will inevitably triumph in the future. At the same time, a survey of freedom would encourage people everywhere to reassess what they mean by freedom, its variations and its degrees, and to distinguish

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freedom more clearly from other desirable features in political systems.

THE SURVEY'S first task was to establish definitions. It was decided that "freedom" was not to be used in the sense of "independence," except to the extent that lack of independence reduced other freedoms. Nor was "freedom" to be extended rhetorically, as in the expression "freedom from fear." Freedom would rather be defined in terms of those *political liberties* that allow people to participate freely and effectively in choosing their leaders or in voting directly on legislation. Freedom also means those *civil liberties* that guarantee rights to freedoms such as those of speech, privacy, a fair trial, and religion. Of special importance for freedom in this sense are civil rights making it possible to criticize the political, economic, and religious systems under which people live. The emphasis is not on those more libertarian rights that would deny majorities the power to regulate the nonpolitical public behavior of people in communities. Whether the laws are codified or not, the freedoms of interest to the survey must be guaranteed by a sense of law, by a regularized understanding of the forms and limits of governments. Freedoms could not be secure if they were continually threatened by the whims of personalities or even of majorities.

Critics will object that the survey's definition of freedom reflects nothing more than a generalization of the values of Western constitutional democracies. They see no reason why these values are necessarily of importance to the rest of the world, or why Americans should feel called upon to promote such standards for people in other countries. The first reply to these objections is that the traditional world cultures that preceded Westernization play little role in any important political system today. For example, while cultural tones differ, the modern political systems of Japan and China are modeled on those of Western Europe and the Soviet Union respectively. The differences between China's system and that of the Soviet Union are as much variations within the Western Communist tradition as they are at-

tributable to the preservation of the social institutions of old China in a new guise. It is specifically the Confucian ordering of society that Mao has tried to replace.

Then too, as we have already mentioned, unless there are democratic freedoms, observers simply do not have any idea of what a people wants. To outsiders populations often seem most satisfied when they are most hopelessly oppressed. Before Sihanouk was overthrown in Cambodia, we were assured by the media that, for all his faults, the Cambodian people loved him—he fit their style. After his downfall, reporters suddenly found no one with a good word for Sihanouk. In neighboring Thailand, in the fall of 1973, students overthrew an entrenched military regime that had been said to fit Thai culture. They overthrew it with remarkable ease and in favor of constitutional monarchy. The shock of such surprises is partly due to a romantic tendency to imagine old political forms to be more legitimate and unchanging than has generally been the case in history. Of course, in countries without long democratic traditions of freedom as we have defined it freedom is hard to achieve, and once achieved, even harder to maintain. But when people see that there are alternatives to tyranny, they have in recent times grasped again and again at the chance for Western democracy.

The survey, then, constructed one scale for civil liberties and another for political liberties, and from these drew an overall assessment of the status of freedom. Political freedom was measured by indexes such as the existence of multiple political parties and the independence of opposition candidates from government control. For a nation to achieve a high rating in the survey, elections and legislatures had to demonstrate significant opposition, and those elected had to be given real power. Civil rights were signaled especially by freedom of the press, the openness of public discussion, the existence of organizations separate from the government, and an independent judiciary.

Again, everything is stated in comparative terms. All nations fall short of perfection; even perfect despotism would be hard to create

or maintain. The sense of *degrees* of freedom that this approach produces is an important lesson in itself. A country may be described in the media as a police state with a tyrant at the helm. The survey accepts the evidence for this judgment, but can go on to point out through its grading system that such a country has more freedoms than do many less fortunate states.

IN THE LATEST survey it was judged that there were about sixty-four independent nations in the world that were *not free*, forty-four that were *free*, and another forty-three that were *partly free*. In population terms this means that roughly 42 per cent of the world is not free, 36 per cent is free, and the remaining 22 per cent falls somewhere in between. To be sure, hundreds of millions classified as free are just marginally so, and almost as many classified as partly free could, with slight shifts of arbitrary category boundaries, be considered not free.

The procedure becomes clearer when we look at a few of the nations that fall into the three categories. The free states include most of those in Western Europe, the United Kingdom, and most overseas English-speaking nations, including the United States. The category also includes states such as Japan, Venezuela, and Lebanon, and, more marginally, India and Malaysia. Characteristic of all of these states is a free press, an open political process, and a judiciary that often decides against the government. Among the partly free states we find Turkey and Mexico, and, again more marginally, a number of important countries such as Morocco, Indonesia, and South Vietnam. Characteristic of such states is the maintenance of organized opposition groups and publicly expressed opposition at least to the government group if not to the system under which it operates. At the same time, in these states there is repression of some important opposition groups, and elections are a means of registering dissent rather than a way to threaten at least the core of the ruling group seriously.

Among not free states we find Spain, Haiti, Tanzania, and all of the Communist states. These

states are characterized by a lack of significant public expression of opposition within either the electoral process or the legislature, and an almost complete suppression of legal public expression of opposition to the ruling group or system. Some criticism of policy implementation, of cultural tendencies, and of low-ranking officials may be allowed.

In 1973 perhaps the most serious loss of freedom was in Chile, for before the military takeover Chile had a long and relatively uninterrupted record of devotion to free institutions. In terms of the survey, the military action resulted in a drop from a previous rating of 1 for political rights and 2 for civil rights (which were already slipping) to a postcoup rating of 7 on political rights and 5 for civil rights.

While many of the survey's Latin American ratings may be open to criticism from the democratic Left, such as its relatively optimistic ratings of Guatemala, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic, its "before and after" ratings of Chile may seem overly friendly to the leftists. But the Chilean case illustrates the survey's attempt to reflect the best information on current conditions, rather than reflecting what opposition groups report is "actually happening" in a country. It may be that Allende was trying to set up a left-wing dictatorship in 1973, but up to his ouster he had not succeeded, while his successor did set up a dictatorship. In the eyes of the military their actions may have been necessary; we note only that military interventions under similar conditions elsewhere have been far less drastic, and have appeared to achieve all legitimate purposes.

Americans have become so accustomed to a high level of civil and political rights that violations stand out in glaring contrast. Thus many find it hard to believe that the United States should rank comparatively in the highest categories of the survey. As to control of the news, the United States is one of the few countries in the world where television and radio are not in government hands. It would be unthinkable in a country such as France for the balance of comment to go against the government day after day as it does on our television. In countries with a 2 for civil

liberties, newspapers are occasionally banned, and political gangs regularly threaten editors. Convictions for defamation, libel, and treason are much more difficult for the government to secure in the United States than in many other democracies.

We are one of the few democracies with highly developed regional and local control. The Watergate investigations have demonstrated a remarkable independence of the courts, of Congress, of members of the Republican Party, even of members of the Administration. In fact, the activities of the "plumbers" and of the Watergate conspirators suggest, as little else could, the inability of the Administration in power to rely on available security services to achieve purposes that go against established constitutional practices. For this reason, even if successful, these breaches would probably have been self-limiting. It is true that the President has under duress resigned, but regardless of this final outcome, the confused processes of our system had already and greatly restricted the worst abuses with which his Administration has been charged. They have also made it difficult to imagine their being repeated in the near future.

**ALTHOUGH** the primary purpose of the Freedom House Survey is to judge levels of freedom, after nearly two years of experience some impressions of more general interest have been gathered. First is the individuality of many nations in the way freedoms are expressed or denied. In Morocco a stalemate between the King and the chief opposition party preserves an area of freedom, while in Bolivia a chaotic anarchy of competing factions of the armed forces, an armed labor movement, and armed peasants preserves a rough arena of liberty. In India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) democratic party government exists amid extreme poverty and widespread illiteracy. In Czechoslovakia and East Germany a highly modern population functions in the absence of significant political freedoms.

While there is a connection between modernization and freedom, what seems to be more important is the degree to which countries have

come under the effective influence of other countries espousing either democratic or totalitarian institutions. This fact often goes unnoticed today, since it is disguised by the simultaneous spread of industrialization and modernization from the same English and French harbors that also exported freedom and constitutional government as we know it. (In the late '30s and '40s the examples of the day adequately refuted the idea that freedom and economic progress went together.) It is especially remarkable that the British Empire was able to spread democratic forms to as many countries as it did. The spread of freedom by osmosis or free imitation has been less definite and slower, as in the establishment of freedoms in Latin America on the US model. While Latin America is not as free as the United States and Western Europe today, it is freer than Africa or Asia. Costa Rica and Venezuela demonstrate the way constitutional democracy can be exported over time to people from antidemocratic backgrounds.

The record since World War II suggests that both democratic and antidemocratic systems can be imposed successfully by force. Japan, Italy, and West Germany have all developed free systems in survey terms. Of course the period since World War II is still relatively short, and there may be setbacks in the future. Yet for a generation people in these countries have enjoyed freedom because it was literally forced on them. On the other side of the Iron Curtain produced by the aftermath of the war, Communist nations have had a totalitarian system imposed on them, and by and large it "works." There has been more of a tendency to revolt in these states, but this seems to be largely due to the heavy-handed way in which the Soviets denied effective national independence as well as basic freedoms to the satellites.

**T**HE SHORT EXPERIENCE of the survey also suggests that it is difficult to maintain a high level of political rights alongside a low level of civil rights, or vice versa. Political rights imply some civil rights, for if the opposition cannot present its case the right to vote is not very meaningful. On the other hand,

people with strong civil rights will soon clamor for more political rights. Increasing political rights is an obvious issue to raise, where it can be raised, by aspiring leaders outside the system. If their demands are widely supported, incumbent leaders are forced either to increase political rights or to reduce civil rights in order to cut off the discussion. Thus, ever since the peoples of the world became aware of the freedoms achieved in the West, developments toward or away from freedoms have had an internal logic of their own. Once movement starts in one or the other direction it tends to continue inexorably through a process that might be described as the rectification of recurrent imbalances between civil and political liberties. This is a primary reason Communist regimes have been so fearful of even hesitant steps toward liberalization.

The survey also suggests the degree to which the political trends of neighboring states, or of closely related states, are often copied. In Latin America the model of the US Constitution has been supplemented in recent years by those of Costa Rica and Venezuela, as well as by British, French, and Dutch models in the Caribbean. Ruling groups less dedicated to democracy no longer look, as they did earlier in the century, to Mexican or Italian fascist models. The tendency now is to look to Brazilian (capitalist) or Peruvian (socialist) militarist patterns. South America is now watching Argentina: If it remains within the democratic forms that brought the late Juan Peron back to power, neighboring states will become more democratic; if it returns to less democratic forms, Argentina will become a competing model to those of Peru and Brazil for the less democratic.

In many developing countries the one-party socialist model, taken originally from Communist countries, has become a very popular official form (although the content given to socialism varies widely). This model is especially important for legitimating anti-democratic governments in Africa, with the transmitting model being that of Nasser's Egypt. During the period of the survey Sierra Leone has moved away from freedom

through imitation of Guinea, while Zambia has taken the same road, apparently in imitation of Tanzania.

A final observation from the survey is that modern colonial status offers more freedom in some cases than does independence. Many small British colonies, for example, are as free as any nation in the world. Currently, the independence of the island of Grenada appears likely to be accompanied by a decline in its freedoms. Although such speculation is always dangerous, it appears that the Burmese, perhaps the Indonesians, and many African peoples have less freedom under independence than they would have had under colonialism. Opposition black leaders are freer to express their political opinions in South Africa, especially in its Bantustan "colonies," than they would be in most countries of Africa. Certainly their situation is vastly better than it would be in Uganda, the Central African Republic, or Algeria. It also appears that Arabs in Israeli-occupied Palestine have been freer than their cousins across the Jordan.

THESE LAST observations point up many issues related to the survey that have not been carefully examined. Should the factor of independence itself be taken more seriously by the survey? It may be said that the blacks in Tanzania "feel free" in a sense that blacks in South Africa cannot. This is very difficult to judge. One reason to doubt such a generalization is that most new states are made up of a variety of peoples, only some of which have access to rule. This was one of the paradoxes of the Ibo revolt in Nigeria, for within the rebel Ibo state of Biafra there were other smaller tribes that were apt to feel endangered in turn by the Ibos. This is nearly always the case. It is not at all clear that a Peruvian Indian or a Zairian (Congo) pygmy feels happy to have a supposed *norte-americano* or European yoke replaced by the yoke of a closer ruling class. What we call a "people" from our distant vantage point may dissolve into many peoples when viewed up close.

Similar questions arise when we try to define a "colony." The Soviet Union and China rule over a number of areas that are not popu-

lated by Russians or Chinese, and yet these areas are not normally considered colonies. If we did consider Soviet Tajikistan as equivalent to Portuguese Angola, would not Northern Ireland also be a colony? In any event, in Northern Ireland people appear to have had a fair chance to vote on the issues. In how many, even democratic, countries would this be the case?

Another question is the importance of economic equality in the definition of freedom. Many think it ridiculous to call India a free country in view of its great economic disparities, hunger, and illiteracy. There is justice in the objection, yet most systems are to some extent oligarchies (a few more so than Sweden). What information we have suggests that competing party organizations operate throughout India, people vote relatively freely, and the results of their votes have a guiding power comparable to that in richer, more egalitarian states.

Capitalist critics of the survey have perhaps an equally good case in arguing that we should "take off points" for socialism or centralized planning. Government control to the extent required by these systems must reduce civil rights. Increasing the number of people directly dependent on government inevitably restricts the population's ability to vote out incumbents.

Yet another question has to do with comparing freedoms in the classical American-Western European states with those in systems of balanced consensus such as Lebanon, Switzerland, or Colombia (at least until recently). In these states there have been for some years fixed formulas assigning certain powers and positions to particular groups, either permanently or in rotation. While systems of this kind guarantee a sharing of power among the more important groups in a country, they make it very difficult to introduce change into the system, or to establish new axes of conflict and competition that might become more appropriate than those of the original formula. In Switzerland formulas have changed, but it is still next to impossible to have power decisively shift from one political party to another as the result of an election.

The survey, let it be admitted,

remains on the philosophical surface of its subject. There is no probing of what freedom really means, or of how, in an apparently deterministic universe, we can speak of freedom at all. Behavioral scientists such as B. F. Skinner assert that, since all our behavior is conditioned, we should simply develop ways to condition everyone to live in a more productive and harmonious manner. In this world it becomes irrelevant whether there is or is not freedom as we have defined it, for decisions in both civil and political areas are ultimately scientific and technological rather than legal or political.

No democracy has yet approached such a world; the Communists and Nazis did, albeit on a basis that the behaviorists would call pseudo-scientific. Closer to behaviorist thinking are the planners, psychiatrists, educational and penal reformers of our society. Closer still, it would seem, are the humane materialists of the Swedish élites, who have gone further than any Western democracy toward replacing politics (as described in the interest-conflict model of the "Federalist Papers," for example) by the rational utility model of the administrative and technocratic mentality.

The freedom survey has a long way to go before it achieves even the basic purpose of reliably comparing in simple terms the status of freedom in the states of the world. It has already improved our understanding of the varieties in the condition of freedom. Equally important, it has started to develop a monitoring facility by which people may become more responsibly concerned with the progress of freedom in their own and other countries.

Since the survey was initiated, several countries have lost freedom; others have seen the reversal of promising developments that apparently went too far for the élites. In Upper Volta General Lamizana guided the country toward a democratic system, only to reverse direction when he fell into dispute with his prime minister. In Afghanistan the King developed the beginnings of a constitutional system, only to have the old guard turn back the clock after ten years. As I write, Thailand is struggling to establish a truly free and democra-

tic system after years of authoritarian rule. The paradox is that the only sure basis of democracy is experience with democratic forms and freedoms. Even the establishment of democracy by force in the Axis countries after World War II was made possible by the continued survival of parties and personalities that had served democratic systems before totalitarianism was imposed.

Elsewhere starts must be made under greater difficulties, while the logic of democratization today makes it increasingly difficult to maintain slow and measured progress toward freedom. Today, gaining experience with the exercise of freedom inevitably requires establishing a democratic system with both a population and an élite that

are inadequately prepared to make it work. As outsiders we can do little more than watch and hope as experiments such as that in Thailand develop.

The survey's goal is that an informed world public become more aware of efforts such as that in Thailand, and of the place of these efforts in an international struggle to maintain and extend freedom. One hopes this awareness will lead to a greater sense of international support and responsibility for those directly involved in such experiments—and perhaps to an effort by those who already have essential freedoms to make policy discriminations in favor of peoples striving to achieve or maintain freedom. ■

## "Miss Freedom" Contest

THOMAS E. QUIGLEY

IT IS NOT at all clear that Mr. Gastil's exercise should be treated with full seriousness. The question of "freedom" is, to be sure, at least the second most urgent issue of our time, ceding pride of place only to the increasing problematic of our very survival. But Mr. Gastil's painfully pretentious puffery (I said it was hard to take seriously) does nothing to advance and something to confuse our understanding of the problem.

My fundamental objection is that by defining freedom in the exclusively "political" and apparently individualistic terms of modern, Western constitutional democracy, the author and his survey come close to trivializing the most dynamic and vital of human attributes. Freedom—liberty—liberation—are concepts that so exceed the narrow right to pull a lever for Twcedledum and not Tweedledee that one needs special justification for using the words at all in such a limited context.

Mr. Gastil says that his defini-

tion of freedom would not be "extended rhetorically" as in the expression "freedom from fear." But until he has shown some sensitivity to such fundamental freedoms as the right to self-determination, equality, health, education, work, and adequate standard of living, maintenance of one's culture, and protection from arbitrary arrest, detention, or torture, he is not qualified to speak for more than that tiny privileged minority of which white, male Americans are today's paradigm. As a member, by pure accident of birth, of that same minority, I find the Freedom House restriction of "freedom" to ballot-casting and letterwriting not a special justification but just plain special pleading.

It begins with the first sentence: "Americans are no longer so sure as they once were about what is meant by the 'free world.'" If indeed Americans are no longer as satisfied with such hard-sell slogans as "the free world," well, praise the Lord. It is, after all, nothing but a code term arrogated by the capitalist economies and their satellites, not a whit different from the equally specious appropriation of the phrase "freedom-loving peoples" by Communist propagandists. It is one with the

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more forthright message beamed by their ad agency cousins: Freedom's just another word for Datsun. In short, playing with such counters is a zero-sum game, and we would all be better served by accepting far broader (thus more "democratic" and demanding) criteria for true freedom.

A "free press," for example, means little to a citizenry that is largely illiterate. More to the point, what is a free press. Is the United States the world exemplar for this institution? Yet under a fascist military dictatorship in Uruguay, and during a declared state of siege, I have purchased five Montevideo newspapers representing a far wider spectrum of opinion and news than one can find in this country. The same was true of Allende's Chile, though Pinochet's Chile more closely resembles the situation in the US.

Are there no economic constraints (a well-bred term for class influence) on what is published or broadcast in the "free world"? While Mr. Gastil's civics lecture may project an unbroken line from Peter Zenger to Woodward and Bernstein, he would do well to remember Hearst, Luce, and the advertising manager of the TIMES.

"It would be unthinkable in a country such as France for the balance of comment to go against the government day after day as it does on our television." But of course; in France, as elsewhere, there are genuine alternatives to the ruling groups, whereas here the Republicans have only the Democrats to contend with.

However, we are still at the periphery. What are these particular freedoms *for*? I am enough of a Western individualistic civil libertarian to applaud Fulton Sheen's declining to offer a prayer for the New York State Assembly by saying that each person has to blow his own nose, make his own love, and say his own prayers. But I am enough of a socialist and Christian to sense that justice comes before all. In a global society characterized by gross injustice in the economic and social order, political liberties must be both vigorously striven for and realistically situated within a total context of human life.

Mr. Gastil archly observes that in the 1960s "it was fashionable

among political analysts to avoid the issue of freedom by judging political systems primarily in economic and organizational terms." If the reference here is to the developmentalist technocrats whom others, particularly in the Third World, have come to see as the Trojan horsemen of the new imperialism, there is merit in the criticism. We might both declare bankrupt the theory that development requires a necessary trade-off among the triple goals of economic growth, more equitable distribution, and protection of civil liberties, with the first being the *summum bonum*. It is precisely that mythical trickle-down theory that has imposed upon the Brazilian people a rising GNP, a deteriorating distribution pattern, and the virtual cancellation of civil liberties.

Nor is the United States altogether different in this regard, except that our wealth distribution pattern has not deteriorated in the last 70 years; it has merely remained static. And while it is difficult to plot actual diminution of civil liberties in our society, any reader knows that Cassandra's cries have become more insistent every year, and she just might be right. In any event, while a diachronic description of just civil and political liberties in our brief two centuries would be a most worthwhile task, it is obvious that the crude tools of the Freedom House Survey are hopelessly inadequate.

The greatest threats to human freedom do not come from Commissars, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, or your local FBI. They arise from what the 1971 Roman Synod described as "a network of domination, op-

pression and abuses which stifle freedom and which keep the greater part of humanity from sharing in the building up and enjoyment of a more just and more fraternal world." The Synod Fathers were not, I take it, aiming their shafts more particularly at the Survey's list of freedom dropouts: "Spain, Haiti, Tanzania, and all of the Communist states." They were speaking rather of that comfortable 15 per cent of the world's population who live in relative luxury at the expense of the poor, hungry, and oppressed majority. They were denouncing, as their Latin American brothers did at Medellin three years before, the "institutionalized violence" created by the "new imperialism of money," a system they described as a "situation of sin."

If individual liberties have really been diminished in Tanzania, China, or Cuba, a far from self-evident assertion, the increase in social or communal freedom in these societies, relative both to their own recent past and to the present situation of many non-socialist societies, is indeed evident and dramatic. No small accomplishment at a time when the world is dividing more than ever before into two camps, the super-rich and the desperately poor.

The Solzhenitsyns and Sakharovs among us, with all their ambiguities, are very, very important. But to three billion of us who know only increasingly greater and more absolute powerlessness, including the nearly two billion who are also learning absolute hunger, this kind of "Miss Freedom" contest must seem a little distant. Did they actually give out neatness awards in the barracks at Dachau? ■

## Comparing Relative Freedoms

DENIS GOULET

MR. GASTIL'S summary of the survey conducted by Freedom House commands assent on several points. Freedom is indeed a comparative word and exists in

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varying degrees. Freedom does not necessarily accompany, or result from, economic or organizational progress. And there is a close bond between civil and political liberties.

Mr. Gastil displays knowledge of a wide spectrum of political systems and writes in clear prose.

Why, then, do his words leave this reader skeptical, with a sense of unreality, as though all that is written bears no relation to what he knows of Africa, the Mideast, Latin America, or Europe? I could not begin to take Gastil's essay seriously without first finding the key which explains these disquieting impressions.

The key is that Gastil fails to place freedom in creative tension with other political values, chief among these being justice. As Camus repeatedly argued, justice and freedom need to limit each other mutually. To pursue freedom without due regard for the demands of justice and its relationship to freedom is to guarantee that neither will be attained. The agonies of the Third World (notwithstanding the enormous differences among countries thus labeled, the term is still better than the conventional euphemisms, "developing" or "less developed" countries) are rooted in their quest for justice. The spectacle we witness is that of dozens of nations, newly independent or newly conscious of their need to acquire dignity without servile dependency, struggling to create a basis for social justice in the developmental mode. The entrenched systems of freedom, which coexist alongside privilege which is their legacy, must be dismantled, for they have proved to be the allies of mass misery. For these countries economic flesh and institutional sinews must be added to the bare bones of purely political freedoms. The experience of many generations with Western freedom and democracy has meant the ravage of their culture by the "free" market, by the conquests of militant (and often militarized) champions of democracy—in short, they have been victimized by purveyors of unfreedom using the language of freedom. Small wonder, then, that many repudiate Western forms of democracy. In their view these forms perpetuate the unfreedom of colonialism and underdevelopment.

For Gastil the existence of multiple parties holds a near-fetishistic importance in judging a nation's political structures. Thus he feels justified in branding Tanzania as unfree, all the while calling South Vietnam and Indonesia "half free." He apparently gives no

weight to the mass imprisonment of political dissenters, to the habitual corruption of staged elections, nor to the evident disregard of the economic and cultural well-being of the people in order to keep alive—and profitable—the alliance between native privileged classes

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*Anyone who has lived in countries where torture and arbitrary imprisonment are the fare reserved to moderately dissenting intellectuals or social activists, or where comprehensive censorship stifles theatre, news reporting, and even private organization assemblies, does not need to be reminded how valuable are free speech, liberty of worship, the right to privacy, the right to due process, and the right of geographical mobility.*

---

and outside merchants. Mr. Gastil has not understood the connection between freedom and one-party states. In a recent interview with Professor Douglas Ensminger of the University of Missouri, Mr. Paul Bomani, Tanzania's ambassador to the United States, explained the role of the TANU party in his country.

In Tanzania, of course, we are fortunate in that we have a one-party system. Before independence, we were advised that in order to have democracy we must have several parties in the country. We were told that you cannot achieve democracy within a one-party system.

Well, we tested that idea and found that it did not work. Three parties contested the general election before independence, but not a single opposition party won a seat in parliament. We had a second round of voting, and again the other parties did not win any seats. All seats were captured by TANU. We realized that we had to accept the verdict of the electorate—that they wanted one party . . .

Even the need for checks and balances on misuse of power under one-party rule did not call for the creation of another body, because there were built-in safeguards and corrective measures for any misuse of power. Within a one-party system there is, and should be, a lot of debate, a lot of discussion, or even opposition. There is, of course, always room for improvement, there is room for correction, and the free election system helps to ensure a change of leaders, leadership and

government through the ballot box ("Tanzania's Road to Development: Bringing Development to the People," INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, Vol. XVI, No. 2 [1974/2]).

The point is not to praise Nyerere and the Tanzanian political order but to suggest how provincial and inadequate is Gastil's measure of political freedom. Worse still, his yardstick does not enable us to compare diverse "freedom performances." His gradations appear to be little more than mechanistic scales with little bearing on the historical constraints and evolution which make the political system of, let us say, Brazil, something qualitatively different from that of India. The Freedom House survey fails to grasp, and therefore to elucidate, the dialectical nexus which exists among political, economic, and cultural freedom or emancipation. This is the nexus evoked by Senegal's President Leopold Senghor when, shortly after independence, he declared: "We Africans do not wish to be mere consumers of civilization."

That Gastil should have fallen into the trap of reifying freedom, apart from its organic connections with justice and the pursuit of dignity, is, finally, quite surprising. For he does properly assert that civil and political rights are intimately linked. In his words: "Political rights imply some civil rights, for if the opposition cannot present its case the right to vote is not very meaningful." He should have moved further along the continuum of his own logic and stated that political, and civil, freedoms are not very meaningful if economic and cultural conditions make life miserable.

On one important issue, however, I wish to register my unqualified agreement with Gastil. With him I hold that Western civil and political freedoms, in their genuine expression, represent permanent conquests of the human spirit not to be given up in pursuit of other values. Anyone who has lived in countries where torture and arbitrary imprisonment are the fate reserved to moderately dissenting intellectuals or social activists, or where comprehensive censorship stifles theatre, news reporting, and even private organization assemblies, does not need to be reminded how valuable are free speech, lib-

erty of worship, the right to privacy, the right to due process, and the right of geographical mobility. To give these up in the name of "development" or "revolution" is indeed, as Brazilian economist Celso Furtado and others from the Third World have understood, to regress politically.

By Gastil's own admission, it takes generations of experience with freedom to consolidate it in a society's institutions. What he seems to overlook, however, is that most underdeveloped peoples have never known these, and other, freedoms. Even with "modern" nations such as the United States a destructive imbalance can arise when civil and political liberties are invoked to perpetuate structural injustices or to institutionalize people's fears—of criminal assaults, of unemployment, of loss of dignity with old age. I do not ask Gastil to endorse Marcuse's nation of "repressive tolerance." Nor do I demand that he mention Puerto Rico as a colony of the US in the same breath he takes to speak of Tajikistan as a Soviet colony. But I do ask him to reflect more deeply on the relation-

ship between freedom and alienation. I cannot elaborate the point here, but it suffices to recall Erich Fromm's view, to which I rally, that "alienation in abundance" is no less dehumanizing than "alienation in misery."

Furthermore, what justification exists for rating the United States very high on the scale of freedom if one ignores its impact on freedom in other nations? I refer of course to this country's foreign policy of promoting dictatorial stability elsewhere when this suits its geopolitical or economic interests. Another dimension is our domestic practice of sustaining irresponsible and wasteful consumption. One major consequence of such "freedom" is to leave people in other lands "unfree" to provide for their own minimum needs.

Finally, Gastil's measuring rod for comparing relative freedoms will not do for the complex interdependent world of the 1970s. His standard is too individualistic, too static, and too oblivious to the emerging consciousness throughout the world of the need for new ground rules to define all societies' essential relationships. ■

fine freedom, but I believe this one preferable and, certainly, clearer.

Thomas Quigley's response illustrates the problem to which Berlin alludes. He seems unable to consider seriously either what he means by freedom or how important freedom is to him. In his first paragraph he tells us that, next to human survival, freedom is the most important planetary issue. Several paragraphs later, however, Quigley asserts that "justice comes before all." This apparently makes sense to Quigley, for in his view "fundamental freedoms" include rights to "self-determination, equality, health, education, work, an adequate standard of living, and maintenance of one's culture." Freedom, then, signifies for Quigley what "love" means to the mystic. Quigley contrasts the possible decline in individual liberties in Tanzania, China, or Cuba with "evident and dramatic" increases in "social or communal freedom." As Quigley apparently defines "social and communal freedom" it could be demonstrated that National Socialism also brought freedom to the Germans in the 1930s.

It is characteristic of the critics and the constituencies they represent for language to get out of hand. In his otherwise thoughtful response Denis Goulet is too often lulled by the portentous but empty language of the day. He tells us the Survey "does not place freedom in creative tension with other political values," that "nations . . . need to acquire dignity . . .," that the Survey "fails to grasp, and therefore to elucidate, the dialectical nexus that exists among political, economic, and cultural freedom or emancipation," and that it is "oblivious to the emerging consciousness throughout the world of the need for new ground rules to define all societies' essential relationships."

Goulet also falls victim to the language of the new tyrannies of the underdeveloped world. Does he really believe that TANU was forced by the verdict of the people of Tanzania to opt for a one-party state? Or that Senghor imprisons his opposition because of a desire to preserve African civilization? It is one of the hopes of the Survey that it will open the self-serving justifications of tyrannies in more exo-

*Continued on page 31*

## Reply to the Critics

RAYMOND D. GASTIL

UPON CAREFUL examination it is clear the responses essentially support the purposes of the "Survey of Freedom." Both Quigley and Goulet appear to believe that political and civil rights are valuable social assets and that their suppression is seldom justified. Major disagreement comes from their belief that I should take more seriously other factors that relate to "freedom."

Two general points should be made. First, by definition the Survey of Freedom considers only a limited number of aspects of social life that have historically been seen as defining political freedom. The Survey does not offer a "goodness index" of societies. There is no doubt that many people want and deserve goods other than freedom, and some may prefer these goods to freedom. Nor does the Survey imply that freedom may not also

generate problems, such as alienation, social disintegration, and an inability of society to defend itself. Alternatives to freedom are also harmful. In any event, as one important good, political freedom as I define it is apparently not questioned by Quigley or Goulet.

The second general point is that words evoking positive emotions, such as "freedom" and "love," are always in danger of loss of meaning and eventual corruption through overextension. As Isaiah Berlin, among others, has pointed out, freedom must be defined in largely negative terms in order to avoid its misuse by tyrannies guided by the thought of Rousseau or the German Romantics. For this reason I have, in the spirit of J. S. Mill, drawn fairly tight lines around an essentially individualistic definition of freedom in the political context. There are other ways to de-

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THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN AMERICA: *Scenes from the Life of Benjamin Franklin*, by Catherine Drinker Bowen. Atlantic-Little Brown, \$8.95.

THE PRESIDENT IS CALLING, by Milton S. Eisenhower. Doubleday, \$12.50.

THESE TWO BOOKS describe certain aspects of the two most important periods in American history; the first, the 50 years leading up to the founding of the United States and the second, the last 50 years, which, according to some, are leading to the dissolution of that union.

"The Franklin Book," as Mrs. Bowen referred to it, is a delightful arrangement of vignettes from the life and times of Ben Franklin taken in chronological order, but which makes no attempt at being a biography of the man or history of the times. Franklin was a man of many parts and many worlds, but he was not, as those of us who grew up as schoolboys in the northeast were led to believe, the personification of all things to all men. The scenes from his world of science are particularly interesting; those from his diplomatic world are equally enlightening. As a scientist, Franklin was the toast of England, the first American to be elected to the Royal Society. In London from 1757 to 1766 as Agent (the nearest equivalent to an Ambassador) for Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Georgia, his lack of success is in startling contrast to his reputation for domestic diplomacy in the Colonies. At the conventions of Albany (1754), where the first seeds of an independent union were sown, and at Philadelphia (1776), where they came to fruition, Franklin was the constant, though subtle, force that husbanded the various factions to a workable unity. In England he accomplished little.

One facet of this book that deserves mention is its design. The book seems narrower than usual and the print clearer. There is no printer's note to identify the style of type and paper, but whatever it may be called, it's alive and attractive. Kudos for Designer Susan Wendheim.

"The President is Calling" re-

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counts Milton Eisenhower's half century of working with eight former US Presidents. It is neither biography nor position paper; it is a memoir with a theme. Because of his access to Presidents from Coolidge to Nixon and because of his own low key approach to problems, the author gives some very interesting views of former government leaders and historic situations. During the period of March to June 1942, Eisenhower was Director of the War Relocation Authority, whose responsibility it was to deal with that nadir of wartime, mass hysteria, the internment of thousands of Japanese-Americans, some aliens, some citizens, in "safe areas" away from the West Coast for no other reason than their ancestry. The impressions of the Roosevelt cabinet (both formal and kitchen) and the powers on the Hill are of lasting value not only because they come from his personal working observation but because the author has enough courage and honesty to describe them as he saw them.

After watching the pressures of the office take its toll on eight presidents, Eisenhower's theme is to

define the changes he believes are necessary, "and now." Some of these are brilliantly couched: "A society which insists on running its quadrennial conventions like circuses should not be surprised to get tight-rope walkers as presidential candidates." Others are of prime importance, perennial problems that, like the weather, everyone complains about but no one does anything: "Practically every diplomatic mission in the world is so stuffed with unnecessary personnel that the handful of State Department officials trying to perform substantive functions can scarcely find a chair . . . State Department personnel constitute only twenty percent or less of the total abroad (of American foreign missions)."

Reading the Eisenhower book immediately after the Franklin book, one wonders what was so different about America in 1774 that it could produce an abundance of men of such calibre, integrity and principle where 1974 cannot. One can readily envision such Haigisms as "Principles be damned, the King has commanded . . ." emanating from a colonial governor's office, but hardly from

a congress where Franklin, Hancock, Jefferson, Adams and Hopkins stood for America.

—JOHN ST. DENIS

### Soviet-American Conflict

THE COLD WAR BEGINS, by Lynn Etheridge Davis. Princeton University Press, \$15.00.

LYNN ETHERIDGE DAVIS'S "The Cold War Begins" is a scholarly and well-documented study of Soviet-American conflict over Eastern Europe from 1941 to 1945. Davis discussed the subject with some of the participants and acknowledges her indebtedness to Charles E. Bohlen, Elbridge Durbrow, H. Freeman Matthews, and Llewellyn Thompson. The study is an effective answer to shriller voices, whether they be revisionists from the left or myopic spokesmen of the right. Her thesis: we created trouble for ourselves and for our relations with the Soviet Union in our attempt to apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the evolving situation in Eastern Europe. The British, in

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contrast, accepted the inevitability of spheres of influence although Churchill's deal with Stalin dividing influence in the Balkans in percentage terms was a bit crude even for the most hardened pragmatist. Davis suggests a possible conclusion: "American officials could have . . . clearly informed the Soviet Union that the United States did not intend to threaten Soviet security interest in this part of the world. The Soviet Union might not then have felt the need to enforce such complete political control over Eastern Europe, at least not so rapidly." Davis's style is pedantic and repetitive but the book is well worth reading because of the insights about the conflict between principle and the realities in US policy toward Eastern Europe.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

**Systems or  
Unsovn Tares?**

THE COLD WAR IN ASIA, by Akira Iriye. Prentice-Hall, \$6.95.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO professor Iriye writes interpretative history with the cautious compe-

tence of the scholar. He acknowledges his indebtedness for much source material from "Foreign Relations of the United States" although the volumes for the post-war years reflect only faintly the domestic political passions that went into American policy in Asia.

Iriye sees the Cold War in Asia as a "shorthand for describing the changes" that took place in Asian-American relations in those years. The much higher ideological content and the absence of overt use of military force in Europe rob the transfer of the shorthand of much of its force in an Asian setting. The breakdown of the Yalta "system" plays the key role in Iriye's tale. In one 14-line segment he uses "system," "order" or "scheme" six times only to admit later that such systems are "necessarily vague." The FSO might suggest that the springs of our policies are usually found at awfully random spots which defy conceptualization or systemizing.

In his conclusion Iriye leapfrogs from the Korean War to the policy changes of the '70s with only a very quick glance at the domestic sources of the intervening two de-

acades of policy. A longer look might have made him even less confident of "systems" than the "necessarily vague" disclaimer suggests. Certainly, that longer look would have made him question more than he does the rather grandiose conclusion that Mr. Kissinger's "shared view of the world" is a "return to the language of Yalta internationalism" which could prove "that people of divergent cultures and backgrounds could work together in their common interests."

—J.K. HOLLOWAY



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## REPLY TO THE CRITICS

from page 27

tic lands to the same critical analysis that is routinely applied to such nonsense at home.

Turning to details, my *WORLDVIEW* article apparently overemphasized freedom of the press, for both critics incorrectly imagine that the Survey is not concerned with mass imprisonments and torture. Of course, such actions are critical to our definition of civil liberties, as are freedom to establish independent organizations, the independence of the judiciary, and even the literacy of the population. There also seems to be a mistaken view that the Survey scores states mechanically. In fact, the comparative approach forces the analyst to look at the whole as well as the pieces and intuitively judge each whole society in terms of our individualistic definition of political freedom. Readers of the responses should also realize that under "political liberties" the Survey is explicitly interested in the extent of military control and the degree of political independence from foreign

control. (See the four surveys to date in *FREEDOM AT ISSUE*, January-February and July-August, 1973 and 1974.

Quigley and Goulet contrast political liberty as I define it to the good of justice. Yet justice too must be taken seriously. In a recent exhaustive treatment of the subject "A Theory of Justice" the liberal philosopher John Rawls considers at least three senses of justice. These are equality of material goods, equality of access to position, and the granting of basic political and civil rights to all. Rawls gives primacy to political and civil rights. Thus it is not unreasonable to believe that political freedom in our terms contributes significantly to justice.

However, Rawls agrees with the critics when he proposes that for very poor or underdeveloped societies the primacy of political and civil rights may be postponed until more basic needs have been met. In an earlier article addressed to this issue ("U.S. Support for Democracy in Poor Countries," *FREEDOM AT ISSUE*, November-

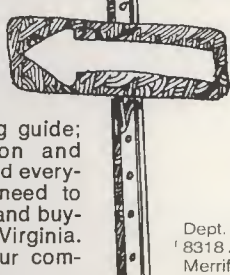
December, 1971) I dealt with this commonly held position. Briefly, the record suggests that depriving people of political freedoms in favor of social justice as often as not deprives them of freedom without giving them substantial benefits either in enhanced material standards of living or greater equality (witness Burma, or most of the Middle East). In a recent study Norway and Taiwan are the top-ranking states in material justice (J. Kasun, "United States Poverty in World Perspective," *CURRENT HISTORY* 64[383]).

It is also "ethnocentric" and paternalistic for Americans to decide for other peoples with quite different experiences at what point they have fulfilled their basic wants. Many primitive peoples have devoted great efforts to non-material goods when living at the edge of starvation. I think there is also now ample historical and contemporary evidence that people do not like to be pushed around and interfered with anywhere, whether Southern slaves before the Civil War, Cuban field workers, or

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women. But only in free societies can we hear the complaints. In the same issue of *WORLDVIEW* in which my article appeared Raul Manglapus reminded us that the average Filipino, poor as he might be, has had a long history of ardent interest in political and civil rights.

I agree with the critics that there is much political and material injustice in the world and that the treatment of the poor in countries such as Brazil may be deserving of special condemnation. Too often Americans have participated in such injustice, just as too often they have supported tyrannies—and the two are often connected. Yet the comments of Quigley and Goulet on injustice rest in large part upon popular misunderstandings of the world. First, contrary to their apparent belief, the poor peoples of the world have generally been much better off in the last decade than in any prior period. This is the primary reason for the population explosion. Paradoxically, even in India one reason for recent food shortages is an improvement in diet. Secondly, without high raw

material consumption by the rich nations, most poor countries would be even poorer. Iran, for example, would have very little material progress without oil. The reason for Afghanistan's comparative misery is its relative lack of raw materials and difficulty of foreign access to what it has.

The critics are also misled by the assumption that it is easy to show that economic power is generally or simply translatable into political power, either nationally or internationally. The *NEW YORK TIMES* does not print what its advertisers want printed, and in recent months our great fruit companies have had no better counter to the threatened taxes of Panama and Costa Rica than to offer to sell their plantations to the governments. If they took the question more seriously the critics would note that political power is much more easily converted to economic power than the reverse. In the long run political freedoms would seem to be the best defense against economic injustice.

I hope to develop the serious-

ness of the Survey by careful explanation and continual reevaluation. It is intended that the next survey will improve the definition of terms such as "colony," "nation," and "people." Greater clarity is also needed in talking about the related problems of self-determination. Eventually I hope the Survey is able to examine the degree to which freedom is constrained by different economic and social conditions. While I reject the simplistic relationships suggested in the responses, it is a question deserving very careful examination. I hope the Survey can also address the dangers to freedom in advanced societies that stem from the pressures of new technologies and from new institutions for planning and coordination. But ours will continue to be an exploration of the meaning and institutionalization of freedom in the Western liberal tradition. For those who find the Survey's approach wanting I can only suggest that they enter the water and in their own terms tell us what is happening or should be happening in the world. ■

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## OUR MAN IN JAMAICA

from page 19

"pebbles," as he called them, unless ordered to do so.

An order was given, but de Roulet still refused to grant the visa. He said he would first have to personally examine Jagger for needle marks. He finally granted the visa.

ASIDE FROM an occasional minor incident, de Roulet subsided into boredom and torpor as he awaited news on his expected promotion. In the meantime, he turned his attentions to his race horses and contented himself with making friends with John Connally, then in Jamaica trying to work out a cattle deal with the Manley government. Occasionally de Roulet roused himself to his old form. On one such occasion, he delivered a lecture to a mixed audience of Americans and Jamaicans in which he declared that Prime Minister Manley had an ambivalent personality, which he attributed to Manley's mixed racial origin. But none of this got him into any serious trou-

ble until he was called back to Washington to testify before a Senate subcommittee investigating the abuses of multinational corporations. He was asked to comment on any actions he might have taken to protect US bauxite investments in Jamaica. To the surprise of his audience of Senators, de Roulet freely described what he had done to get Shearer's assurance not to raise the issue of nationalization. And then he dropped his bombshell. He said that he had managed to extract a similar promise from Michael Manley during the elections. The Ambassador explained that Manley and his advisers were fearful that the CIA might intervene in the Jamaican elections as it had allegedly done several years before in Guyana. In his testimony, de Roulet said he had taken advantage of the situation by offering Manley his word "as a gentleman" that the United States would not interfere in the coming election. In return, de Roulet said, he asked for and won a pledge from Manley not to raise the nationalization issue in the campaign.

The State Department was

dumbfounded. Ambassadors are not supposed to do that sort of thing, and if they do they're certainly not supposed to talk about it—at least not in public. The Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Robert Hurwitch, immediately asked for the opportunity to set the record straight. He was worried that the impression might have been left that the State Department had been a party to some sort of improper "deals." Hurwitch acknowledged that prior to 1969 the United States had dealt with other countries in the hemisphere "as client states or with some kind of patronizing attitude," but all that has changed, he insisted. No longer was the United States employing what he called "trashy tactics." Hurwitch pleaded for understanding. "There is no deal, was no deal, nor was any deal intended," he told the now-astounded Senators. And then he made a similar appeal to the press and to any members of the embassy of Jamaica who might be present. They must understand and make their countrymen understand "that there was no interven-

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tion by the United States, past, present, or future, none was planned, and there was no deal on this matter.”\*

De Roulet, who was listening as Hurwitch spoke, did not understand why the Assistant Secretary was getting so excited. “I think it’s perfectly proper to solicit something out of a politician when he’s running for office,” he observed later. It seemed to him that Hurwitch was making a bit of a mountain out of a molehill. It seemed that everyone was. Within a matter of hours, Prime Minister Manley had taken the drastic step of declaring him persona non grata, and overnight the incident was trans-

*\*Until de Roulet's testimony, the only public calls in Jamaica for nationalization of the bauxite industry had come from a few left-wing professors at Jamaica's universities. But thereafter no serious Jamaican politician could afford to be known as a toady of the United States. Within months, the Jamaicans, following the lead of the Arab oil countries, tripled the taxes and royalties taken from the American aluminum companies. Most knowledgeable observers believe this is only the first in a series of planned moves.*

formed into a raging national controversy, known in the Jamaican papers as the “de Roulet Affair.” De Roulet reasoned that Manley’s actions were the product of a psychologically troubled man.

He discussed the subject during our last conversation together, also at the Links Club in New York, and as he slumped back into a deep leather chair he seemed to become philosophical. Manley he dismissed as a “latent alcoholic,” and Jamaica he thought of as “a hopeless cause.” But these things were peripheral, the merest shadows, and to say that he had been the victim of petty circumstance didn’t explain the larger questions that were troubling him. He wanted to understand what had gone wrong.

“The only problem, I guess,” he said, “is simply that I stayed too long. Now, if I had gotten out in time I’d have been written up as the finest Ambassador Jamaica ever had. The thing that probably caused the trouble in the end was that I never lost sight of the fact that I worked for the United States government.”

The Ambassador then reflected on the special virtues he had brought to his job. “Linda comes from the Whitney family, whom I’m sure you’ve heard of, and my family had some money. You’ve got a certain noblesse oblige in us. That’s really what it was all about—noblesse oblige—but it was a noblesse oblige with an activist zeal.”

De Roulet’s only real regret is that he might not have a chance to put his ability to work elsewhere. “I wanted to go where there was excitement, wheeling and dealing, where I could put to use the things I’d learned in Jamaica.”

When we walked out of the Links Club, we stepped into his dark limousine and he stretched out his legs as his chauffeur pulled away from the curb and turned down Park Avenue. The Ambassador suddenly gestured to the apartment buildings on his left and right and spoke with a restored note of conviction: “I know people all around here and all they do is complain all the time. Well I went out and did something about it.”■

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## Errata

■ O. Edmund Clubb has pointed out two errors in the chapter from "The Witness and I" excerpted in the December issue of FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. They are:

p. 23, col. 1, line 25 of insert: FOR addresses READ addressees (cf. text, p. 116 l. 17)

p. 24, col. 3, line 16 FROM BOTTOM: FOR It is not true READ Is it not true (cf. text, p. 264, l. 18)

Since Mr. Clubb feels that these misprints substantially change the meaning of his text, we hope it will be possible for you to run a correction in a future issue.

ADRIENNE MACAULAY  
Publicity Director  
Columbia University Press

## OERs Revisited

■ I have just finished reading Ambassador Akins's letter containing his comments on OER and percentages. I still do not believe it. With the evidence at hand I would hazard a guess that the one lacking "Judgment," "Perceptiveness," "Perspective" and "Policy Orientation" is not the junior officer; however, I hate to pass so severe a judgment without all of the facts. I too would like to see the Department's Computer read-outs on the breakdown of each class.

WILLIAM R. MACLAUHLAN  
Kinshasa

## Tribute to Ambassador Freeman

■ The untimely death of Ambassador Fulton Freeman at the age of 59 is a severe loss to the foreign affairs community and to the American public. "Tony" Freeman was a career ambassador in the best tradition of the Foreign Service.

Early assignments in China, Europe and Latin America prepared him for a wide range of responsibilities which included Ambassadorships to Mexico and Colombia. Following his retirement from the Department of State he continued his public service as President of the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies in California.

Those who served under him found him professional and exacting in his standards and responsive to people and institutions in the

best American tradition. He was devoted to the fostering of better relationships between the United States and the countries in which he served. He was equally devoted to fairness in the careers of those who served with him and in the career system of which he was a part.

The advisors and officers of the Thomas Legal Defense Fund pay tribute to their colleague, a professional diplomat, an advocate of fairness and due process, a great American.

He will be missed by all who knew him.

FRANK A. CHIANCONE  
President  
Thomas Legal Defense Fund  
Washington

## Power to AFSA

■ Congratulations on your (Tom Boyatt's) article entitled "AFSA's Golden Anniversary" in the November JOURNAL.

It does a superb job of summarizing what the Association has been all about in recent years. As one of the old-timers (who retired some 3½ years ago) and who for years had been concerned about the way the political appointees, bureaucratic civil servants and the like were running or failing to run the Foreign Service as it should have been running. I was at the same time rather skeptical (in my last years in the Service) about what the young Turks seemed to be up to and what they might be doing to our Association and the spirit of dedication and "service spirit" which had pervaded my 35 years in the Service.

Your presentation does a fine job of outlining what the Association's officers have been trying to accomplish and how much has been done. More power to you!

BREWSTER H. MORRIS  
Tiburon

## Our Native Garb

■ I would not think of dampening George G. Wynne's joy, and that of your readers, in linguistic nuggetry, but it should be pointed out that the Arabic language does *not* lack a word for children ("A Word to the Wise", FSJ, December, 1974). In his anxiety to draw a neat sociological point Professor Patai has apparently forgotten the term *atfal*, perfectly standard and current in both the Arabic literary lan-

guage and all colloquial dialects I am aware of, which translates quite exactly as "children," of whatever sex.

Aside from the linguistic gaffe, it would seem to me that the custom of dressing boys like girls until they are five years old, far from reflecting direct sex discrimination, tends to indicate the precise opposite, notwithstanding any flash of recognition which might have stricken one regarding the mind set of Arab society. I wonder what sort of mind set we ought to recognize in our own society in view of the current, and spreading, American folk custom of dressing girls like boys up to the age of 65 and beyond. Could it be that our girls, more highly prized, remain permanent targets of the evil eye's malevolent influence?

ROBERT W. STOOKEY  
FSO-Retired  
Research Associate  
Center for Middle Eastern Studies  
The University of Texas

## Solving Problems

■ A comment on the fascinating article (October, 1974) on "State Department Rigidity" which showed that empirical evidence does not support the hypothesis of psychological rigidity of individual Foreign Service officers. The author concludes that "a data-based test of the systemic hypothesis [that the "living system" rather than individual proclivities account for the alleged rigidity] now seems in order." So far, so good.

The trouble may lie, however, in the way the problem is defined. Einstein once said, "*It is the theory which decides what we can observe.*" The underlying assumption that the most imaginative and innovative foreign policies are the most successful may itself need some testing. It is quite conceivable that even the most imaginative and flexible Foreign Service officers may, in certain situations, come to a justified conclusion that innovation entails more risk than benefit—for the country, not for themselves.

The question, "Why is our foreign policy mechanism so hide-bound and bureaucratic?" may stem from the peculiarly American predisposition to regard all problems as soluble and anything that hasn't changed for some time as

inherently inferior. In the same category are such questions as "How much should we cut the personnel of the State Department?", as if it were obvious that we have too many people; "How should we reorganize the foreign policy-making mechanism?", as if the source of our disappointments in foreign affairs could be found in the mechanism dealing with them; or "Who is responsible for the loss (of China or Cuba or what have you)?" as if there must of necessity be an individual culprit when things happen that are not to our liking.

My suggestion to the researchers, for what it is worth, is that they should concentrate on case studies of leadership at the top or lack of it. In my experience there has been no dearth of good ideas and sound if unorthodox advice going to the top levels of the Department. The proportion of such advice that is usable is always small. Probably we could use still more of it. But perhaps the critical element, as was pointed out in a book review in your columns sometime ago, may lie in the difference between "a Fabius Maximus Cunctator at the top, or the equivalent of a Panzer-general Rommel."

If we keep asking the wrong questions, we will keep getting irrelevant answers. Meanwhile, however, Professor Garnham deserved high credit for having shot down one gas-filled balloon.

MARTIN F. HERZ

Sofia

### State's Organization

■ I thought the October issue was the best in recent times, particularly the articles by Smith Simpson and Paul Ward. There are, however, a couple of references which could be added to Smith Simpson's list.

The day Secretary Byrnes took office he asked the Bureau of the Budget for recommendations on the organization of the Department. The BOB study was dated August 15, 1945. It remains, I think, the best starting point for the student of postwar State.

The next year, July 22, Major General O. L. Nelson, who had been on General Marshall's staff and who before Pearl Harbor had worked with Marshall on his reorganization of the Army two months

after Pearl Harbor ("it took Pearl Harbor for the change to take place"), produced at Byrnes's request his "Report on the Organization of the Department of State." The report was filed away until the next year when a Congressional Committee asked John Peurifoy what had become of it. Nelson described for the first time the antagonism between Civil Service and Foreign Service personnel.

HARRIS H. BALL

Athens

### Thanks to AFSA

■ I am writing to thank you and the other concerned members of AFSA on behalf of all the members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women for the gift to us of your time and effort in proposing, and securing passage by the Congress, of the provisions in the 1975 State Department/USIA Authorization Act for Annual Education Travel and Benefits for Terrorist Victims. Passage of the bill was announced at our November AAFSW monthly meeting and the announcement was greeted with enthusiastic applause. In the years to come, so many Foreign Service families will benefit from your thoughtfulness and we are indeed grateful to you.

Please let us know when there is an opportunity for our Association to assist AFSA's efforts for we would like to be of any service that we can.

MRS. THOMAS M. RECKNAGEL  
President

### Help Wanted

■ I am writing a dissertation on the American Legation in Ottawa during the period from 1926 to 1941. I am attempting to locate personnel, both commissioned and non-commissioned, or family members who served in Ottawa during those years.

The list which you published in 1962 has been of some help to me, but it is out of date and I find myself in need of further assistance. If necessary I could supply the names of the officers who served in Ottawa and are apparently still living.

PETER KASURAK  
2016 Jersey Avenue  
Durham, N.C. 27707

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

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

### Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"Upcoming Peking assignment or not, go practice your acupuncture on her!"



## Announcement of Forthcoming Call for 1975 Election Of AFSA Officers and Constituency Representatives

On January 15, 1975, the Administrative Law Judge approved a stipulation whereby AFSA's 1975 election will be supervised by the US Department of Labor. This stipulation was entered into as a result of a complaint filed by the Labor Department that certain procedures in the 1973 election were violative of Executive Order 11636. AFSA denies that any violation took place; nevertheless, AFSA has agreed to Labor Department supervision in the 1975 election.

The AFSA Board has appointed FSO-4 John L. Washburn, a member of the District of Columbia bar, as Chairman of the 1975 Elections Committee, which will conduct the election. The Board will have completed appointment of the other members of the Committee by the time this issue of the JOURNAL reaches AFSA members.

The general officer positions to be filled in this election are: PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, and TREASURER.

The constituency Representative positions to be filled are: 2 AID Representatives, 1 USIA Representative, 4 State Department Representatives, and 2 Retired Member Representatives. (This is based on a formula of one Representative for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof. The number of representatives herein listed for each constituency is somewhat tentative, being based on a tally of each constituency's membership as of 12-1-74. The official Election Call will give the final number of Representatives to which each constituency is entitled. This will be

based upon constituency membership as of 1-1-75.)

**OFFICIAL NOTICE OF NOMINATIONS AND ELECTION IS REQUIRED BY AFSA'S BYLAWS AND BY THE LAWS AND REGULATION ADMINISTERED BY THE US DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. THE PURPOSE OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT IS TO ALERT YOU TO THE FACT THAT THIS YEAR THE OFFICIAL NOTICE WILL BE CONTAINED IN AN ELECTION CALL WHICH WILL SOON BE SENT BY DIRECT MAIL TO ALL AFSA MEMBERS.**

**THE OFFICIAL NOTICE WILL CONTAIN DETAILS AS TO WHERE NOMINATIONS MUST BE SENT AND BY WHAT DATE THEY MUST BE SUBMITTED.**

Any member-in-good-standing of AFSA may nominate any member-in-good-standing (including himself/herself) for the position of President, Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Secretary, or Treasurer. Any member-in-good-standing of AFSA may nominate any member(s)-in-good-standing of a given constituency (AID, USIA, State, or Retired), including himself/herself, for the position(s) of Representative from that constituency.

**WATCH FOR YOUR COPY OF THE OFFICIAL NOTICE! START THINKING ABOUT WHOM YOU MAY WISH TO NOMINATE!**

*Thomas D. Boyatt*

### POTOMAC PERSPECTIVES

As you know, the Association is now entering its election period and, accordingly, we have had to make a change in who writes columns for AFSA NEWS, in order to ensure that there is no possibility that the columns of the JOURNAL might advantage or disadvantage any prospective candidate. Steve Wallace is anxious to get back overseas and will not run for any

AFSA position, so he will continue his column as before. For my part, four-plus years in the trenches during times of great change and no little abrasion have given your reporter combat fatigue. This combines with my strong desire to serve again overseas and to welcome a new generation of AFSA leaders to produce a situation in which I will not run for any AFSA office in the coming election under any circumstance. So . . . authorship of a column for the JOURNAL falls to me for the remaining six months of my Presidency. This, of course, has produced the immediate problem of what to title my column. My colleagues kindly suggested "The Lame Duck Quacks," "Boyatt's Babblings," "In Retrospect," etc. These were duly rejected, and in the end we compromised on "Potomac Perspectives."

### Finally . . . A Safeguards Agreement in USIA

Last month we announced that AFSA had finally won the USIA promotion safeguards case. With the victory behind us, USIA management then indicated a willingness to sit down and negotiate the final details so that there would be no misunderstanding as to what was required. A formal safeguards agreement has now been signed by USIA and AFSA, and went into effect January 1, 1975. This year's promotion panels, both specialist and generalist, will thus be the first to be covered by a safeguards agreement in USIA similar to the one already in effect in State. Needless to say, we are absolutely delighted to have prevailed on this question, which took almost 18 months to resolve, and which has been an enormous impediment in our relations with USIA. We hope that with this issue behind us, and with valuable precedents in our favor clearly established by two

different adjudicatory bodies, we will be able to enter into a more productive relationship with the Agency to the benefit of all concerned.

### **AFSA/USIA Complete Negotiations on Generalist Precepts**

On Christmas eve USIA management finally responded to AFSA's repeated requests and gave us their draft of the 1975 Generalist Precepts. As we have indicated previously, because of the enormous length and detail involved, precept negotiations in any agency are always difficult and very time-consuming. With the boards scheduled to convene in early January, the Association was placed in an almost impossible position. However, our USIA Negotiating Committee members sacrificed their holidays to get an AFSA counterproposal prepared, and after several extremely lengthy sessions we were able to reach agreement with Agency management two days before the boards were sworn in. In all, we were successful in making some thirty changes in management draft, including a major step forward in the procedures to be followed concerning selection out. We will make a more comprehensive report on the gains made in these negotiations in the next issue.

### **Taxing Foreign Service Allowances**

As this goes to press, we have learned informally that staff members on the House Ways and Means Committee are again attempting to put forward legislation similar to H.R. 17488 which would make Foreign Service allowances taxable. In the meantime, however, we have been in contact with a number of key individuals in the Congress and have obtained pledges of support. Moreover, hundreds of Foreign Service personnel have written their senators and congressmen urging them to resist any such legislation. If you have not already done so, please write immediately. Everyone will have to help if we are to eliminate this serious threat. As things stand now, we are modestly optimistic that with your support we will be able to divert this legislation in the new Congress.

### **Junior Officer Precepts**

This month we concluded this year's precept negotiations cycle with another cliffhanger, getting agreement on the joint State/USIA Junior Officer Precepts only hours before the boards were scheduled to meet. We are pleased with the results of negotiations—in which we were ably assisted by representatives of the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club. We were able to eliminate a long-standing inequity: for several years junior officers in State (but not USIA) were required to have 18-months service before they could be considered for their first promotion. In the negotiations AFSA indicated that this requirement was unacceptable. We point out that the normal eligibility period in the Civil Service is one year, and has been one year in USIA for some time. The Department agreed in the negotiations to change this eligibility period from 18 months to 12 months for both sessions of the junior boards (these boards meet twice a year). Furthermore, the Department also agreed to an additional point on which we had insisted, namely, a waiver of the 12-month eligibility period for those junior officers with exceptionally strong files, who had at least 10 months in the Service. We are particularly pleased with this agreement because it is a step in the direction of better pay comparability for junior Foreign Service officer personnel. (The current lack of comparability is partially the result of the present, unfair "linkages" between the Civil Service and Foreign Service pay system, and partially the result of lower rates of promotion for junior officers in the Foreign Service than their counterparts receive in the Civil Service.)

**Steve Wallace**

### **LIFE AND LIMB IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE**

December's "Merry RIFMAS" prompted a number of my friends and colleagues to comment that they were pleased to see a return of my generally humorous nature, despite the sadness of the times. I must agree that a few laughs were overdue, even though the generally bleak picture called for tears. For no matter how bad circumstances

are, if we are unable to laugh at ourselves occasionally we would inevitably become submissive victims of a life style made more miserable by our attitudes than by almost any fate that could befall us.

I suppose the main reason that I have not shown much humor in recent months stems from my exposure to an unending stream of grievances. Scarcely a day goes by when I am not called upon to assist someone whose rights were either mildly abused by "the system," or so blatantly violated as to merit his or her own chapter in a tale of horrors. The worst instances are usually medical cases which involve disability, death, or near-death, but which might not have been as severe had Missions been better equipped either medically, administratively, and/or attitudinally to cope with medical emergencies. Accordingly, the Association is starting to take a look at the Department's medical program, which could help result in more of us staying around to laugh at lesser problems, rather than to be the mourned victims of medical or administrative malfeasance.

Over the past few months, I have heard complaints about the Department's lackadaisical concern in processing disability claims; I have seen an acquaintance who almost died because of initially casual treatment, including evacuation to the States on an ill-prepared Air Force plane, and despite a request for immediate commercial evacuation; I have processed a grievance on a former secretary whose evacuation was delayed and who now has probable permanent facial paralysis and speech impairment from a tooth abscess; and I have just finished reviewing the anguishing account of an officer's treatment at a post where there had been a rapid reduction of USG medical facilities. This officer's illness was misdiagnosed without a clinical diagnosis being performed; his admission to a hospital was procedurally delayed despite previous arrangements made for his admission; he was finally evacuated, albeit on a routine instead of an emergency basis, and even then the flight crew was upset to discover belatedly the patient was on oxygen. At the evacuation point, the patient was finally diagnosed as having an infection en-

demetic to posts in the area of assignment.

In the above-mentioned cases and in others, had different medical and/or administrative precautions been taken at the Missions to maximize the speed and accuracy of diagnosis, to ensure sufficient monitoring of local treatment by authorized Department medical staff, and to effect timely evacuations, the results might have made the difference between life, crippling, and death. And what about most Missions today located in countries with inadequate medical facilities?

1. Are procedures and options for the handling of serious illnesses clearly outlined at your locations?

2. Are you aware of the full quality of local medical facilities? Have you surveyed the range and quality of medical services available for each member of your family? Is your medical unit prepared to monitor attention received from those facilities?

3. Do you have a reasonable medical evacuation policy whereby a patient will not become the casualty of one doctor's opinion (or lack thereof), or of Mission reluctance to incur evacuation expenses?

4. Do you have confidence in your Mission medical services, or are there problems such as too much attention to paperwork and too little to actual medical treatment?

Personnel at all posts might reasonably address themselves to the above questions, and work with their local AFSA Chapters to improve the probability that our health problems will be given the attention they deserve. However, in those instances where important medical matters cannot be resolved at the local level, the Association should be requested to raise them with the Department.

### **Members' Interests**

#### **Divorced Employees and Dependent Benefits**

Foreign Service employees who are divorced sometimes ask AFSA how they can take advantage of travel and other benefits for their dependent children who may reside with both parents on a divided time basis.

Travel and other benefits avail-

able to dependents during an employee's assignment abroad for State, USIA or AID are provided by Congress on the principle that the dependents will reside with the employee. In a family situation where there is no divorce or separation of the parents, the dependent children are considered to be residing with the employee almost by definition, even though the children may not actually be present most of the year because of schooling away from post. In a divorce situation, the question of the children's residence can sometimes be tricky. If the employee has full legal custody of the children, and they reside with the employee, then there is no problem. If there is joint custody, or if the other spouse has custody but with agreed time sharing between the parents, then the employee should be aware of the following principles, procedures, and regulations in order to achieve maximum benefits.

The key element is the "Residence and Dependency Report" which is form JF-20 for State, USIA, and AID. If the divorced employee wishes his or her dependent children to travel to the post at government expense, the children must be listed on the form. Travel orders are issued to include dependents from the information provided on that form. If there is a remarriage, and a new spouse and stepchildren will also be traveling, they too must be listed on the form.

The second important element, is the regulation providing for delayed travel of dependents. Volume 6 FAM 132.2 (Joint travel regulations) says that dependents must begin their travel within 12 months from the time the employee completes his or her travel to the post. This regulation is particularly important in cases when the children will join the employee at a later date. The 12-month time limit is a limitation and an opportunity to plan dependent travel with a certain amount of flexibility.

What about other benefits beside travel? Again, if the employee has full custody, and the dependent children reside with the employee on a full time basis, there are no problems. If there is divided time, the employee has to be careful. "At post" education allowance is available only to those children who reside at the post with the em-

ployee for a full academic year. "Away from post" education allowance would normally be possible also, provided the children do not get into a situation where they might be considered to be residing with the parent who is not an employee. Clearly, if the children are living with the other parent while attending school, they cannot be considered to be residing with the employee, and are therefore not entitled to an education allowance or to educational travel. If they go to boarding school in a country where neither parent resides, it should be possible to argue that they reside with the employee parent. AFSA has seen reports of cases where the GAO disallowed education allowances to dependent children who were going to boarding school located in the countries where the non-employee parent resided. The presumption in those cases was that they resided with the non-employee parent.

What about legal custody of dependent children? There is nothing in the regulations which says that a dependent child is automatically considered to be residing with the parent who has legal custody. Management therefore writes orders and approves allowances on the basis of the information contained in the residence and dependency report. AFSA has seen grievance cases, however, where management has attempted to argue that custody does determine residence, regardless of the physical location of the child. AFSA has argued against this concept because it is quite possible for the parent who has legal custody to authorize the child to reside with the other parent for any number of reasons. Employees contemplating divorce should consider this angle, however, and attempt to arrange for joint custody if possible in order to avoid ambiguities at some future date if dependent travel or allowances are challenged.

Finally, divorced employees should remember that their dependent children are not entitled to any benefits not available to dependents in non-divorce situations. For example, a divorced employee who transfers from Washington to an overseas location in July, 1974 may not have the children travel on the same orders until June, 1975 pursuant to the delayed travel au-

thorization contained in 6 FAM 132.2. If the children remain abroad from June, 1975 until June, 1976, they could then return to the US with their employee parent on home leave orders. However, if they remain at post only for the summer of 1975 and then return to live with the other parent to attend school in the US for the 1975-76 year, they cannot travel at government expense.

## FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

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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## Foreign Service People

### MARRIAGES

**Defusco-Stier.** Diane Margaret De Fusco was married on September 21 to Christopher Stier, son of FSIO and Mrs. Victor Stier, of Springfield, Pennsylvania.

**Wheeler-Courtney.** Lindley Wheeler was married on November 9 to William H. Courtney, FSO-6, in Easton, Maryland.

### BIRTHS

**Neilson.** A son, Andrew Stewart, born to FSO Elizabeth A. Powers and husband, Thomas Stewart Neilson, on December 18, in London.

**Pitts.** A son, Eric Charles, born to FSO and Mrs. John L. Pitts, on November 24, in Frankfurt/Main.

### DEATHS

**Allen.** Doris H. Allen, FSO-retired, died December 9 in Columbus, Ohio. She was the widow of Charles Edward Allen, also a Foreign Service officer. Mrs. Allen joined the service in 1947 serving in Palermo and Rome before retiring in 1956. She is survived by her daughters, Heather A. Ridewood of 2444 North Chesterfield Road, Columbus, Ohio 43209, and Rosemary A. Wickman of Scarsdale, N.Y.; three sisters, two brothers, and five grandchildren. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

**Fornes.** Frederick Charles Fornes, Jr., FSO-retired, died on January 3 in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Fornes entered the Foreign Service in 1940 in Hong Kong, where he was subsequently captured by the Japanese during World War II. He also served in Italy, Austria, and Havana before retiring in 1956. He is survived by a son, Cmdr. Michael F. Fornes, of San Diego; a daughter, Mrs. Justice M. Chambers of 140 S. Adams St., Rockville, Maryland, eight grandchildren and ten great grandchildren.

**Freeman.** Fulton Freeman, Ambassador-retired, died December 13 in Carmel, California. Ambassador Freeman joined the Foreign Service in 1939 and was assigned as vice consul in Mexico. He also served in Washington, three tours in Peking, Rome, Belgium, Colombia, and again in Mexico where he was awarded the Order of the Aztec Award from the Mexican government. He is survived by his wife, Phyllis of 25835 Rio Vista Drive, Carmel, California 93921. The family suggests that any contribution in the Ambassador's memory by Foreign Service friends be made to the AFSA

Scholarship Fund. Friends in the Monterey area are making contributions to the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies.

**Garnish.** Ruth Groves Garnish, wife of FSO-retired J. Howard Garnish, died January 8 in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Garnish accompanied her husband to posts in Bangkok, Geneva, Paris and Stockholm. She is survived by her husband, of 8604 Camden Street, Alexandria, Virginia; a daughter, Mrs. Robert Monge, also of Alexandria; a son, John Groves Garnish, of Sykesville, Maryland, and four grandchildren.

**Langford.** Michael H. Langford, FSR-retired, died recently in Costa Rica. Dr. Langford, a plant pathologist, served in Panama, Brazil, Peru, and Costa Rica before retiring in 1969. He is survived by his wife, Ruth Graves Langford, Apartado Postal 6426, San Jose, Costa Rica, a daughter, Mrs. Allen Batten, and a son, William Michael, of San Jose.

**Macatee.** Robert B. Macatee, FSO-retired, died on November 16 in Washington, D.C. Mr. Macatee joined the Department of State in 1916 and served in the Philippines and in Paris with the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace in 1918-19. He joined the Foreign Service in 1924 serving in London, Bradford, Belgrade, Istanbul and at the UN. He is survived by his wife, Evelyn; a daughter, Mrs. Alan Davidson, who resides at the British Embassy in Vientiane, Laos; a sister, Mrs. Baltimore Calvert and three grandchildren.

**Wallace.** Richard J. Wallace, Jr., Director General of the Atlantic Council, died on December 24 in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Wallace served as executive director of the United States Citizen Commission on NATO and secretary general of the Atlantic Convention on NATO nations. For the past twelve years, Mr. Wallace headed the non-government Atlantic Council which attempted to bring closer relations between the US and other Atlantic nations. Mr. Wallace is survived by his wife, Anita Herrick, of 511 Cameron Street, Alexandria, Virginia; three daughters, Suzanne Wallace and Mrs. Thomas McGovern, both of West Palm Beach, Florida, and Mrs. Anne Scoffier, of Versailles, France.

**Wisner.** Genevieve de Virel Wisner, wife of FSO Frank G. Wisner, II, died on December 12 in Washington, D.C. After their marriage in Paris, Mrs. Wisner accompanied her husband to posts in Tunis and Can Tho. In addition to her husband and daughter, Sabrina, of 5051 Kingle Street, N.W. Washington, D.C., she is survived by two sisters, Anne, vicomtesse de la Grandiere, and Jacqueline, comtesse de Rochechouart, and a brother, Alban du Fresne, comte de Virel, all of Paris.

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