

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

*Badmouthing the
Bureaucracy*

"Good-for-Nothing Government" by Robert Samuelson, in *The New Republic* (May 15, 1976), 1220 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Samuelson, a Washington writer for the *Financial Times* of London, challenges the revived election-year notions that the federal bureaucracy has grown enormously in the past decade; that federal workers are grossly overpaid; that the government could be more effective and less costly if it were reorganized. In fact, Samuelson notes, federal civilian employment has grown by about 25 percent (to 2,786,000) since 1947, leaving the ratio of federal workers to total U.S. population lower than it was 29 years ago. State and local government employment, however, has grown 150 percent (to 10.1 million) since 1952. Average pay for federal workers rose by a higher percentage between 1955 and 1973 than the average for all workers in the private economy. But this disparity was caused largely by the proliferation of programs (space, air traffic control systems) requiring trained professionals. Samuelson concedes that some middle managers are overpaid but insists the trouble "lies not with the pay system, but with useless agencies and useless jobs." Creating new bureaucratic conglomerates (like the Department of Transportation) will not reduce the size of government or make the bureaucracy more responsive. It could even make things worse. New agencies, born of crisis or crusading zeal, can be "an invitation to payroll-padding, exaggerated job descriptions, and bureaucratic empire-building."

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

*America's
World View*

"America in a Hostile World" by Zbigniew Brzezinski, in *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1976), 155 Allen Blvd., Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735.

Abroad, the United States was the embodiment of liberty and progress in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today, "egalitarianism," not liberty, flavors the rhetoric of spokesmen for the new emerging nations. Brzezinski, a Columbia professor and recent foreign policy advisor to Jimmy Carter, seeks to analyze America's growing sense of estrangement.

Third World leaders, he writes, seek to gain a bigger share of the world's economic wealth, not to further individual freedom. Americans see this drive as an unwarranted claim on their own hard-won affluence, and Brzezinski warns of a coming mood of "philosophical isolation without precedent in American history."

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

Yet, it would be tragic, he argues, to view the current turbulent world scene simply as a struggle between "liberal democracy and various forms of despotic statism." For a variety of reasons, the general trend in the non-Western world is toward statist economic systems far different from America's workable mix of private enterprise, corporate ownership, and indirect government control. But Washington can ill afford to indulge its sense of philosophical alienation with economic isolationism, especially as American consumption of mineral resources depends increasingly on Third World supplies.

Brzezinski warns against developing a "siege mentality." American economic, military, and political strength, he notes, remains central to global stability and progress. And the American message—stressing liberty and a healthy pluralism—is still valid; it can be the basis for a "new and more diversified international system."

Learning to Cope With Terrorism

"The Politics of International Terrorism" by Andrew J. Pierre, in *Orbis* (Winter 1976), 3508 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

International terrorism is clearly on the rise and cannot be regarded as a passing phenomenon. During the two decades prior to 1969 an annual average of 5 aircraft hijackings occurred; in the early 1970s, writes Pierre, an American arms control and European security specialist at the Council on Foreign Relations, more than 60 took place each year. The past six years have seen more than 500 major acts of international terrorism, including at least 65 kidnappings. Why? Terrorism works. Palestinian "freedom fighters" and their allies have won partial success in achieving traditional terrorist goals—the appearance of strength, worldwide publicity for a cause, erosion of the authority of an enemy state (Israel), freedom for imprisoned comrades. In Latin America, where kidnapping foreign diplomats and executives for ransom has become endemic, terrorists in Uruguay and Argentina have gained similar psychological successes, plus the money to buy more arms.

The counter-terrorist record is dismal. At the U.N., many African and Arab nations refuse to regard terrorism as an international offense. States which traditionally provide safe haven for plane hijackers refuse to sign international anti-hijacking agreements. The author suggests both prevention and deterrence—easing real grievances and encouraging dissidents to seek attention without resort to terror, coupled with more effective counter-terrorist activities (sharing intelligence, imposing sanctions against countries that harbor terrorists, etc.).

Pierre warns, however, that terrorism "could become a new form of warfare" employed by countries seeking to pursue foreign policy objectives without the risk of conventional military confrontation.