

my. It is quite common for Third World nations to offer a higher material reward to salesmen of neckties than to teachers, to waitresses than to nurses. It is high time that the value of the different professions and vocations is reflected not only in training but also in salaries.

Other solutions are urgently needed, including family planning; the wholesale removal of labor-intensive manufacturing industries from rich to poor countries; and a more equitable distribution of arable land within Third World nations, especially those that are densely populated. But above all, Third World nations should be able to export their labor, incorporated in goods and services, through a more ready access to the lush markets of North America, Western Europe, and Japan.

I believe that greater social and economic mobility within the labor-exporting countries would allow a more rational solution to problems of international migration. It is not only a matter of stemming the exodus of rural workers to the cities; it is above all a matter of creating better jobs and living conditions where most people make their home: in the rural areas. And if not enough work can be created there, then national migration should be stimulated not only by creating jobs elsewhere, but by providing the education, health facilities, housing, and environment conducive to such a national relocation of labor. If thereafter migration between countries is necessary, it should not reflect a world economy which, askew, moves people hither and thither in uncontrolled waves but, rather, one that can permanently absorb workers—and their dependents—in a smooth, humane fashion.

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EXCURSUS 4

Benjamin R. Barber on RIGHTS WITHOUT DUTIES?

Despite all the attention given the debate over draft registration and the possible return of military conscription, both proponents and adversaries of the draft (as well as their media counterparts) have conceived the issues in the narrowest of terms.

Hawks and reborn cold warriors seem to regard a renewed draft as part of an overall effort to crank up the American war machine—to “signal” the Soviet Union that we mean business and to demonstrate to our faltering allies that we will back up the mouths of our old diplomats with the bodies of our young men (and women). Doves, civil libertarians, and internationalists counter by portraying conscription as a device of irresponsible militarism that serves only the interests of corporate capitalism while violating the rights and liberties of Americans. The debate is thus joined in the unreflective, antihistorical idiom of ideological politics.

All of this must sadden those Americans concerned with the intrinsic vitality of our democracy and hoping for a thoughtful debate about the place of national service and the military in the life of a free republic. The relationship between citizenship and military service has a long history that can be traced back through the Founders to Rousseau, Montesquieu, Machiavelli, and the ancients. Whether peacetime standing armies are compatible with democracy, whether a people can be self-governing who

entrust their collective self-defense to professionals and mercenaries (“volunteers” in today’s euphemistic parlance), whether rights can be defended when duties are abdicated—these are the real questions raised by that tradition of historical discourse. Yet we hear from the administration and from its young critics only echoes of old ideological quarrels: “We won’t go!” and “Better dead than Red!”

The choice Americans face today is not, as one might think from the debate being conducted by critics, between a draft standing army and no army at all, but between a draft army and a professional army. History suggests that a professional army is far more susceptible to abuse both at home and abroad than is a conscript army. Would the Vietnam resistance movement ever have gotten under way had the army been volunteer? A professional army can be deployed overseas in engagements that a conscript army drawn from every section of the nation might resist; and it can be used at home for purposes of control and repression that a draft army would not brook. The best way to control the American military establishment is to guarantee that its fighting arm is fully democratic and representative of the entire country.

The second point that is lost on critics of conscription—all the more strange, given their progressive leftist orientation—is that the volunteer army is volunteer in name only, and then solely to those who believe in eighteenth-century free market politics. In reality it is the poor, the undereducated, the ill-trained, and the disadvantaged who are most likely to “volunteer”—not freely, but because society has left them with so few competing choices. Aside from the disastrous effect this may have on military efficiency, it suggests a particularly perverse distribution of the burdens of citizenship: namely, that those with the fewest rights should defend those with the most; that those who are powerless should be the military vanguard of the powerful. “We won’t fight for Exxon” read a sign in the recent antidraft demonstration in Washington; but presumably a “volunteer” army of the poor, the non-white, and the unemployable would be permitted to fight—for Exxon and for Exxon’s indignant critics.

Given the long, successful tradition of civilian control over the military, it is difficult to imagine any American army resisting a legitimate American government or suppressing the populace on behalf of an illegitimate one. But were such junta politics ever to enter our system, they would be far better served by a resentful, unrepresentative “volunteer” army than by two-year national service conscripts. Citizen armies not only fight better abroad (presuming they believe in what they are fighting for), they also serve democracy at home in various crucial ways.

National service is a vital constituent in the relationship between rights and duties in a democracy. It is a symbol of the “amateurism” that defines democratic self-government: Citizens of a republic judge, govern, and defend themselves—relying on professionals only as advisors and administrators, never as surrogate rulers or substitute soldiers. In Switzerland and Denmark and other Western democracies, national service has been a constitutional obligation for centuries. It is a matter of distributing the burden of citizenship equally, but it is also a matter of institutionalizing the necessary dependence of rights on duties. The moral force of rights may suggest something God-given and natural, but in practice they are the creation of constitutional systems and depend for their survival on a parallel set of constitutional obligations. But the ACLU and other critics have portrayed registration and conscription as “intrusions” on the rights and liberties of individuals as if there were not the slightest con-

nection between the preservation of such rights and the willingness of citizens to defend them. A people not willing to defend its rights will soon have none to defend.

None of these matters is beyond debate, of course: Ours is anything but a perfect democracy, conscription will not alter the fundamental inequalities of our society, and most recent wars have been fought for purposes unrelated to freedom and human rights. But the point is to get the real issues on the national agenda and to make our government, our media, and our citizens begin to consider them.

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EXCURSUS 5

Jean Ebbert on ONCE UPON A BUREAUCRACY

In August, 1870, Lieutenant Commander Joe Fyffe, U.S. Navy, was stationed in New London, when he received orders to go to San Francisco and there take command of a Navy frigate. Fyffe was delighted with the prospect of commanding one of the Navy's combat ships, but the trip to San Francisco would cost money he didn't have. Since credit cards were yet to be invented, Fyffe asked the Navy paymaster at New London to advance him money for the trip. The paymaster declined to do so, saying that it was contrary to both custom and regulation.

Fyffe then put the same request to the Navy Department's Bureau of Navigation, the agency that dealt with officers' assignments in those days. But then, even as now, Washington was not much help. The Bureau's officials told Fyffe he should complete the travel and then submit a claim for reimbursement. Fyffe thought poorly of this idea, probably because the claim he'd submitted three years earlier for his travel to New London had yet to be honored. What to do?

Fyffe reexamined his orders and discovered they did not specify *how* he was to travel or *when* he must arrive in San Francisco. (There's a laid-back Navy for you.) The orders required only that he keep the Navy Department

informed of his whereabouts. So Fyffe wrapped the orders in a waterproof envelope, donned his uniform, strapped his sword to his side, and commenced *walking* to San Francisco.

In compliance with his orders he sent a telegram to the Navy Department each day. His telegram of August 25 read: "AM SPENDING NIGHT IN STABLE OF MAYOR OF BRISTOL. NOTE HE HAS HYBRID MULES SPECIALLY BRED FOR THE TROPICS. SUGGEST NAVY INVESTIGATE." Clearly, Fyffe had already discovered a cardinal rule of modern bureaucratic thinking: When in trouble, initiate a study.

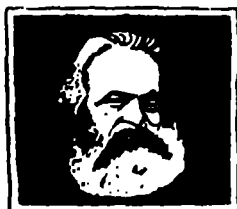
By August 27 Fyffe's mind was on his feet. On that date he telegraphed: "NAVAL OFFICERS BOOTS INADEQUATE FOR PROLONGED WALKING. SUGGEST SURGEON GENERAL INVESTIGATE. SPENDING NIGHT IN LAKEVILLE JAIL, COURTESY LOCAL SHERIFF." Regrettably, we have no record of how the Navy Department received the news that one of its outstanding officers, a man it had chosen to command one of its warships, had spent the night in jail.

Fyffe's telegram of August 28 reveals him a master of public relations, a keen social observer, and (by now) a connoisseur of jails. "PEOPLE THIS AREA NOT FAMILIAR NAVY UNIFORMS. GREAT CROWDS WALKED WITH ME PART WAY TODAY. I SANG THEM SEA CHANTIES. POPULACE THINKS IT GREAT SIGN OF DEMOCRACY FOR COMMANDING OFFICER OF SHIP TO WALK THREE THOUSAND MILES TO NEW STATION. POLICE CHIEF HUDSON NEW YORK HAS GIVEN ME BEST CELL IN JAIL FOR OVERNIGHT."

The next telegram is a superb example of concise reporting and demonstrates that Fyffe knew a thing or two about tactics. Dated August 30, it says: "SHOES FELL APART NOON TODAY. ENTERED ALBANY BAREFOOT. REQUEST RECRUITING OFFICER HERE BE AUTHORIZED TO ISSUE ME NEW SHOES. AM EARNING MY KEEP AS BARTENDER WHILE AWAITING YOUR ANSWER. LOCAL RUM FAR SUPERIOR THAT SERVED IN NAVY. AM SENDING SAMPLE."

And with that it was all over. The Navy Department surrendered, defeated by the combined ignominies of a ship's prospective commanding officer spending nights in stables and jails, trodding the nation's highways barefoot, tending bar, and—perhaps the worst blow of all—suggesting that civilian rum was far superior to the Navy's. Fyffe not only received new boots, he received advance travel money and (we may presume) continued his journey in some manner both more expeditious and appropriate to a Navy man on official orders.

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