

29 DEC 1970

'Foreign Policy' Journal Is Begun

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A new quarterly magazine that wants to plant burrs under the seats of U.S. strategists is now being published under the prosaic title, Foreign Policy.

What the journal lacks in a racy name to mark it off from the stolid establishment publication, Foreign Affairs, it aspires to compensate for in format and content. Foreign Policy is long and slim, about half the width of Foreign Affairs. Its editors hope it will be swallowed easier, but provoke readers more.

The only discernible advantage of the narrow size is that it can slip into a pocket like a secreted pornographic novel. But there the similarity ends.

The first issue of Foreign Policy could provoke a grumpy "harrumph" or two from the chairs of Washington's staid Metropolitan Club. But it will hardly exhilarate the New Left. Somewhere in between is the market the editors are aiming at.

Co-editors of the journal are Samuel P. Huntington, chairman of the Department of Government at Harvard, and Warren Demian Manshel, partner in a Wall Street investment house, Coleman & Co. Manshel is also publisher of another quarterly, The Public Interest. That magazine and Foreign Policy are both financed by National Affairs, Inc., a non-profit organization mainly supported by Manshel.

The cross-bencher role, athwart the beam of the foreign policy establishment, that the new journal seeks to fill, is illustrated by its managing editor, 30-year-old John Franklin Campbell.

Campbell is a U.S. Foreign Service officer, on an unusual 18-month leave of absence, running an avowedly iconoclastic publication pledged to stimulate informed "controversies" about the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

Campbell just completed a year's fellowship with the Council on Foreign Relations, which publishes Foreign Affairs. The older publication evidently looks on the new one with tolerance, rather than hostility, as it carried an article by Campbell in its latest issue and identified him as editor of Foreign Policy.

That Campbell article in Foreign Affairs perhaps best exemplifies the reach of the new quarterly. The flavor of revolution was in its title, "What is to be done?"—a 1932 quotation by Russia's Lenin—yet the proposed solution, to deal with "gigantism in Washington" was not, as Lenin proposed, liquidation, but bureaucratic surgery; Campbell urged slicing the size of the State Department in half by 1976, which is favored by many old establishmentarians, for more conventional reasons.

The editorial board of Foreign Policy, and most writers for its first issue generally represent a similar viewpoint: Critical, accelerated reexamination of American foreign policy goals and means to adapt to a world where U.S. power no longer dominates.

In the first issue, the most provocative off-beat article is "Cool It: The Foreign Policy of Young America," by Prof. Graham Allison of Harvard.

Allison conducted interviews with about 100 "elite" young Americans in the 25-to-34 age group" on the East and West Coasts, largely with establishment backgrounds, to compare their perceptions of foreign policy with what he called "axioms of the postwar era."

Among his findings as "the basic axioms of young Americans" are these:

- "While there are important differences between Communist and democratic regimes, the distinction between the Communist bloc and the Free World obfuscates more than it illuminates."

- "Opposition to communism is a misleading guide for U.S. foreign policy . . . It is not clear why Communist Cuba is worse than free Haiti or Greece."

- "The Soviet Union is an established, status quo-oriented power . . . Future relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union will be more cooperative than competitive."

- "The United States has neither the power, nor the responsibility nor the right to guarantee the defense of the Free World or to serve as the linchpin of international order."

Other articles in the new journal are generally more orthodox; many could have appeared in the older Foreign Affairs by the same authors.

The distinction is that all the articles are focused on change, as are the members of the new journal's editorial board: W. Michael Blumenthal, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard N. Cooper, Richard A. Falk, David Halberstam, Morton H. Halperin, Stanley Hoffmann, Joseph S. Nye Jr., James C. Thompson Jr. and Richard H. Ullman.

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