

are increasing bad-debt provisions, strengthening screening of credit requests, and cutting back support of selected clients. They are substituting new activities to diversify from overexpanded industries such as open-hearth steel, sugar refining, and plywood.

Young's pioneering treatise on such an important subject as GTCs calls for a revised edition, which gradually would bestow on it the status of a classic. Here are some suggestions for the second edition: First, cut out most of the more than sixty statistical tables, a flood of data which tends to drown out many an important message. Second, the pragmatic reader looks for some carefully selected and comprehensively treated case studies of such topics as putting together the complex agribusiness deal in Brazil, the feeding and care of one of

the more than 200 GTC offices around the world, or a young man's ascent on the lifetime career ladder (women not yet admitted), and so forth. Third, there should be case studies of how small American exporters grew and prospered by using the Sogo Shosha to pave their way into Japanese markets. Fourth, above all there should be a chapter or two highlighting the Japanese style and possibilities of adapting some of the elements to American and West European management practices.

But Professor Young has written a book that should be on the shelves of economic and diplomatic professionals dealing with the Far East, and that claims the attention also of intelligent laypersons who wonder why the Japanese are running circles around us and what we might do about it. [WV]

respectively), or the basic, pithy, though thoroughly European, statement on human rights and American policy by Zbigniew Brzezinski at the White House Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Nonetheless, the three anthologies taken together provide the student of human rights with a solid look at the cluster of complicated issues involved in United States initiatives to promote such rights. Many of the chapters in these books are written by key participants in the struggle for human rights and the recent attempts to introduce human rights concerns in American foreign policy: In Rubin and Spiro we have Donald Fraser, chairman of the House of Representatives subcommittee that leads the way in Congress; Dante Fascell, co-chairman of the Congressional Helsinki Commission; Senator Moynihan; Theo Van Boven, director of the U.N. Human Rights Division. In Brown and MacLean appear Mark Schneider, the State Department's human rights workhorse; Tom Buergenthal, a member of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights; John Salzborg, for years the key congressional staffer on human rights; the Reverend William Wipfler, a major link in the United States for human rights problems in Latin America. And Kommers and Loescher include A.H. Robertson, former director for human rights, Council of Europe; Ben Whitaker, director, Minority Rights Group; Tom Farer, member of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission; Nigel Rodley, legal advisor to Amnesty International; Laurie Wiseberg and Harry Scoble, co-editors of the *Human Rights Internet* newsletter. Additionally, Rubin and Spiro, and Kommers and Loescher, include the basic administration human rights policy pronouncements by Carter, Vance, Warren Christopher, and Patricia Derian.

Brown and MacLean include three excellent case studies: the Philippines (Richard Claude), South Korea (Jerome Cohen), and Iran (Richard Cottam). Elizabeth Spiro provides a useful introduction to the complexities of U.S. human rights policies toward the multilateral aid institutions, and Abraham Sirkin (in Brown and MacLean) discusses lucidly the impossibility of consistency in U.S. human rights policy, arguing for balance, integrity, and co-

## Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy *ed. by Peter Brown and Douglas MacLean* (Lexington Books; 301 pp.; \$16.95)

## Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy *ed. by Barry Rubin and Elizabeth Spiro* (Westview Press; 283 pp.; \$20.00)

## Human Rights and American Foreign Policy *ed. by Donald Kommers and Gilbert Loescher* (University of Notre Dame Press; 345 pp.; \$14.95)

### David Hawk

None of these books is complete or internally coherent. Kommers and Loescher is a well-edited version of papers presented at a conference in April, 1977, but most of the pieces have little to do with American foreign policy. Most of the chapters in Rubin and Spiro have been published elsewhere, chiefly in *Commentary*. Brown and MacLean, strangely for a volume that concentrates on "human rights provisions in U.S. law governing foreign policy," overlooks the Soviet Union as if the Jackson-Vanik amendment does not ex-

ist, and overlooks the international financial institutions as if the multilateral aid spigots were not a prime concern of congressional human rights advocates.

None of the introductions by the editors provide either a cogent rationale for including the articles that follow or a clear and concise introduction to the announced subject matter: human rights and U.S. foreign policy. For this an interested reader could better start with Arthur Schlesinger's or Sandra Vogelgesang's articles in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1979, and July, 1978,

herence to be achieved largely through luck.

Each volume deals with the essential issue of monitoring and evaluating human rights violations. Kommers and Loescher, and Brown and MacLean, have several chapters dealing with the classic diplomatic issue of interstate intervention ("intercession," more accurately) in the presumed domestic affairs of other states—presumed that is, by a country when, and often only when, it is under scrutiny. In Kommers and Loescher, although it has little direct bearing on United States policy, Vernon Van Dyke and Ben Whitaker provide American readers insight into the neglected importance of "group" and "collective" rights in addition to "individual" rights. Peter Reddaway gives the best short introduction to human rights and their abuse in the Soviet Union that I have yet seen. Peter Berger's and Walter Laqueur's 1977 *Commentary* pieces (in Rubin and Spiro), "Are Human Rights Universal?" and "The Issue of Human Rights," remain stimulating, though the latter is contentious.

Inevitably, anthologies of these sorts contain fillers and losers. Brown and MacLean include a selection of rather academic philosophizing on "the nature and justification of human rights," which to me, at least, seems uninspired, overargued, and only tenuously related to the practical and urgent human rights concerns of U.S. foreign policy. Anyone interested in the philosophical underpinnings and approaches to human rights would be better advised to see Louis Henkin's *The Rights of Man Today* (Westview Press) and David Hollenbach's *Claims in Conflict: Retrieving and Renewing the Catholic Human Rights Tradition* (Paulist Press), two extremely serious, insightful, and informative historical examinations of human rights from the viewpoints of legal-political and moral theory, respectively.

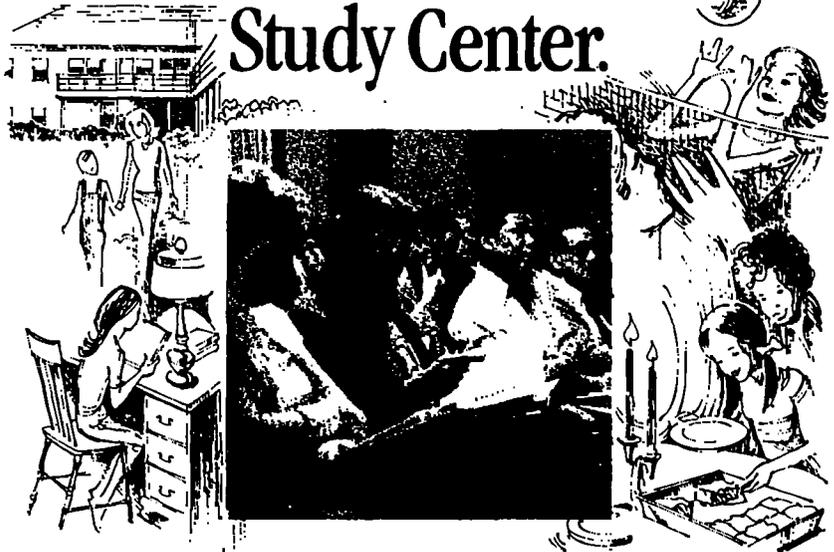
There is a host of omissions in these books. Particularly striking is their failure to set the human rights aspects of U.S. foreign policy in the context of world politics and international affairs, as for example Stanley Hoffmann subtly does in *Primacy or World Order*. What has the geopolitical rivalry, tension, and conflict in Southeast Asia to do with the massive human rights violations in Indochina? How will a reheated

cold war affect Western support for Soviet dissidents? How thoroughly and fast will political and economic deterioration in the international environment push human rights off the world agenda? These are vital questions for U.S. human rights policies.

Also missing is an adequate and un-sentimental consideration of human rights as a matter of United States

national interest. It may well be that decisionmakers calculating the shifting power balances have neither the time nor the inclination to examine the ways in which a world with less, and less severe, human rights violations—in specific case after specific case—is in the interests of the United States. Books on human rights and American foreign policy have less excuse. [WV]

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