

The Structure of Area Studies at Yale

The subject of this issue is not area studies, but the organization of area studies. Nor is it international relations, except to the extent that that subject of study, or the organization of it, impinges upon the organization of area studies.

Part I gives a brief history of the existing structures of area studies. Part II critiques certain aspects of the institutional operations as they exist within present structures. Part III explains the theoretical assumptions about the organization of area studies used in this tract, as well as some of the intellectual bases of area studies and the relation of area studies to traditional academic disciplines. Finally, Part IV extends the critical analysis begun in Part II and suggests some structural improvements.

1

A Short History

The first phase: collegiality

An organizational structure for area studies was established at Yale in the 1960s with the generous grants from the Ford Foundation. Existing programs, courses, and faculty from various disciplines—most often History, the social sciences, and Law—were gathered into *councils* on area studies. Each council consisted of several faculty members headed by a (usually) tenured professor as chairman. The chairman was appointed for a fixed or continuing term by the dean of the Graduate School; the council members were appointed or reappointed each year upon the recommendation of the chairman by the executive director of the *Concilium*, the “council of councils.”

It is clear that among the three kinds of rôles involved—(1) council members of any faculty rank appointed yearly, as on a committee, (2) a non-faculty executive director to the council of councils, (3) a senior faculty member appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School as a chairman—it was the council chairmen who singly had authority and responsibility for the programs in their own areas of study and jointly the authority for area studies in toto.

In all relations with the University at large—with the Graduate and other

schools, with departments, with offices of administration and finance, etc.—each council was considered as if it were a department residing in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Where degree programs existed (even undergraduate programs), they were incorporated under this new structure. The two principal constituencies of the councils were faculty and graduate students. The already existing program in International Relations was treated like an area study council, coequal with any other.

Each council had its own administrative office and a small staff. The offices were gathered under the one roof of the *Concilium*, which itself had a small staff supervised by the full-time executive director. The *Concilium* provided central services (including those for budget and accounting), the consolidation of certain major programs (particularly, the endowed *Concilium* chairs), and assistance with and coordination of the goals and activities of the various councils. The executive director was in touch with daily operations of all councils’ staff, yet was liaison for the council chairmen to the offices of the Provost, Graduate School deans, etc. *Concilium* policies not dictated by higher University administrators were decided by meetings of the chairmen. Functioning of intra-*Concilium* matters at all levels presupposed a general openness.

The first of two structural crises in area studies came in the early 1970s

with the expiration of the original Ford grants. Certain councils had a secure endowment and could proceed much as before, but there was serious consideration by the Provost and others of abolishing other councils. In the end the arguments of their chairmen, the executive director, and other advocates prevailed, and the unendowed councils were guaranteed a minimal existence, first on drawn out unexpended Ford monies, eventually on small University allocations funnelled through the *Concilium*. Administration of the major programs of student dissertation grants and faculty research grants, formerly residing with individual councils, and the funds for them, were taken over by the *Concilium*. From time to time councils have sought and occasionally obtained outside expendable funds, and have expanded and contracted—in program and staff—with the success or failure of such efforts.

The second phase: autocracy

The contractions of the early 1970s left shaken those faculty who, by station or stature, influenced decisions made about the structure of area studies. They were evidently receptive to the diagnosis that area studies as it had been constituted lacked the prestige either to compete (for funds, faculty, students) in the world outside Yale or to survive within Yale itself, and also to the prescription that its prestige could be enhanced by the prestige of a director of suitable distinction. A director of senior faculty standing was sought and joined the existing organization in 1978. By the end of the decade, the full-time executive director of the *Concilium* had been replaced by the faculty director—that is, by an active scholar-researcher-teacher and “part-time” administrator. The first phase of area studies’ organization had ended and a second had begun.

Inherent in the appointment of a faculty director for area studies were two new and crucial structural elements: (1) the creation of a new level of hierarchy

above the council chairmen and (2) the (apparent¹) centralization of authority in that new level. By the time these elements were labeled overtly in 1983, when the name of the Concilium on International and Area Studies was changed to the *Center* for International and Area Studies (YCIAS), a "council of councils" had long ceased to exist and the council chairmen had been relieved of both authority and responsibility for the welfare of the institution as a whole.

The appointment of a faculty director was the first of the two significant structural changes that marked the second phase of the organization. The second change remained undeclared, despite evidence that it was taking place: the

¹More on the "apparentness" of centralization later. Suffice it to say that centralization of authority appears to have been the intent of the faculty directors. Authority can also be sustained by engendering respect and by possessing sufficient knowledge of the institution's various parts. To the extent that respect by others within and without the organization is deficient and that knowledge of the parts is

former Council on International Relations, redesignated the Program on International Relations (IR) in 1978, was placed under the direct care of the YCIAS directorate. The position of IR chairman was removed² and the YCIAS effectively absorbed the program into itself, intermixing funds and staff in a way that continually appears to give the program a prior claim on the interests, energies, and resources of the directorate and its staff.

Throughout the 1980s, the new union of the central directorate and the IR program grew markedly relative to the area councils. The YCIAS directorate developed or acquired activities and programs that competed with or overlapped

insufficient, any tendency toward centralization is at odds with other "natural" forces of organizational behavior.

²In the spring term of 1990 a chairman for IR reappeared in the directory of the YCIAS, perhaps (one speculates) in preparation for the proposed new undergraduate program in global studies.

those of area councils.³ New YCIAS staff positions were created or existing ones elevated or expanded. YCIAS staff-hours previously designated for matters pertaining to any area study were recommitted specifically to the IR program.

On the structural level over the years, new regional studies councils, new "committees" (i.e., incipient councils), or new "programs" joined the organization. Topical programs, either short- or long-lived, had for some time been the offspring of regional units. Late in the second phase the YCIAS exhibited an interest in and began to develop more programs that, like IR, had topical emphases. Figure 1 is a simplification of the organizational chart of international and area studies produced by the YCIAS directorate in July 1988.

Paradoxically, as YCIAS staff grew, major and minor support functions formerly provided by the Concilium,

³Budgets for 1988-89 show, for example, that the YCIAS allocation for "seminars and conferences" was \$57,500, or 62.2% of the total for all of the YCIAS

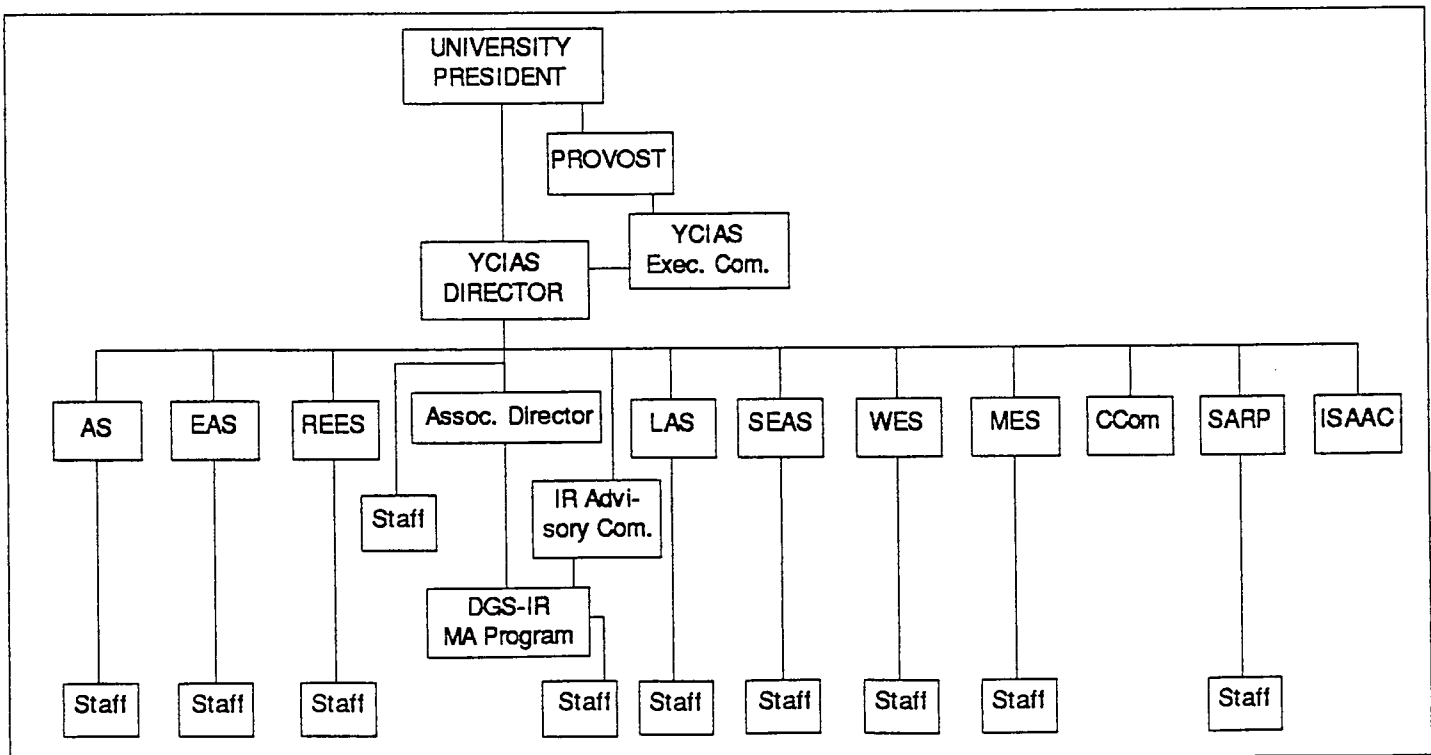


Figure 1a Yale Center for International & Area Studies, July 1988 (simplified from a chart prepared by the YCIAS directorate)

from developing budgets or keeping accounts to sorting the mail or maintaining the copying machine, were shifted onto the councils. Council staffs often found themselves in absurd tugs-of-war with central staff over ordinary services and procedures.

At the same time, decision making on serious issues affecting all levels of area studies was removed to the YCIAS directorate and often kept secret from council chairmen. These included such matters as the development of general budgets (sources, commitments, priorities, projections) or the allocation of office space, which, in area studies' first phase, would have been worked out by the committee of council chairmen and accessible even to their staffs.

Meetings of the chairmen began to be called less and less frequently, with agenda of less and less significance.⁴ The rôle of the body of chairmen was no longer to discuss and formulate policies, but to listen to the YCIAS director announce policies already made.

The relative remoteness at any time of one or several chairmen from their councils facilitated the implementation of a central agenda simply by the imposition of the YCIAS director's decisions or (in default) those of his staff directly upon council staff. Putting C&T staff in such a position—employees for whom refusal or even discussion may be futile, and often imprudent—is a patently unfair tactic if done knowingly, and a callous one if done unthinkingly. Yet time after time, in small matters and large, council chairmen who have duties in their departments for which they are given no special exemption, are bypassed by the YCIAS directorate while their resident staffs are occupied with

and the councils and programs. This represents a great deal of visible activity, well beyond the function of *coördination* of area studies activities, much of it in the bailiwick of an area council, usually without involving the council's chairmen or staff.

⁴This is not to say that chairmen were not free to meet, in any combination, in any frequency, of their own volition.

edicts from the directorate that do not respect the chairmen's priorities.

When, for example, budget and accounting responsibilities were transferred to the individual councils, no chairman was consulted on the consequences of this decision, on whether his staff was able, in allocable time or in level of skills, to take on this responsibility, on whether his staff would be adequately compensated and classified for duties of this level, on what new authority and responsibilities it implied for the chairman.

Individual instances of disregarding a council's own agenda as the express domain of its chairman may have been inadvertent or inconsequential, but the cumulative effect of repeated instances, whether intended or not, was to further remove the chairmen from sharing a common responsibility for area studies and even to chop away at his authority within his own council.

These kinds of procedures and operational policies within an autocratic structure, with the movement toward centralization, brought fourth an antithetical force: countercentralization—not decentralization, but the divergence of the councils from the central organization. The area councils, which together and interdependently had once *been* the Concilium, grew isolated from each other. In their relation to the YCIAS, each settled into conflicted states of dependence and independence. They were dependent upon the YCIAS, which interposed itself, or was thought to be interposed, between the area studies councils and certain higher offices in the University for the allocation of University resources. Yet to the extent any council was self-funded, it was free to set an independent course, with obligations neither toward other councils nor toward area studies altogether. With or without funding, councils conducted business satisfactorily with other University offices (such as those of the Graduate School or financial offices) and with traditional departments.

Councils could bypass the YCIAS in seeking funds or launching programs,

but their execution in daily staff work continually bumped up against the YCIAS for services expected but not provided. Further, a tendency toward increasing secrecy in the operations of the YCIAS (for which there has been no formal recourse within the organization) has exacerbated the isolationism and collective anomie.

2

Operations within Present Structures

There is this irony in the reality of the second phase of the organization: The apparent centralization of the YCIAS has produced not a more unified structure, but a more fragmented one. Each additional activity or program that has been developed, acquired, or appropriated by the central directorate is offset in the councils by increasing independence—in programs, in relationships with other Yale departments and offices, and in their own development. The directorate has explicitly "released" individual councils to seek their own new funding—and released them as well from any central assistance in their searches.

The combined structure of international and area studies, having acquired more programs and councils since the early 70s,⁵ has evidently grown too large and complex for an authoritarian central directorate, which itself has acquired competing programs. The directorate claims not to have the staff or resources to provide common services of an ordinary office group, and so does not.⁶ Yet it continues its ambitious and

⁵Compare Figure 3, the first phase with Figure 1a, the second phase.

⁶A review of the agenda and notes of general staff meetings of recent years reveals the direction office support services have taken: sorting mail, maintaining a copy machine, sending telex, managing UPS, recycling paper, answering the telephone, typing the director's own correspondence—all of these and more have by default or by intimidation or by recalcitrance been shifted to council staff, without consultation with their supervisors,

high profile agenda of big-name speakers, big-time conferences, and big-ticket amenities.

Some of this activity slanted toward public relations may be desirable in these times, even in an institution dedicated to scholarship and teaching. But in the autocratic structure of the YCIAS, it is done without the advise of the designated head of each area. And to the extent it drains resources from scholarly activities of the area studies councils, it taxes the area studies constituencies as a feudal lord taxes his vassals.

The second phase of the organization of area studies at Yale brought it at the end of the 1980s to its second crisis. The extent of the crisis is obscured by transient and unequal pockets of prosperity. It may be hidden too, or at least temporarily remitted, by a selfless spirit in any chairman or by good will and good manners in a director. But these cannot alter the underlying structure of area studies in its second phase, which is autocratic, and it cannot make autocracy an acceptable system for a liberal university.

What difference does it make?

In an academic environment autocracy is, for one thing, a weak system, even in protecting the interests of the authoritarian center itself. This was epitomized by the episode with the Trowbridge House, which had been assigned to the YCIAS by President Giambatti, only to be rescinded by his successor, President Schmidt. During the long period of "assignment," the YCIAS directorate made plans for the house's renovation and use, but all decisions and, presumably, all negotiations were conducted in secret, without consulting the area council chairmen. When the plans fell in hazard, the chairmen carried no weight with the President when they

the council chairman. Whatever excuse is offered, it cannot be to save money. It costs in staff time of the organization whether such tasks are performed centrally or on the periphery. In fact, in nearly every case, such delegation of duties costs more—in time, dollars, efficiency, reliability, morale.

mustered in his office in a vain attempt to rescue the building for all of area studies. To the President, these council chairmen—senior members of the faculty and distinguished scholars in their disciplines—were but kibitzers: they had not been dealt in.

An authoritarian director by himself has no way of resisting a higher level of authority—the President, who appointed him and who himself tends (evidently) to act on impulse and without considered counsel. There is nothing to do but submit.

On the other hand, a collegial, semi-democratic structure, such as the council system of area studies' first phase, has built-in strengths—strength in numbers, strength in the broader experience and talents and ideas that those numbers represent, strength in the vigor only a joint enterprise can foster. A collegial system of council chairman survived the assaults at the end of the first phase of area studies in the 1970s. Had the collegial system still been in place, the humiliation of the Trowbridge House might not even have happened.

More can be lost than a home that never was. The recent announcement that the University accepted a \$1 million endowment for East Asian studies from the Young Leaders Fellowship is an instance where the autocratic reflexes and the habitual and systematic failure to consult Yale's own experts in area studies has caused internal distress and public embarrassment.⁷ That the donor, Japanese magnate Ryoichi Sasakawa, has been a notorious and aggressive fascist activist whose self-aggrandizing gift would compromise the values of a liberal university may not have been known or fully understood by the University authority or authorities who accepted the endowment, whether it was the President or the director of YCIAS.⁸

⁷See Stanley Weinstein, "The Truth About a Yale Benefactor," *Yale Daily News*, February 27, 1990.

⁸After the announcement was made, the YCIAS director was quoted in the *Yale Daily News* (February 14, 1990) defending Yale's acceptance of Sasakawa's gift by

And why not? Because the experts on the far east in the Council on East Asian studies were neither asked about nor informed of the pending gift. Because ten years of autocracy at YCIAS has consolidated *power* in the upper reaches of the hierarchy, but not expertise or sensitivity.

The weakness of the structure of area studies in the crisis of its second stage might be summarized in five points:

1) The director for all international and area studies is a part-time administrator. Even if the scholar-director is sufficiently expert in all world areas and sensitive to the established structures for studying them at Yale, his commitment only part-time as director would preclude his having time to tend to the inescapable exigencies of lower and middle levels of administration (staffing, facilities, central services). The first faculty director foresaw this deficiency and thought to alleviate it by charging such responsibilities to a new position of associate director. However, in practice these areas of administration have defaulted to various staff.

2) Area studies have been subordinated to international relations.

3) Council chairmen no longer have collective authority in area studies, which tends to diminish their sense of *responsibility* for area studies as a unit, either collectively or individually.

4) Council chairmen, meeting less often, having no authority, and feeling little responsibility, are therefore less knowledgeable about the organization and problems of area studies. When other avenues of communication between the central administration and the councils are not pursued, the problem is exacerbated. For busy chairmen, and particularly for chairmen new to Yale's organization, one remedy at hand has been to rely on staff for advise and continuity. This is by no means altogether bad, and the relationships of trust and respect between chairmen and the generally

making a legalistic distinction between classes of unseemly sources of funds.

highly competent staffs have contributed as much as anything to the achievements of individual councils. This is the "bureaucracy," oft-scorned in the abstract, but for many individuals, groups, and other institutions, their interface with Yale's area studies organizations. Nevertheless, council staff are not scholars or professionals, but clerical workers whose experience and perspective are limited to low- and mid-level administrative matters. Staff depend on faculty—chairman or director—to set the course, but if chairmen in turn depend on staff to reveal where they are going, then the courses are apt to be little circles pulled along by the YCIAS administration (see Figure 1c, below).

5) There exist overlap, ambiguity, and incongruity in the functions, responsibilities, and authority between area councils, on the one hand, and the YCIAS, on the other, and likewise between council staffs and YCIAS staff. The YCIAS is playing dual rôles in the structure of area studies: that of higher authority and that of competitor. Under such conditions "power" is too much a

function of politics, and staff suffer damaged morale.

The implied and the effective lines of power within the present structure are superimposed on the 1988 organizational chart, as Figures 1b and 1c. The arrows in Figure 1b are those the observer would infer from such a hierarchical layout. The actual power flow is better shown by the bold arrows in Figure 1c, where council staff are the direct and daily targets of directorate policies and a question mark is an accurate sign of the chairmen's connections to and understanding of affairs in the directorate. The figure illustrates the conflicted position of council staff in the present structure. The grayed lines and arrows illustrate another set of actual connections: the independent and multi-level relations between each council and such University offices as the Graduate School or financial administration.

3

Some Theoretical Assumptions

As was stated at the outset, the subject here is not area studies but the *organization* of area studies. Area studies are themselves levels of organization above the actual world areas that are its subjects. World areas exist, whether scholars study them or not; and at Yale, the *study* of world areas also exists, whether the YCIAS and the councils organize and direct those studies or not. One purpose of organizations like the councils is to direct and facilitate those studies. Should anyone question the quality or number or even existence of the constituency of one of the area studies councils, he or she should consult the council's chairman or members or the latest annual report.

Nevertheless, at Yale as at other universities, most research and teaching activities are organized by discipline—that is, by the *departments*. Organizations built on area or topic, like the councils or other programs within the

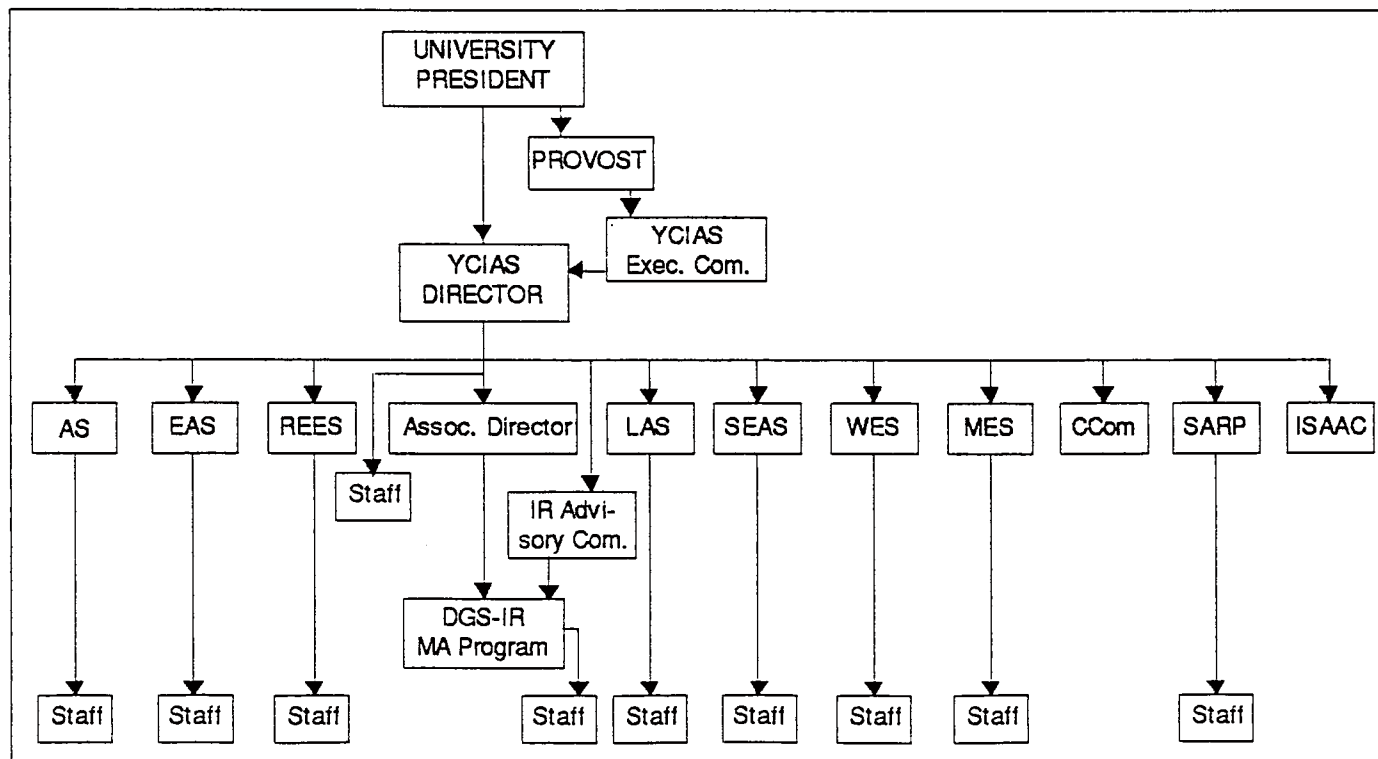


Figure 1b Yale Center for International & Area Studies (after July 1988 organizational chart): The implied flow of power

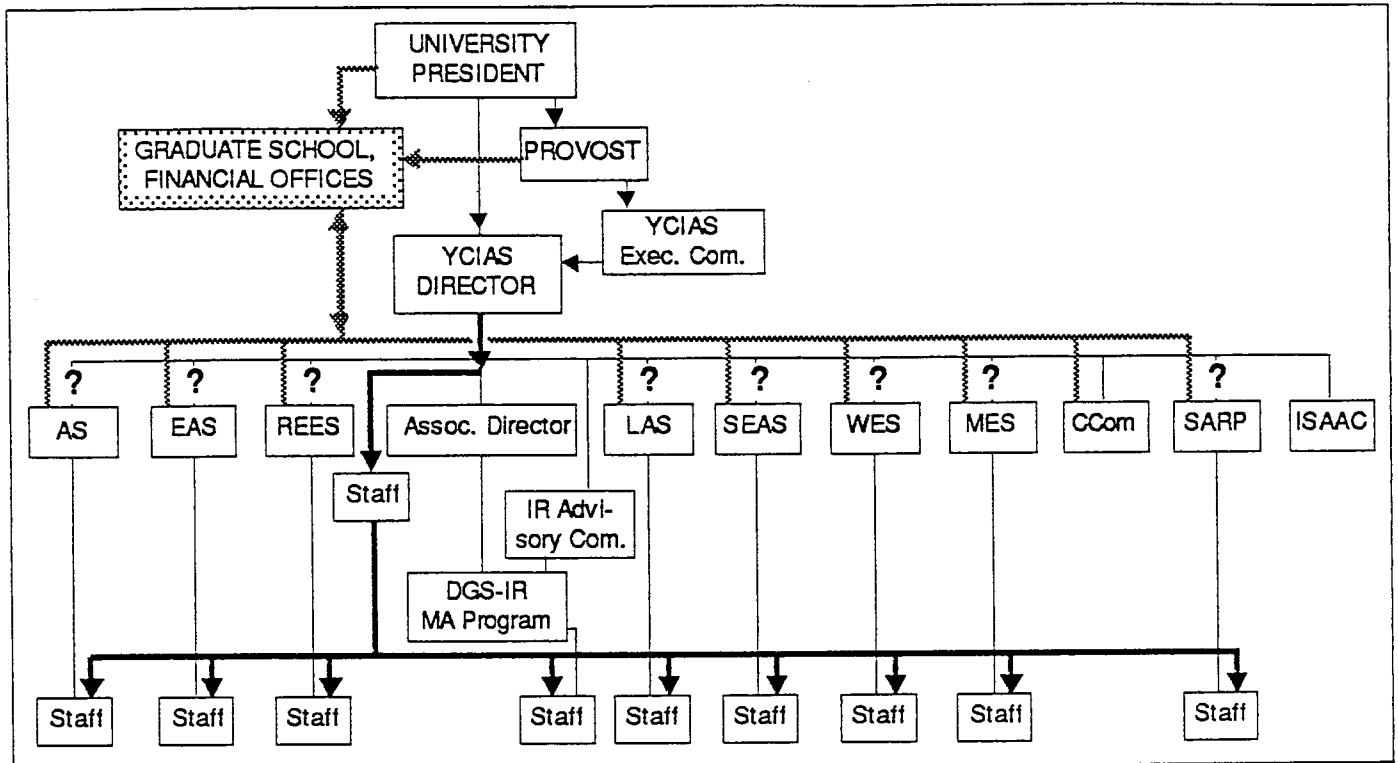


Figure 1c Yale Center for International & Area Studies (after July 1988 organizational chart): The *effective* flow of power

YCIAS, resemble networks—or “virtual” departments—laid across the underlying department structure. The departments are in most respects stable organizations, subject to change only slowly.

The “virtual” departments, in contrast, can alter themselves very quickly. They can lie in a minimal, near dormant state for a time, then spring to life, drawing upon established structures and resources and responding to and even leading the demands and opportunities of the moment by bringing in outside resources (e.g., foundations grants, cooperative ventures) and by expanding and augmenting programs, increasing staff, and giving direction to them all. Just as quickly, a “virtual” department can shrink—in funds, programs, staffing, etc.—as resources and interests turn elsewhere.

In fat times, a “virtual” department is self-directed and relatively self-sufficient. What it needs is what every unit of organization at Yale needs: the provision of basic administrative and physical services. As the University sees fit, any (real or virtual) department’s admin-

istrative office may either take care of its own basic services (copying, mail, UPS, telephones, fax, physical facilities, etc.) or, to take advantage of certain economies of scale, may share a pool of services provided by a central organization such as the YCIAS. In lean times the “virtual” department needs assurance of a minimal existence in order to maintain contact with its constituency and to administer a modest program.

The rôle of a central organization might then be, in addition to providing central services, to insure that minimal existence by securing or cultivating continuing faculty commitments to the council and by keeping open channels for potential strengthening and development.

From the general to the particular

The question here is what kind of a central structure—Concilium/YCIAS—can best manage, allocate, encourage, direct, etc., among a collection of separate area studies councils when individual councils fluctuate between extremes of strength and weakness over time.

Through lean times, and as long as

a faculty director and the officials to whom he answers are committed to maintaining a council, a centralized, authoritarian structure might seem to do just as well as a collegial structure in supporting a weak area.

However, a council under such circumstances is likely to remain in prolonged isolation on the level of faculty, when it most needs to be in touch with the faculty of other areas. And on the staff level, the result is equally harmful. The YCIAS’s recent penny-pinching recourse of substituting casual hourly employees (low wages, no fringe benefits) for permanent (if part-time) managerial- or clerical-level staff is perceived by remaining staff as a threat.⁹ This damages staff work because staff work is

⁹The practice certainly violates the spirit, and arguably the letter, of Article XVIII of the existing contract between the University and Local 34. This fits in a long pattern by the YCIAS directorate of systematic violation of the intent and the letter of Article XI of the contract, concerning job descriptions and classifications.

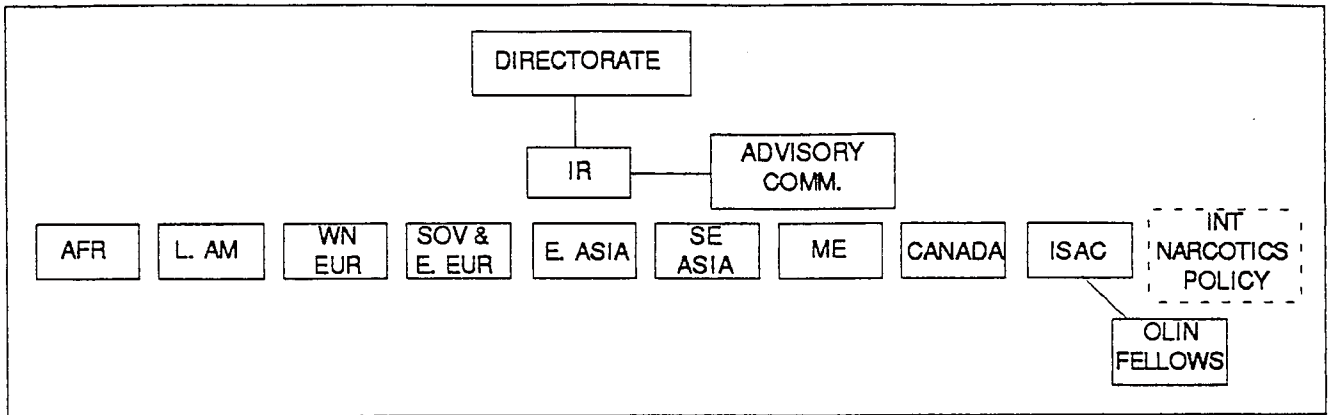


Figure 2 Yale Center for International & Area Studies, as diagramed by the Director, September 5, 1989

the point of contact for most people who deal with a council, it will likely damage somewhat the standing of area studies within the University .

When a council thrives or grows—because of a resurgence of interest in the area among faculty, students, and the world at large, including funding agencies—the authoritarian structure has shown itself again and again to be unresponsive inflexible. Often the barriers involve human motivation, and an enlightened director can alleviate some of them. Nevertheless, there are no assurances that all directors will be enlightened, and, even when they are, too many obstacles are built in the superfluous hierarchy itself.

4

Five Points for Restructuring

The two different approaches to studying the world—the nation-state model (international relations) and the region model (area studies)—might exist cooperatively at

Yale, but not under the present structure, not where the region model is subordinated to international relations. If the University wishes to continue expanding its investment in IR, it should not do so at the expense of area studies, which themselves have varied and growing demands and significant constituencies that cannot be dismissed by organizational favoritism.

Reasonable solutions to the YCIAS's

crisis have been suggested.¹⁰ But until the chairmen and members of even the prosperous councils recognize that the interests of all area studies are diminished by an incoherent structure and the fragmentation of the council system, until council chairmen, past and present, assert the rights entrusted to them by the Dean's appointment and assume their obligations not only as teachers and scholars, but also as administrators—until they reshape the organization, the crisis is unlikely to be resolved.

In the fall of 1989 the YCIAS director pictured the organizational structure of the YCIAS as in Figure 2, with the IR program di-

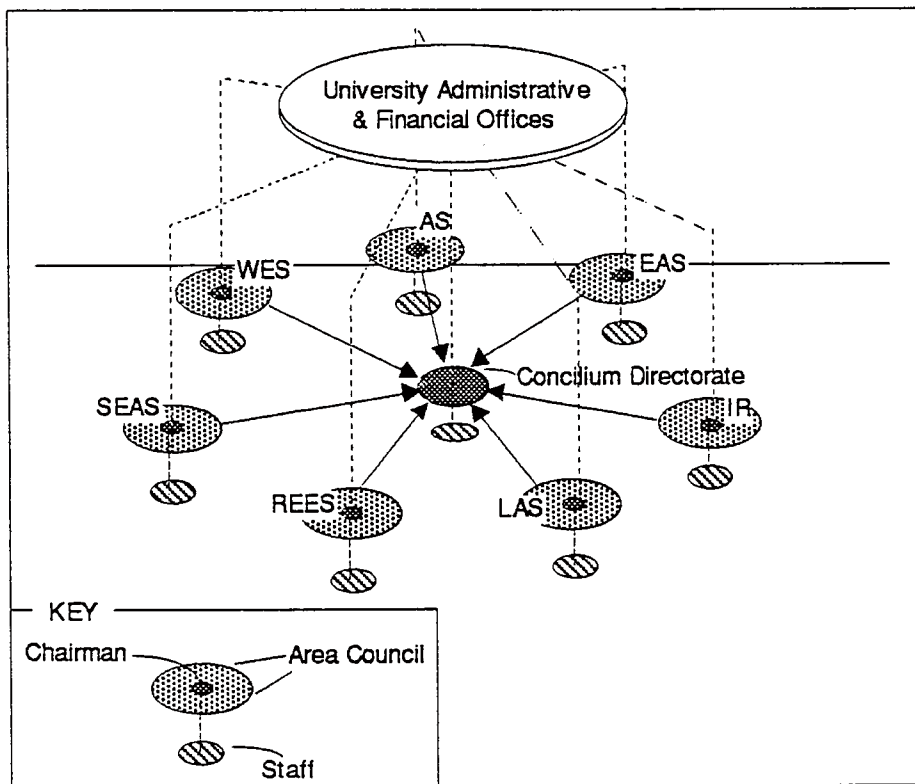


Figure 3 Concilium on International & Area Studies: The organization and structure of area studies at Yale through the 1970s

¹⁰See the internal memorandum, YCIAS: *Intellectual Bases and Organizational Problems*, December 7, 1988 (manuscript available from Council on West European Studies). This piece, which was prepared for the Provost's ten-year plan for the social sciences, gives a lucid explanation of the two approaches to world studies—the regional and the topical.

rectly linked to the YCIAS directorate and with all other programs and councils on a level below them. It is more the reality than the public and sanitized version in Figure 1a. However, contrast Figure 2 instead with Figure 3, an abstract rendering of the council-based structure of the Concilium up through the mid 1970s in which (1) the central position of the Concilium directorate is not superior to the council chairmanships, (2) IR is coequal to area studies councils, (3) councils have alternate links to the University administration, either directly or through the central directorate.

Perhaps there are valid reasons to treat IR differently. It is a topical rather than an area study. As more topical studies programs (IR, ISAC, environmental studies, et al.) accrete to the YCIAS, an alternative organization, separated from area studies, might be called for. Perhaps the parts of YCIAS have grown too many and too large and vigorous for one unit. A bifurcation is not out of the question, either on the level of the directorate (co-directors) or as a subdivision on the council/program level. But under no circumstances should the area programs be subjugated to topical programs.

The YCIAS is overextended and over-committed. A single faculty director with other obligations and his own interests can not administer all the thriving intellectual activities of all the area studies councils.

The YCIAS's staff does not now and cannot as presently disposed and managed fulfill the relatively high level business manager/staff assistant functions required by thriving area studies councils. And it is failing—refusing—to provide the common, routine support services to area studies administrative offices for which it was, in the 60s and 70s, created. The depth, seriousness, and persistence of staff disgruntlement, and its adverse affects on the quality of operations, cannot be overestimated.

The councils—chairmen and staff—are trying to work around the tough knot at the center of the structure, but it

is no way to work. YCIAS has ambitious programs, but it does not know and apparently can not well assist its own component councils. It is time for solutions. It is time for a third phase, with a fair place for global and other topical studies programs, and a fair place for area studies. It is time, further, for a collegial, senatorial governance of area studies. It might even be time for limited democracy. The following plan is suggested:

Five-point restructuring

1. *The area studies councils, individually and as a group, must no longer be subordinated to International Relations or to any other topical program.* Recent practice is administratively and intellectually untenable.

2. *The two types of interdisciplinary organizations currently under the umbrella of the YCIAS—regional studies and topical studies¹¹—should be distinguished and their administrations should be separated.* If the YCIAS wishes to retain an authoritarian model faculty director (or co-director, see below) for topical studies, it may do so, but he or she would not be the director of regional studies.

3. *Common administration of area studies would be shared by the chairmen of all councils in a semi-democratic, collegial affiliation.* In practical terms, this might be effected in one of two ways:

a) with a *co-director* for area studies, who would be one of the council chairmen serving a term either in rotation with the other chairmen or by election of the chairman, and

equal in rank to the co-director for international and topical studies, or b) with an *executive director*, a full time professional administrator (after the Concilium model), responsible to the chairman.

This body of chairmen—together or through their chosen representative—would negotiate with University offices on a basis equal to the co-director for international and topical studies for a fair portion of University resources designated for "international and area studies." Together the two bodies of study should be stronger.

4. *Faculty who serve as chairmen of area studies councils must be granted reasonable release time from some departmental duties.* Release time and compensation to departments would depend on the size and level of activity of the chairman's council (number of students and faculty, degree programs, funds administered, etc.).

5. *A central office and staff for area studies would support the councils for common services.* Central support staff need only be minimal, but under this structure would be responsive to the needs of area studies and not to rival agenda. The level of staff required would depend on whether the alternative of co-director (providing minimum supervision) or executive director (providing maximum supervision) was adopted. Council staff would continue to provide the four essential staff functions for themselves, as they do in fact (though not in title) now. Those are: 1) business manager, 2) staff assistant, 3) registrar, and 4) secretary. Disposition of the duties of all staffs—central and council—should be examined by the Office of Human Resources with the advice of council chairmen and experienced existing staff.

H. Salome

¹¹Fitting the regional model are six of the seven original councils (all but IR) plus the additions since the mid 1970s: Southern African Research Program, Canadian Studies, Middle East Studies, and South Asia Studies. International Security and Arms Control and International Narcotics Policy join IR as topically organized units. Programs planned or contemplated by the YCIAS in recent months tend to be of the topical model: International Labor History, Agrarian Studies, Environmental Studies, Human Rights.

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