Dear Professor Kissinger,

I understand that you and Max have talked about some changes in your review of the Katz book. Here are the galleys, which incorporate his editing. He has asked me to ask you if you can provide an alternative to "accommodation" in the second paragraph.

We are scheduling this for our current issue, so could you please call me as soon as you have read through the piece?

Best wishes,

Derek Morgan
"THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S," by Milton Katz. Knopf. $1.95. If history teaches anything, it is that all political structures have hitherto proved ephemeral. Philosophers and political scientists have found many causes for this state of affairs. None is more important or persistent than the gap that almost inevitably arises between the requirements for reaching high office and the qualities needed to exercise it. When the gap is narrow, the political structure flourishes; when it widens, decay is inevitable.

Professor Katz, in his wise little book, addresses himself to this strangely neglected problem. He traces, through a number of historical examples, the relationship between winning power and governing: Sulla and Caesar; the French Revolution and Napoleon; the Congo; the British commodore in the Prussian-German affair; and finally, he shows how governmental elan is exposed to the danger of being arrested and how its political structures can be revitalized.

It would be idle to underestimate the magnitude of the task, and Professor Katz would be the last to do so. Reaching power has always required single-mindedness, ruthlessness, and a certain amount of salvation. The more bitter the struggle to reach office, the more energy it tends to absorb, leaving less time to develop the qualities required for the exercise of high office. During periods of authoritarian rule, such as the eighteenth and nineteenth century in Europe, this problem was somewhat reduced. An aristocracy, if it lives up to its values, will reject the arbitrariness of absolutist rule; it will base itself on a notion of quality that discourages the temptations of demagoguery inherent in plebiscitarian political structures. When position is related to birth, generosity is possible (though by no means certain); flexibility is not inhibited by a commitment to constant success. When a leader's estimate of himself is not dependent on his like being a permanent master of an administrative structure, then the measures he takes can be attributed to long-range concepts rather than to a compulsive need to avoid an even temporary setback.

ABVIOUSLY, aristocratic periods had problems of their own; certain forms of political leadership seem natural in such circumstances. In any event, we know that the modern democratic leader is so beset with problems that it is difficult to make a comparative assessment of the values beforehand restricted to a minority. The prospects are not bright. Where restraints must be reached by ruthless struggle, leaders may collapse at the top; instead of continuity, here may be indicated to one in high office who speaks in terms that are clear and who is capable of statesmanship is lacking, as in so many of the new nations, leadership may be impaired by the goodness of the revolution, the difficulty of the revolutionary struggle—Professor Katz says in his thoughtful chapter on the experience of the Congo. In ideologically oriented societies the gap between reality and expectation can become ominously large.

Professor Katz thinks that this danger can be reduced if men who reached political leadership take into consideration the advice of professional administrators. To a considerable extent this notion is correct. But it may be too optimistic on two grounds. When political leaders are characterized primarily by their quest for power, when they decide to seek office first and search for issues later, then their technique to maintain power is necessarily short-range and manipulative. When men reach leadership before learning what to do with it, nothing more is likely to come from professional advice than tactical considerations. But at the same time, as the bureaucracy becomes more complex, more insidiously—more insidiously—becomes identified with it.
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger  
Center for International Affairs  
Harvard University  
6 Divinity Avenue

Dear Henry:

Many thanks for your note transmitting a copy of Max Ascoli's letter. I'll look forward to seeing the review.

Yours,

Milt

Milton Katz
March 14, 1967

Mr. Max Ascoli
THE REPORTER
660 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Max:

Some weeks ago you asked me to do a brief review of the Katz book. Here it is. I will fully understand if you do not want to use it.

How have you been?

Warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger
Map 7/4/1909

Mr. Max Aesch
The Reporter
600 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10025

Dear Max:

Some weeks ago you made me to send a review of the Paris book. Here is the review. I am fully convinced if you go to Paris next year to me.

How are you doing?

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kestner
If history teaches anything, it is that all political structures have hitherto proved ephemeral. Philosophers and political scientists have found many causes for this state of affairs. None is more important or persistent than the gap which almost inevitably arises between the requirements for reaching high office and the qualities needed to exercise it. When the gap is narrow, the political structure flourishes; when it widens, decay is inevitable.

Professor Milton Katz, in his wise little book, addresses himself to this--strangely neglected--problem. He traces the relationship between winning power and governing through a number of historical examples: Sulla and Caesar; the French Revolution and Napoleon; the Congo; the British accommodation; the Prussian-German accommodation; and, finally, the American governmental elan and shows how it can be arrested and how political structures can be revitalized.

It would be idle to underestimate the magnitude of the task and Professor Katz would be the last to do so. Reaching power has always required single-mindedness, ruthlessness, a certain amount of egotism. The more bitter the struggle to reach eminence the more energy it tends to absorb leaving less time to develop the qualities required for the exercise of high office. During
Review of Milton Katz: "The Traces That Are Carved" by Henry A. Kirchner

If history teaches anything, it is that all political scientists have an interest in identifying the causes for the state of politics. None more important or perplexing than the gap which

separates theoretically between the concepts of democracy for one's country and the reality of politics and the demands needed to exercise it. When the

gap is narrow, the political structure functions; when it widens,

gives up its importance.

Professor Milton Katz, in his wise little book, "Traces," to the outcome of political behavior. He traces the relationship between winning power and governing through a network of historical examples: studies and cases; the French Revolution and Napoleon; the Congress of Vienna; the British accommodation; the Prussian-German accommodation; and, finally, the American government. He shows how it can be examined and how political structures can be rationalized.

It would be idle to exaggerate the importance of the techniques of the task. Any political scientist must be free to go to "rescuing power" and problems. The more picturesque the explanation to develop the answer, the more need for freedom to approach his service. The desirability of a critical

amount of sophistication. The more pictorial the technique to develop the answer, the more need for freedom to approach his service. The desirability of a critical
aristocratic periods such as the eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe this problem is somewhat reduced. An aristocracy—if it lives up to its values—will reject the arbitrariness of absolutist rule; it will base itself on a notion of quality which discourages the temptations of demagoguery inherent in mass plebiscitarian political structures. When position is felt to be a birthright, generosity is possible (though not guaranteed); flexibility is not inhibited by a commitment to perpetual success. When a leader's estimate of himself is not completely dependent on his standing in an administrative structure, measures can be judged in terms of long-range concepts rather than by an almost compulsive desire to avoid an even temporary set-back.

Obviously aristocratic periods had problems of their own; a certain frivolousness, a self-confidence unrelated to knowledge. In any event, ours is the age of the expert of the charismatic leader. Our challenge is to produce in a mass society some of the values heretofore confined to a minority.

The prospects are not bright. Where eminence must be reached by endless struggle, leaders will collapse at the top drained of creativity. Even more dangerous is the tendency to use in high office the methods by which they reached it. Where political tradition is lacking as in many of the new societies, leaders may be tempted to rule by sustaining the mood of exaltation of the
exoticotic pursuits such as the elgicentury and Unicentury culture

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be compared to nizezy in the usual way of composition of the

revolutionary struggle—as Professor Katz shows in his thoughtful chapter on the experience of the Congo. In ideologically oriented societies the problem of the gap between reality and expectation becomes pervasive.

Professor Katz seeks a remedy by supporting the political leaders with greater reliance on professional administrators. To a considerable extent this prescription is correct. But it may be too optimistic on two grounds. When political leaders become distinguished primarily by a quest for power; when they decide to seek office first and search for issues later, their state of mind tends to grow inherently manipulative and short-range. When leaders want to be rather than to do, professional advice may exhaust itself in tactical considerations. At the same time, as the bureaucracy becomes more complex, its internal problems may come to overshadow the purposes for which it was designed. Management will come to dominate policy-making, or—more—insidiously—grow to be identified with it. The gap, in short, may be structural.

This does not mean of course that the problem is insoluble. Professor Katz does not maintain that the task is easy—only that the failure of the response cannot be excused by the magnitude of the challenge. His book should give courage to anyone concerned with the vitality of our society.
It is important to understand the concept of the 'problem of the gap' between reality and expectation, and how societal expectations and experiences can become self-fulfilling. Professor Katz seeks a remedy by supporting the policy.

The concept ofnektron, referring to political administration, is crucial in understanding the extent of the problem. When political science becomes too optimistic on two dimensions, it may lead to misinterpretation of a remedy for power. When they become national priorities, political science may be more effective in political administration than ever before.

Leaders want to draw inferences from situations and make judgments. At the same time, the purview becomes more complex, the internal problems become more urgent. The purview may come to overshadow the business for which it was created.

Management will come to coordinate policy-making or more importantly, draw to do the trick. The gap in short, may be structured.

This does not mean of course that the problem is integrable. Professor Katz does not pretend that the problem to easy—only that the outline of the problem can be shown by the meditations of the confidence. The book of course does consider to some degree concerning the activity of our society.