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JANUARY 1974

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An Open Invitation for Change

AS WE have pointed out on other occasions, a new Commission has been established by Congress "which will submit findings and recommendations to provide a more effective system for the formulation and implementation of the Nation's foreign policy." The three Foreign Affairs Agencies themselves have been studied almost unceasingly. The Herter Commission, the Wriston Commission, AFSA's "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," the Department's "Diplomacy for the 70s," and innumerable academic studies have sought to determine what is wrong with the three Foreign Affairs Agencies, and what should be done about it.

Unlike all of these earlier studies, the new Commission, with the unwieldy title of "Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy," has a far broader mandate than just Foreign Affairs Agencies. The Commission is empowered to "study and investigate the organization, methods of operation and powers of the departments, agencies, independent establishments and instrumentalities of the United States Government participating in the formulation and implementation of United States foreign policy."

The Commission, generally referred to as the "Murphy Commission" in honor of its Chairman, Ambassador Robert Murphy, will not simply confine itself to the three Agencies or even the Executive Branch. While it will investigate such questions as the role of the intelligence community, the Defense Department, the NSC staff, and the domestic agencies, the Commission will be the first to investigate the role of Congress and Congressional-Executive Branch interaction. Equally important, the Commission will look at the broad challenges facing American diplomacy in the coming decades, and the implications for the future conduct of foreign policy, and will even look into the policy process itself. In short, this is the first commission given sufficient power, a sufficiently broad mandate, and an intellectually penetrating and challenging approach to make a full scale investigation of the problems of formulating and implementing foreign policy.

The Commissioners and the Commission staff have made clear that they are interested in obtaining the views of AFSA as the professional organization of Foreign Service personnel. We believe the Association is in a unique position to assist the Commission, and we have already been in touch with the Commission staff and will continue to be in the course of this year.

The Association will formally testify before the Commission some time this year. Already, the AFSA Committee on Professionalism, headed by Brandon Grove, Jr., has begun to prepare AFSA's testimony. At the same time, an AFSA group in AID, headed by Walter Furst, is looking into the specific question of the future of bilateral assistance and its role in American foreign policy, and of the future of AID. The USIA Advisory Committee has similarly established a group, the USIA Professional Interests Committee chaired by Al

Perlman, a former AFSA Board member, to make a careful study of the role of information and culture in foreign policy and the future of USIA, and to prepare recommendations for AFSA's and the Commission's consideration.

We already have some idea of the basic lines of what we will discuss with the Commission. We intend to give the Commission our best thinking—hopefully as good as any work done outside the Service to date—on the kinds of problems which will face American diplomacy in the next 20 years, and the kind of organization of the government necessary to carry out those tasks. We intend to investigate and discuss the nature of the policy formulation and policy implementation process, and the steps which can be taken to improve that process. We may discuss the role of Congress and Congressional-Executive relations. We will naturally discuss bureaucratic and organizational problems (such as the excessively parochial and client-oriented approaches of some agencies, or the unnecessary proliferation of non-Foreign Service personnel overseas, etc.), but we do not believe we should concentrate much of our efforts on internal organizational changes in the three Foreign Affairs Agencies, as that has been already over-studied. And with the possible exception of AID, we certainly do not intend to place any emphasis on the need for changes in allowances or personnel policies—we are changing those now through the negotiations with the three Agencies. In short, we intend to take a broad look at the kinds of concerns facing the Commission, and not just comment on matters of parochial interest.

No final decision has been made on any of these points, and we have only now begun to work on the details of our suggestions. One real problem facing the Association will be our recommendations on the future relationships among the three Foreign Affairs Agencies. Should AID and USIA retain their present status as separate agencies with a substantial degree of autonomy? Should they instead remain as separate agencies, but be brought far closer under the overall guidance of the Secretary? Or is this the right time for the three Agencies to be amalgamated together and, if so, how? What AFSA says on this issue may be of critical importance to the future of the Foreign Affairs Agencies.

The existence of this Commission has presented foreign affairs professionals with a unique opportunity to help shape our own destiny. What is needed now is a massive creative effort on our part to provide the Commission with our best collective thinking on all aspects of its mandate. We strongly encourage you to take a few moments and give some thought to the general problems facing the United States Government in foreign affairs, how we go about formulating and implementing foreign policy, how the government (not just the Executive Branch) should be organized to carry out this function, and submit to us your analysis, identification of problems, or recommendations concerning any aspect of the Commission's activities. If we as professionals give this subject the urgent attention it deserves, we are confident it will have a profound impact in coming years.



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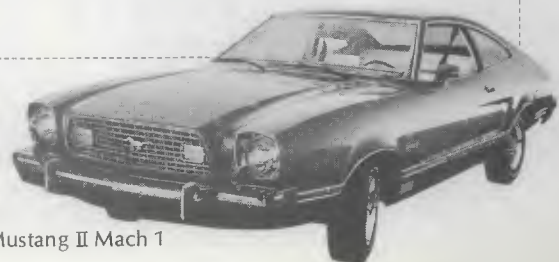
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2,000 YEARS TO A MORE POWERFUL VOCABULARY

GEORGE G. WYNNE

PEOPLE who deal with words develop a taste for them. They treat them like wine; examine them carefully against the light, roll them around their tongue, savor their taste, and at times roundly criticize them. Many readers of the *JOURNAL*, foreign service people all over the world, not only have an eye and an ear for what people do to the English language, they often spot foreign words with a history that puzzles or amuses. Professional gypsies, our breed is conscious of the way words slice reality differently from country to country. Our hosts, unless they are linguists, don't question their own language, they are not as sensitive to it, just as we don't look at English through the eyes of a foreigner. We'd have a lot of surprises if we would. The Foreign Service officer, moving to a new post, sees words and situations with fresh eyes, at least at the start, and particularly if he is inquisitive and studying the language. He examines the obvious, discovers new connections, questions what old-timers take for granted.

The story is told of an Ambassador to Czarist Russia who was curious as to why a strapping six foot grenadier was posted as a guard in the middle of a lawn on the palace grounds at St. Petersburg. No one had the answer. The spot on the lawn had been a guard post for over a century. The ambassador's palace escort was embarrassed and promised to clear up the mystery. After an extensive search of the archives it was discovered that Catherine the Great, one hundred and fifty years earlier, had ordered a guard posted on the lawn to protect the first crocus she had spotted from her carriage. The imperial command was duly entered on the guard book and carried out long after the Empress and the crocus had gone the way of all Empresses and crocuses.

It takes a foreigner to ask questions.

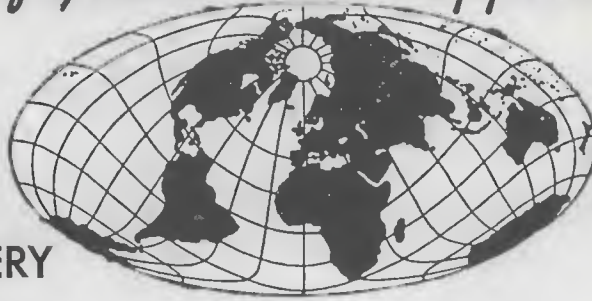
What is true with customs is true with words. Traditions, the accepted ways of doing things, are viewed somewhat irreverently by outsiders. If the observer is sensitive and has respect for the magnificent diversity in our human family, it is a gentle irreverence, the sort that motivates this writer in his search for the poignant and the amusing.

With thousands of foreign service professionals and

George G. Wynne, USIA, finds sources for JOURNAL articles and books at all of his assignments. "Tales from the Land of the Morning Calm" is a collection of Korean children's stories and "Why Geneva?" was published this summer by Les Editions de Bonvent S.A.

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hundreds of languages for a hunting license there are plenty of unsuspecting words to be snared. However, the success of the effort depends entirely on the willingness of colleagues to share their experiences. Such reports will be welcomed by the JOURNAL.

"The Wigmaker"

We started out with a pre-revolution Russian incident that showed unquestioning acceptance of tradition. Notwithstanding the upheavals of this century, everyday Russian relating to everyday concerns has remained amazingly conservative. Perukmakr (парикмахер) is the word for barber. Western European tourists who can break the Cyrillic alphabet code immediately recognize the lettering over barber shops as "wigmaker" - peruecke is wig in German, peruque in French, parracca in Italian. Explanation: Catherine the Great again. She was bent on westernizing her uncouth court and imported German artisans and service personnel in great numbers. Among them the barbers and beauticians of the day, whose main trade was making, combing and caring for the powdered wigs most everybody except the peasants wore. Customs and centuries changed, but in Russia the name stuck because it wasn't tied to the wig but barber services in general. The same is true of a more technical word like Feldscher (Фельдшер) a first-aid man in the Red Army or what in the US Army is called a medic. The Feldscher (or 'saw bones' - field shear) went out practically with Frederick the Great in the Prussian Army for the more euphemistic "Sanitaeter," but in Russia the import remained part of the military



language though there as elsewhere he now works with hypodermic and anesthetic instead of bone saw and chisel.

"The Windfall"

An unexpected piece of luck, a sudden windfall, like a winning ticket at the sweepstakes is called nodagi (노라기) in Korea. Now that sounds like a perfectly legitimate Korean word with its roots deep in the legendary past of the nation that was known a century ago as "The Hermit Kingdom." One might think of good

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fairies, demons and the Frog King perched on his throne beneath the waves rewarding the honest fisherman. Far from the mark!

A Yankee gold mining company operating in what is now North Korea soon after the country opened to western businessmen late in the last century took pains to ensure that all the gold found was turned in by the miners. At the end of each day, the nuggets collected were placed on sorting tables under the watchful eyes of company officials who trusted no one else with the sorting job. The bosses used a basic vocabulary of pidgin English to communicate with the laborers. A large sign lettered in the Korean Hangul script was placed behind the guards watching the gleaming collection. It

said simply: "No Touchee." Phonetically "no touchee" soon became a nodagi, and nodagi, obviously a gold nugget, came to stand for unexpected wealth. May there be a nodagi in your future.

"The Girl Boy"

A surrogate British colonial and the language he employs may be even more irritating than the original model. A number of French-built apartment houses in Saigon display in their lobbies grimy brass plates that proclaim in various versions: "Les boyesses ne sont pas permis de se servir de l'ascenseur." To prohibit maids from using the elevator is bad enough, what annoyed me even more is the still widespread use of the term "boyess," introduced to identify the Vietnamese maid servant in the colonial French household. The term is a contradiction, unknown in metropolitan France. It derives from the "boy" for whom English-speaking colonials used to snap their fingers. An early Frenchman in Indochina probably desired to add logic to snobbery. Look what he wrought. The "boyess" became a fixture for generations in the French colonies. Few foreigners found it demeaning or even ridiculous.

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The Chinese shorthand of ideas is a triumph of the human spirit. Complicated concepts can be represented with a few skillfully-executed strokes. It is, in fact, the most intelligent system of communication invented by man until he hit upon the idea that a limited number of phonetic signs like the 26 letters of the Roman



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alphabet assembled in endless combinations, could put across ideas even more simply and quickly. But there are occasions when a single ideogram is superior in incisive visual rendition of a compound concept that would take a whole sentence to explain: An educated Chinese can tell at a glance that the characters of 危 crisis are built of 危 danger and 機 opportunity. 機

Do you have Salon Lapu?

The Japanese are great ones for creating native words from American trade marks just by pronouncing them in their own way. In the days of Lafcadio Hearn, before there were trade marks to be assimilated, plain English words would do. They were absorbed lock, stock and barrel into the language for items new to Japan, like ガラス garasu, the Japanese word for glass, or ワイシャツ waishatsu - originally white shirt - which has become the generic Japanese term for shirts of all descriptions, white, striped, or colored.

American trade marks have added a new dimension. It's worth your year's subscription to the JOURNAL to discover that サロンラプ "salon lapu" is the general Japanese term for clear plastic film. Nothing more than your own trusty Saran Wrap in exotic Japanese garb. The code is broken by exchanging "r" and "l" wherever they occur and liberally sprinkling with "u" particularly at the end of most words, occasionally in the middle just to keep you on your toes. A Mazda is a マツダ Matsuda in Japan. Now that you have the code, you should be able to help the puzzled boutique owner with the Japanese lady who insists on a シースルー sheetsuru rukku. It was high fashion a

few years back, the "see through look."

Lest you think that word borrowing is a one-way street, remember "khaki," one of the early Japanese exports. The extract of the Japanese 樟 khaki was first used to waterproof the tents and raingear of Europe's armies.

No Wax

Our own language is replete with intriguing derivations if one takes the time to look past the obvious. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this story told to me by the owner of a marble quarry in Carrara, Italy. But he was obviously sincere when he told me that "sincere" ("sincero" in Italian) came from the Latin "sine cera" (without wax). Why "without wax" has come to mean "sincere" harks back to the Greek sculptor-artisans who mass produced statues for export to Rome where nobles and wealthy merchants filled their villas and gardens with them. Business was so good and the Roman appetite for marble so great, that a few of the Greeks began cutting corners, shipping off defective statues that had been repaired with wax (in Latin "cera"). It didn't take the Romans long to catch on and they dispatched inspectors to the Greek workshops to look over new statues before shipment and evidence their inspection by affixing seals with the notation "sine cera." The original meaning long since lost, "sincere" has come down to us over two thousand years as a synonym for sound, pure and unimpaired.

We hope to give you more conversation stoppers in a future issue. Please send the gleanings of your rich experience to yours without wax, the Editor.

NOTICE

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As Alfred Nobel recognized, peace cannot be achieved by one man or one nation. It results from the efforts of men of broad vision and good will throughout the world. —Henry A. Kissinger

DOVES IN ARMOR: Americans and the Nobel Prizes

JOHN BOVEY

IN OSLO winter comes early and the air is heavy with snow flurries and with gossip about the Nobel Peace Prize. This year the gossip has assumed the proportions of scandal as an angry left wing lambastes the members of the Prize Committee for having selected Mr. Kissinger and the right reproaches them for including Le Duc Tho, who has sent a carefully hedged refusal. Two members of the Committee have resigned and its President, Mrs. Aase Lionaes, confronts the wrath of her own Labor Party. Angry youth is banding together to bestow its own award on Dom Helder Camara, the Archbishop of Recife, and the international press is chattering about doves in armor and Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn and Senator Fulbright. But James Reston very sensibly asks, "Who better than Kissinger?" and suggests that we take a look at the ground rules and background of the Peace Prize. For few people display any knowledge of its stormy origins or the goals defined by the inventor of dynamite and by his institutional heirs during 72 years of prize giving.

Alfred Nobel's will was simple but legally defective. The bulk of his estate was to be invested in blue-ribbon securities, the annual income to be distributed in five

equal parts. Three would be for discoveries in physics, chemistry, and medicine and one for "idealistic" literary work. The awarding bodies were Swedish, and in 1968 the Swedish Riksbank added an economic prize for its tercentenary. The fifth award, however, was left to the Norwegian Parliament: a committee of five, chosen by the Storting, was to select each year the person who had done the most "for fraternity among nations, for abolition or reduction of standing armies, and for the holding of peace congresses."

Even those who have struggled through the execution of a will can scarcely imagine the hard feelings that flowed from Nobel's generosity. First, there was the question of domicile. It took both legal genius and hanky-panky to remove to Sweden an estate of nine million dollars, scattered across eight countries of Europe, all of them eager to offer fiscal hospitality. Then there was the family: Nobel had never married but his nieces and nephews, with the exception of Emmanuel, the oldest, set up a hue and cry in the courts against the philanthropy of their misanthropic uncle, especially after they unearthed the earlier will and saw how he had cut private bequests. At the same time, the executors had to struggle with reluctant dragons in the Swedish academies, who viewed prize-giving as an extra chore with no reward but complaints from losers. Only the Norwegians leaped to the bait, but

because of Norway's struggle to separate from the Swedish crown, Nobel's compatriots were further inflamed by his gesture toward the ingrates across the border. Even the King of Sweden was wheeled up in a vain attempt to dissuade Emmanuel from carrying out his uncle's fantasies. "Your uncle," said King Oscar, "has been misled by peace fanatics, and particularly women." Finally, since Nobel had designated no one to administer the prize operations, the executors had to create an artificial legatee, The Nobel Foundation, to enforce the statutes for each prize and to supervise the Institutes, which perform the myriad chores of administration and investigation. But Scandinavian idealism joined forces with Emmanuel's stubbornness, and the first prizes were awarded in 1901, five years after Nobel's death.

The Nobel machinery starts rolling in the autumn of the year preceding the award. The Peace Prize Committee circularizes the nominators designated in the statutes: these are its own members, past and present; advisors of the Institute; members of governments, parliaments, and a number of international organizations that antedate both the United Nations and the League of Nations; University professors of Political Science, Law, History and Philosophy. Former prize winners may also sponsor: no one can renominate himself, but in theory Le Duc Tho could nominate President Nixon.

John A. Bovey, Jr., a recent retiree, entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Rotterdam, Casablanca, Paris, Oslo and The Hague before his retirement. He handled Peace Prize matters at the Embassy in Oslo during his tour there.

The books are closed on February 1. By mid-August the Institute has "investigated" the candidates, and its Director, Dr. August Schou, has pinned on comments and sent the lot off to the Committee. After a period of wrestling behind locked doors, the great announcement is made, usually in October. Prize Day both in Stockholm and Oslo is December 10, the anniversary of Nobel's death. All deliberations are confidential, and even in the glare of modern publicity, the Norwegians resist Madison Avenue stampedes. The Peace Committee does not explain how it reaches its choice, and although this year's resignations have betrayed cleavages, the names of losers remain locked in its collective bosom. This reticence may explain why Nobel reserved the Peace Prize for the Norwegians, who have less of a tendency than their Swedish neighbors to play mother-in-law for other people's foreign relations.

Like other Nobel awards, the Peace Prize can be split between candidates. The Norwegians also decided that institutions should be eligible: the Committee has given three awards, for example, to the International Red Cross; one to the American and British Quaker Services; and has frequently honored not only officials of the United Nations, but constituent bodies, such as the Children's Fund or the International Labor Office. Even though this dampens controversy, the Norwegians hold the record for total abstention: 19 times in 72 years. When it's thumbs down all around, the prize money (currently about \$98,000) is held over one time for possible retroactive award or sent back to the Foundation. No posthumous candidacies are allowed, but an award can be given after the death of the winner, as with Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961.

Before World War I, in the era of grand illusions when the Kaiser corresponded with the Czar, and dynamite and steel ran on tracks parallel to arbitration and peace congresses, the Peace Prize went mostly to elderly pacifists and Hague jurists. The only winners from this era who still ring bells in the corridors of history are American. With Theodore Roosevelt, in 1906, the Committee, which strained at the gnats of the peace

movement, swallowed the imperialist camel because he had mediated the Russo-Japanese War. His Secretary of State Elihu Root (1912) had purged his sins by serving on the Hague Court of Arbitration and by ramming no less than 23 arbitration treaties through a skittish Senate within a year.

In 1919 the prize went to Woodrow Wilson as the father of the League of Nations, which the Senate rejected three weeks before Prize Day. Other American winners were associated with even flimsier card castles: Vice President Dawes (1925) fathered the plan for consolidating German reparations; Secretary of State Frank Kellogg (1930) and Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia (1931) pushed through the Kellogg-Briand Pact to outlaw war. A more orthodox toiler in the vineyard was Jane Addams (1931) who moved from settlement house work to militancy in the Women's League for Peace and Freedom and brought Belgians and Germans to shake hands at a Peace Congress in 1915.

During World War II, silence descended on the Committee because, as Dr. Schou explains with true Norwegian restraint, its members "had gone abroad after 1940." Reunited in 1945, they gave a retroactive award to the Red Cross and then bypassed President Roosevelt to single out Secretary Hull for his crusade against trade barriers and his efforts to direct the United Nations toward global rather than regional security.

As the cold war developed, the Committee found the paths of lay pacifism less slippery than the heights of officialdom. Of the 26 winners since 1946, only five—George Marshall, Lester Pearson, Willy Brandt, Henry Kissinger, and Le Duc Tho—have been national statesmen. Other Americans present a checkered pattern: veteran peace worker Emily Balch and ecumenical pioneer John Mott (1946); Ralph Bunche (1950), the first black winner and UN architect of the Israeli-Arab Truce; Linus Pauling (1962), the only winner of two full Nobel Awards, whose bio-molecular studies won the Chemistry Prize in 1954 and led him to crusade against nuclear testing; Martin Luther King (1964), whose devotion to non-violence overcame committee scruples regarding the

terms of the Nobel will; Norman Borlaug (1970), whose work in grain genetics has profoundly affected global nutrition.

Except in literature, the United States figures at the top of the Nobel lists, with a total of 113 prize winners up through 1972. The nearest runner-up was the United Kingdom with 65. Americans have won 32 awards of 98 in physics; 19 of 85 in chemistry; 35 of 109 in medicine; and four of the six new economic prizes. After World War II, Americans sprint way ahead to capture 40% of the chemistry prizes and half of the prizes both in physics and medicine. This record probably owes less to European refugees than to expansion of American "R & D" under the impulsion of hot and cold warfare. The harvest of American prizes in Stockholm thus represents the obverse of the prizes in Oslo, the two Pauling awards being a classic example.

The Soviets have won only ten prizes in all categories since 1917. Recent outbursts of Soviet dissidents accent the causes (neither Pasternak nor Solzhenitsyn could accept their prizes), but even in the better lighted international arena, the Soviet score for Peace Prizes is zero, whereas the Norwegians have given Americans no less than 17 out of 69.

For the first time since Willy Brandt received his laurels in 1971, the vast Munch murals at Oslo University will be lighted again on Prize Day, and the seats, hard-bottomed like those of Symphony Hall in Boston, will again be occupied. The atmosphere may be a bit strained, particularly with the winning duo absent, but the Norwegians will not have to forgo the event which, even though a Swede created it, makes their cheeks glow only a little less than the annual ski contest at Holmenkollen. Despite abstention and outcry, this apotheosis will do the world at large no harm either. It may be incongruous for Norwegians to honor the disciple of Metternich, but if in the year 1973 they still have the good will to accept at face value the agreements signed in Paris, perhaps the fault lies less with them than with those who smile in private at the solemn commitments to which they pay lip-service in public. ■

Black Oil in the Blue Levant

A MODEST PROPOSAL
FOR
FIGHTING POLLUTION

CHARLES W. KOBURGER, JR.
CDR, USCGR

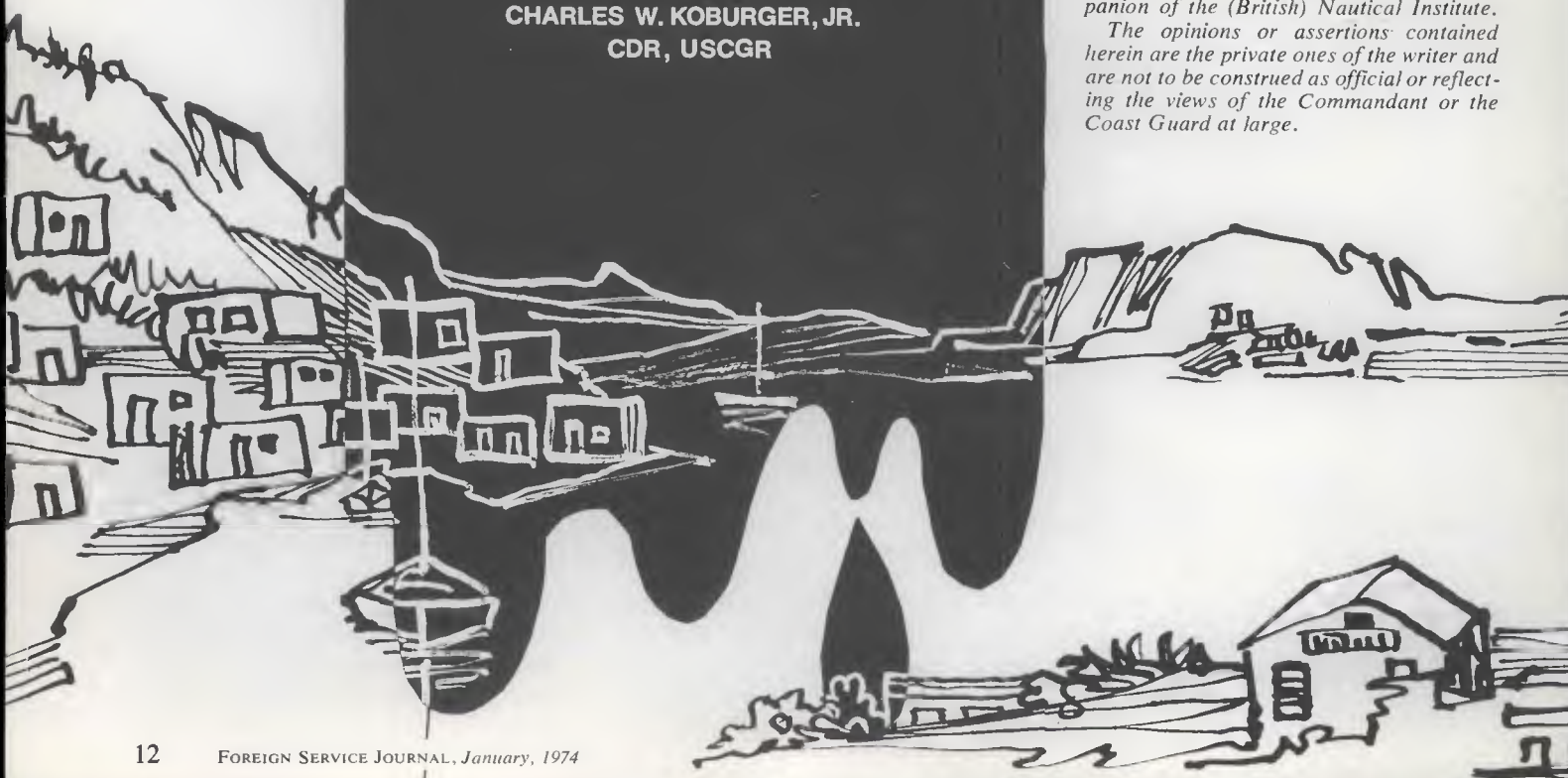
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA lies along Europe's underbelly, a "closed sea." It lies in an almost fully enclosed natural geographic basin 2,300 miles long and 850 miles wide, covering 970,000 square miles in area, some of it deep (down in places to 3,500 meters, or about 12,000 feet), but most of it quite shallow, as oceans go.

The historic Mediterranean Sea, with the four peninsulas which stretch out on it—Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey—forms the heart of a sub-tropical maritime-oriented trading and agricultural civilization, almost encircled by a ring of mountains that seem suddenly to come up out of the sea. In general, these mountains limit the development of a really densely populated and adequately industrialized hinterland. They also add to the great natural beauty of the area, a beauty important to its economy.

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Commander Koburger has previously contributed to the NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, MILITARY REVIEW, NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, NAVAL ENGINEERS' JOURNAL, and numerous other professional journals, as well as the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. He is a Companion of the (British) Nautical Institute.

The opinions or assertions contained herein are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Commandant or the Coast Guard at large.



The Atlantic Ocean is the Mediterranean's major supplier of water; it feeds into the Mediterranean, strongly, at Gibraltar. The salt Black Sea, along with the fresh water of Spain's Ebro, France's Rhone, Italy's Po and Egypt's Nile are the Mediterranean's other main sources of replenishment.

The Mediterranean has only one real outlet—the same Strait of Gibraltar, where the water flows out into the Atlantic, as small counter-currents, close inshore. Little water leaves, either there or elsewhere, most of it being lost to evaporation.

Insufficient national oil production in most countries with prevalently industrial economies—especially in Western Europe—results in their importing great quantities of crude oil, most from the Middle East and North Africa. Most of this oil travels on Mediterranean routes. This traffic, already heavy, is expected to increase rapidly.

Oil in the Sea

The Mediterranean as a whole—like any large body of water—should normally be capable of accepting and eliminating large amounts of oil. In the water, the oil normally breaks up. It evaporates or goes into solution, and is oxidized or biodegrades. During the long course of natural decomposition in sea water, one part of oil consumes the oxygen in 400,000 parts of water.

The decomposition of oil is a complicated multi-process phenomenon. The main processes in roughly the order of occurrence after a spill are spreading, evaporation, dissolution and emulsification, auto-oxidation, microbiological degradation, sinking and resurfacing after which the process repeats itself.

Oil is absorbed by the sea, that is, unless too much is discharged into the water. In any year, as much as 300,000 tons of oil may be dumped into the Mediterranean, both accidentally and deliberately, by ships at sea and at terminals. Under certain conditions, that might not be too much. But here it is.

Damage

The Mediterranean's problem is compounded by the fact that with 300,000 tons of oil, the oil saturates the whole top of the water column, and anything more just floats as a film on the surface, only slowly weathering. In many cases, the rates and concentrations of oil discharged are both just too great. The hydrocarbons either remain in heavy brown slicks as oil or form a distinctive "chocolate mousse"

(water-in-oil emulsion). Only the outside surface of the "mousse" oxidizes, and a skin develops which further retards biodegradation. The familiar tar balls form, and come ashore, creating a severe threat to the area's great natural beauty, and to its tourist economy.

What other damage does oil do to the sea and the ecology? Let us make a few perhaps oversimplified statements about oil in general. First of all, fresh oil, containing the whole spectrum of hydro-carbons, is more toxic than old oil. It poisons, it is sticky and it smothers. The lighter ends (fractions) are more toxic than the heavier ones, but the lighter ones are less persistent, quickly evaporating. The distillates are therefore more toxic than the residuals, but the distillates are more easily dispersed. The asphaltic residuals are what smother and become tar.

Off-shore (here defined as water 20 or more feet in depth), the great-



est direct damage done by oil is to the sea birds, especially the diving birds. These birds become coated with oil and die from the various effects of ingestion and exposure. In-shore, also, birds are killed. But there, too, fin and shell fish become tainted by the oil. Small fry are either poisoned or smothered. Grass generally dies after contact.

It is in the intertidal zone, ashore, that the greatest overall damage is done. All of the above effects are evidenced in the extreme. In addition, the zone is crowded with many elementary kinds of animal and vegetable life of its own, life important to the overall ecology of the sea. To repeatedly wipe this life out—which often happens—is to erase perhaps the key element in the marine life system.

Load-on-Top

Tankers probably unload in ports of arrival less than 99 percent in weight of the crude carried; the remainder is partly lost due to evaporation of the more volatile elements and partly remains inside the tanks as sediments on the bottom and as an oily film on the sides of the tank itself. These oil residues—equal to about 0.5 percent of the total capacity of the tanker—are discharged as waste. "Load-on-top" procedures are designed to limit the effects of these discharges.

In the load-on-top system, after tanks are washed, washing residues are accumulated in a designated slop tank, usually center aft. Dirty ballast is added, as it becomes available. The tank is allowed to settle, the oil wastes in the tank tending to separate and float to the surface. Most of the relatively clean water in this tank is then carefully drawn off the bottom of the tank and discharged overboard, discharge being halted whenever oil traces appear in the water stream. Additional water is repeatedly withdrawn as before. Heat may be applied to hasten the separation of oil and water. Some companies occasionally add a demulsifier as well. When all possible water has been withdrawn, the next cargo is loaded on top of the remaining residues in this tank.

The Overall Problem

With exceptions, "load-on-top"

can, on an average ballast voyage, keep both the instantaneous rate of oil discharge and the total amount discharged within the limits of the various amendments to the basic International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil, 1954 (100 parts per million or 60 liters per mile). The greatest weakness is that the system as now practiced relies too much on the human element. It is not always used. It is sometimes used badly. And, there is little or no effective policing of the problem.

The continuous—if "normal"—pollution of the Mediterranean Sea through oily ballast water discharged by tankers making their some 5,000 ballast voyages per year is particularly acute because of several factors peculiar to this sea, including the fact that most of the prevailing winds of the Mediterranean are onshore winds, causing floating oil to be deposited on beaches in a relatively short time.

It is in fact probable that a good part of the oil traffic currently moving around South Africa will eventually be carried on the Mediterranean, whether or not the Suez Canal remains closed or is reopened and modernized (enlarged). The new oil pipelines alone, paralleling the Canal, will allow tankers to load in the Mediterranean amounts equal to the crude presently available in the Persian Gulf. If they can, they will, as long as the procedure is economic.

Fighting Oil at Sea

In light of the generally crude development of the various existing means for the clean-up of oil from water, especially inshore and once ashore, it should be the policy that, where possible, oil discharges will be attacked off-shore, as far off-shore and as soon as possible. There they should be attacked by every available means.

The Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization's (IMCO's) MPS/Circ. 38, dated 22 September 1971, contained a report by the Swedish Coast Guard Service on Swedish national arrangements for dealing with oil pollution at sea. In part it stated:

... The cleaning up of oil-contaminated beaches is not only very expensive and difficult, sometimes more

or less impossible, but seldom feasible without causing further harm to the marine environment . . .

For these reasons the Swedish policy, . . . is, that oil slicks at sea that threaten the coast should be attacked at an early stage and that great effort should be used in order to prevent the oil from entering the littoral zone and coating the beaches . . .

The conclusion of what has now been said is, that the choice (sic) of effective measures for dealing with oil spills in the open sea at the present almost is limited to the use of dispersants . . .

Using dispersant on oil slicks at sea accomplishes two things: properly applied, and as noted,

- it breaks up the slick before it can reach the beach and there do incalculably greater damage;

but also,

- it breaks the oil down into small particles easier destroyed through natural processes.

A good dispersant is no more toxic than soap. Used in deep water (beyond the six meter line) where there is good flushing action, the normal agitated concentration should be almost harmless. Anyway, what are the alternatives?

THE PROPOSAL

To meet the regional aspects of the oil pollution problem in the Mediterranean a Mediterranean Oil Surveillance and Information Center is required and should be established, either by IMCO or some regional authority.

Immediately, this Center could best watch the regional problem, track convention violators beyond territorial waters, expedite the exchange of data, and in an emergency—the collision or grounding of a large loaded tanker, for instance—assist in organizing the sharing of pollution-fighting resources. It could also attack slicks found beyond the waters of any single state, before and in addition to any state action. In the longer run this Center could act as a model for other necessary regional centers, and for national organizations.

Eventually, membership in this Center should include all of the countries facing on the Basin and therefore affected by the same problem: Libya, Egypt, Israel, the Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Cyprus

Continued on page 26

All political decisions are taken under
great pressure, and if a treaty serves
its turn for ten or twenty years, the wisdom
of its framers is sufficiently confirmed. —H. A. L. Fisher

A LATIN AMERICAN VIETNAM

JACK HOOD VAUGHN

EARLY in the first Nixon Administration there were signs that a new general policy for Latin America was in the offing. "Mature partnership" and "low profile" were two expressions coined by the White House to describe the changing US position. However vague, these concepts seemed to promise the Latins a welcome respite from the coercion for collective security begun by John Foster Dulles in the '50s, and from a decade of bureaucratic pursuit of higher gross national products glamorized by JFK as the Alliance for Progress.

Although mature partnership still remains something of an unfulfilled promise—with Mexico and Brazil as possible exceptions—the United States has succeeded in lowering its profile throughout the hemisphere since 1969. In certain instances where nationalistic noises suddenly grew shrill (Peru, Chile), the US retreat appeared an astute choice of withdrawal over expulsion. In most other cases where the US disengagement was

less like a forced march, the results have brought expressions of relief from all sides. Now the United States has finally abandoned its blanket emphasis on security and Pan-American solidarity; all the nations of the Americas have responded by concentrating on doing their own thing—economically, politically, and militarily.

All, that is, except Panama. Still a US colony in many important respects, Panama continues to be the Pentagon's southern security blanket. From the start, the American military has helped make Panama what it is today. In 1903 Teddy Roosevelt willed the nation into existence by recognizing its "independence" from Colombia after disturbances in which the US Marine Corps played a major role. The grateful Panamanians quickly negotiated a treaty giving the United States perpetual sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Since then, US policy towards Panama has been formulated and independently carried out by the US Army.

The US military command in Panama is made of two parts: a major general from the Corps of Engineers who governs the Panama Canal Company from Balboa Heights, and a four-star general from the Army (CINCSOUTH) who directs Canal Zone military operations from an underground

complex at Quarry Heights. Their overriding common objective is to maintain the status quo, and over the years they have been largely immune to the precepts and changes of US foreign policy. Today there could hardly be greater contrast between President Nixon's policy for Latin America and his armed forces' policy for operating in Panama.

While the Administration's policy has led to a reduction in all US military missions assigned to other Latin nations, the Pentagon has maintained its top-heavy command intact in the Zone. (The superabundance of colonels in the Southern Command has led enlisted men to refer to it as "Southern Comfort.") While the US military in all other Latin nations is under the direct supervision of the US ambassador, in Panama independent policy control is exercised by the Pentagon. Just when President Nixon was assuring our good neighbors that the United States would wear a white hat in the hemisphere, the Pentagon expanded training of Green Berets in the Zone.

I confess that my unsuccessful efforts at reasoning with Pentagon brass on Canal Zone issues have caused me considerable frustration and disillusionment over the years. My last failure occurred one very hot afternoon in 1966, when as Assistant Secretary of State I was

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visiting the American embassy in Panama. My innocuous objective was to convince the general in charge of the Southern Command that it was hardly in the US interest to continue teaching napalm bombing to Latin American pilots. I pointed out that the first time a Latin pilot dropped napalm on his own people—napalm he had been trained to mix and launch at a Canal Zone training course—the United States would be in a totally indefensible position, not just with God and Bill Fulbright, but with the world as well. I made not a dent.

The Anachronistic Army

Ever since he helped seize power in 1968, Panama's military leader, Brigadier General Omar Torrijos Herrera, has been trying to force the United States to remove the Southern Command, its multiple bases, dozen generals, and 10,000 troops from the Canal Zone. Although he and most of his officers have been trained in the Zone, Torrijos feels that such a dominant foreign military presence in the middle of Panama is anachronistic and colonial. He stresses that the "Vietnam mentality" of US military leadership makes close relationships impossible and a renegotiation of the Canal Treaty out of the question. Intransigence on the treaty can only inflame the Panamanians, for they now feel grossly abused by it. The original treaty, signed in 1903, granted the United States perpetual sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Although the United States made some concessions and increased its annual payment to the Panamanians through treaty amendments in 1936 and 1955, the important clause about perpetual sovereignty remains. With the end of the Cold War and the virtual elimination of the Canal's strategic importance, Torrijos suspects that the reason the Pentagon is so interested in keeping the Canal and deploying its gringo troops is to defend against the Panamanians.

To General Torrijos, his National Guard, and his people, there are two major issues to be resolved immediately: whether the United States will continue to be sovereign in the Canal Zone, and how long the Pentagon will remain there en masse.

From the US side, especially for congressional and military leaders, the most important issues are related to the defense of the Western Hemisphere, to US prestige, to the Russian, Cuban, or Chilean menace, and to Panama's immaturity and unreliability as a partner. ("Can't you just imagine how those Panamanians would operate the Canal during Carnival?") Some American congressmen recently reasoned that since certain Panamanian officials were reportedly involved in drug trafficking, it would be inappropriate to conclude a new treaty with a government which contained such irresponsible elements. Shortly thereafter, Panamanians floated the theory that no responsible government should stoop to dealing with a country capable of a Vietnam or with an Administration mired in a Watergate.

But the thoughts always return to "national security" as the reason for the US presence in the Canal Zone. As the American public has learned through Watergate, a multitude of sins—and sinners—can huddle together under the shelter of this vague phrase. Panamanians believe the national security rationale is used to obscure rank colonialism in their country. The best job in the Zone, for example, is piloting ships through the Canal. No Panamanian has ever been allowed to become a pilot. The 1964 riots against American bases were touched off by apparently willful acts of humiliation. After the United States agreed to fly the Panamanian flag in the Zone, America's representatives contrived a dozen petty ways to offend the Panamanians' pride while technically obeying orders.

The US military preeminence in Panama, which has not been well publicized inside this country, is largely perpetuated by help from the Pentagon's friends in Congress. Inveterate supporters of the military such as Senator Strom Thurmond, together with senior House members of the Panama Canal subcommittee, have traditionally echoed the blunt phrases of Pennsylvania's Democratic Congressman Daniel Flood. Over the years, Flood has outspokenly maintained that to make any concession to Panama would be to give away the "American Birthright."

As if to demonstrate that the birthright was in good hands, Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan, chairwoman of the Panama Canal subcommittee, summarized the feeling of that group in a House resolution last February. After lamenting that "recent administrations of our government have engaged in diplomatic negotiations with Panamanian governments, a prime purpose of which has been surrender of United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama," she concluded:

Be it resolved that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the government of the United States should maintain and protect its sovereign rights and jurisdiction over said Canal Zone and Panama Canal, and that the United States government should in no way cede, dilute, forfeit, negotiate, or transfer any of these sovereign rights, power, authority, jurisdiction, territory, or property to any other sovereign nation or to any international organization. . . .

With ideas like this floating around the halls of Congress, the Pentagon never has had to make its case independently, or ever really worry about the possibility of the Senate ratifying a treaty which would undercut the military's position. The generals who speak out on Canal issues are invariably retired or reserve officers who alternately wrap themselves in the flag and rap the knuckles of the Department of State for wanting to give so much away to ungrateful, hotblooded natives.

The success our congressional-military complex has experienced in thwarting all manner of assaults on its Panamanian *cordon sanitaire* is downright brilliant. Presidents' orders have been reversed, diplomatic maneuvers and decisions brushed aside, and the United Nations told to go to hell.

Setbacks have been rare and minor, due more to wild chance than to determined opposition. Perhaps the most serious occurred early in 1973 when some hard-line congressmen and their military colleagues were prevented by God from placing their own agent right in the enemy heartland. Seventy-one-year-old Ohio Rep. Frank T. Bow was chosen as President Nixon's nominee ambassador to Panama. Bow died before he could

In a manner which has become traditional in Panama-US negotiations, the United States made it clear to all present that it was very, very unhappy at being pressured to discuss its Panamanian affairs with anyone else in the room.

be confirmed by the Senate, but not before Panama had reacted in a way that dramatized the gap between the two countries—by sending a bright, aggressive 27-year-old as its ambassador to Washington.

But if it has encountered few problems at home, the Pentagon's monumental lack of sensitivity to the Panamanian point of view and its reluctance to consult with the Panamanians in important matters has yielded a whole crop of mistrust and ill will in Panama.

A most striking instance took place in 1962 at the dedication ceremonies for a bridge the US Army had built over the Pacific entrance to the Canal. For half a century, access to the interior of the country from Panama City had been provided by the Thatcher Ferry, named after Governor Maurice H. Thatcher, one of the chief US engineers during construction of the canal. Inevitably, Panamanians had come to identify his name with the days of raw colonialism, the days of separate toilet and drinking facilities for Americans and Panamanians, the days when Panamanians were paid much lower wages than Americans for work done in the Zone.

For decades, Panamanian presidents and foreign ministers had beseeched the US Army to replace the Thatcher Ferry with a bridge. The Panamanians were content enough with the ferry, but they longed for a symbolic reunification of their country, cut in two by the Canal. When the United States decided to build the bridge, Panamanians naturally assumed with great satisfaction that their long-denied wish for a new national image was being satisfied. Some even believed the event heralded a new era of mutual understanding and communication. In fact, the United States had approved the bridge only because of steadily increasing traffic in the Canal and the Pentagon's professed need for greater maneuverability within the Zone.

Before Undersecretary of State George Ball began his prepared

remarks at the festive and dramatic dedication ceremonies, a bronze plaque on the bridge was unveiled.

It read: Thatcher Ferry Bridge.

A Minority of One

Pressures against the US military presence in the Canal Zone began to mount after the serious riots of 1964. President Johnson, sensing a need for greater civilian influence on US policy in Panama and at least an equal role for the State Department, created the Panama Review Committee. It had three members: the US ambassador as chairman, CINC-SOUTH, and the governor of the Zone. As ambassador at the time, I found myself consistently outvoted on the important issues, and my two very capable successors have continued to represent the minority view of one.

Shortly after the riots, LBJ set the stage for the ultimate showdown with the Pentagon. In mid-1964 he agreed to undertake bilateral negotiations with Panama aimed at drafting a completely new Canal treaty and revising the military base rights agreement. The US military quickly countered by introducing a third element into the negotiations: the study of a possible sea-level canal in Panama. This third issue has clouded, complicated, and prolonged negotiations to the point where, nine years later, the two sides seem as far apart as ever. The quiet resignation last July of Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury under Eisenhower and Chief US negotiator since 1964, wrapped up the nine years of Phase One.

The most recent Canal confrontation occurred in March, 1973, at a special United Nations Security Council meeting in Panama City. The Panamanians may have imagined that the US, faced with worldwide pressure and even humiliation, would be forced to agree officially to negotiate a "prompt and equitable" settlement of its treaty differences with Panama. In a manner which has become tradi-

tional in Panama-US negotiations, the United States made it clear to all present that it was very, very unhappy at being pressured to discuss its Panamanian affairs with anyone else in the room. When a resolution urging a new treaty settlement came up, the United States cast its third veto in United Nations history as the Pentagon again prevailed over both common sense and the State Department in setting American policy. Worse still, the performance of both the accused and the accuser struck observers as behavior unbecoming two civilized, friendly nations. When the Council had adjourned, Panama seemed to have gained nothing—as usual—save reconfirmation of the fact that virtually every member of the United Nations (all of whom remember the decisively anti-colonial and pro-Egyptian stance of the United States during the takeover in the Suez Canal in 1956) agrees with Panama's aspirations.

Meanwhile, back at the Pentagon, there is renewed confidence that the Army's Panamanian policy and apparatus are as impregnable as a moth-balled battleship, at least as long as the Constitution does not provide for separation of military and legislative powers. And, with Melvin Laird and General Alexander Haig now installed in final defensive lobbying positions around the White House, the worst may well be over for Quarry Heights.

YET on the Panamanian side, all the elements needed to propel a classic colonial stalemate beyond peaceful negotiation are in place: an overflowing measure of nationalism, a people in full support of their tough and charismatic leader on the Big Issue, strictly controlled media, virtually nonexistent communications with Canal Zone military leadership, and the widely held Panamanian conviction that the US Army does not believe in evolution. The tinder awaits the spark. ■

I'm acquainted with affliction,
Chiefly in the form of fiction,
As 'tis offered up by strangers
At the consul's open door. — Bret Harte

Development of the Foreign Service Inspection System

KENT C. CARTER

IN FEBRUARY, 1906, Secretary of State Elihu Root told the House Committee on Foreign Affairs which was studying the problems of Consular reform that "We have a very uneven Consular Service. There are some excellent men in it, and there are some men in it who are very indifferent, and some who, I am afraid, are very poor." Many of Root's predecessors had made similar observations and shared his belief that the spoils system was a major factor in the uneven quality of America's consular representatives. In almost every administration, consular appointments were used as rewards for faithful service to the party with little consideration given to experience or ability. There was never a uniform system for judging the fitness of the numerous applicants for consular posts. President Grant, who appointed some notoriously unfit people to public office, once gave a man a consular post just to get him out of the country.

Of course, not all consular appointees were incompetent party hacks, but even capable men were hindered in the performance of their duties by lack of experience and required time to learn how to operate effectively. Unfortunately, many consular officers were replaced just as they were becoming

efficient because the party which appointed them lost the next election. When McKinley succeeded Cleveland in 1897, 259 of 320 consular officers were removed to make room for worthy Republicans.

Limited control over appointments and the often rapid turnover in personnel made it extremely difficult for the Department of State to organize and administer an efficient consular service. The need for reform was recognized as early as the 1830s but the reformers were poorly organized and lacked widespread popular support. Little progress was made until the expansion of trade and the competition for economic opportunities in foreign markets made a more efficient consular service essential to the success of American business. In 1894 the powerful National Board of Trade passed a resolution calling for the immediate reform of the consular service and by 1905 more than three hundred business organizations had officially complained to the Department of State about the lack of support from consular officers.

The movement for general civil service reform which gained strength in the late 1800s reinforced the pressure being exerted by the business community. Many travelers complained to the Department of State about the poor quality of some of the men representing America in foreign countries and the Consular Service was criticized in numerous magazine articles and newspaper editorials. Reform legislation was introduced in Congress

in the 1870s and 1880s but there was never enough popular support to overcome the opposition of politicians dedicated to the spoils system. Some reform of the appointment process was accomplished through executive orders in 1866, 1872, and 1873 which required applicants to pass an examination but the exams were so loosely administered that they became meaningless. President Cleveland required a more stringent examination in 1895 but his order applied to only a small percentage of the consular posts.

The Department of State was also hindered in its efforts to bring efficiency to the Consular Service by a lack of accurate information about conditions in the field. Secretary Root complained to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1905 that "The Department has no means of knowing whether the consul at any station is doing his work properly, except from the information which casually finds its way from time to time to the Department from letters or conversations of American travelers. Very scandalous conditions have existed for considerable periods in the past without interference because the Department did not know and had no means of ascertaining that they existed." Root observed that some consuls were taking advantage of the general lack of supervision by using their official positions for financial gain while others "just go to pieces" living in strange lands. More than one consul was driven to drink by the boredom of a small post and several lost all inhibitions to the disgust of visiting Ameri-



Elihu Root

Mr. Carter is an archivist in the Diplomatic Branch of the National Archives. Prior to receiving an M.A. in History from the University of Cincinnati in 1972 he was an administrative officer with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and a management analyst with the Department of Transportation.

cans. An American consul in Europe once went completely insane and was locked up in a back room for three years while his staff ran the consulate. The officials in Washington who were responsible for the administration of the consular service were usually the last to learn of the existence of such situations.

Special Agents were occasionally sent out by the Department of State and other government agencies to inspect various consulates but these inspections were never conducted on a systematic basis and the efficiency of the inspectors varied considerably. Often the "inspection" was only an excuse for sending friends or relatives to interesting places. President Grant once ordered such an inspection so a friend, the Reverend John Phillip Newman, could take a cruise around the world. Although Newman took his duties seriously, his lack of experience in consular operations and regulations made it virtually impossible for him to evaluate the posts he visited.

In 1856 the Treasury Department sent out agents to audit consular accounts and report on the collection of fees. The agents found widespread corruption and inefficiency. In 1870 DeBenneville Randolph Keim began a two year inspection trip for the Treasury Department which took him to almost every consular post. Keim confirmed the earlier reports of irregularities and observed that "if all could be told of the consular service of the United States, as illustrated in the conduct of its officials, the excess of bad over good would

be so great that the most cold and indifferent citizen would blush for the name of his country."

Robert S. Chilton, Chief of the Consular Bureau, inspected twelve posts in Mexico in the spring of 1896 and reported that "we have men who are actively engaged in business pursuits that are hardly compatible with the dignity of their official positions." He insisted that a "better paid and more efficient Consular Service" was essential in order to exploit the economic opportunities available in Mexico. In February, 1897, George W. Fishback, the Secretary of Legation in Argentina, completed a 90 day tour of posts in South America and reported a "deplorable looseness" in the conduct of financial business.

Herbert H. D. Pierce, the Third Assistant Secretary of State and the brother-in-law of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, made a tour of Asia in 1903 and Europe in 1904. Pierce's inspection was far from systematic or complete. Part of his extensive report was based solely on a conversation he had with several consuls during a champagne dinner in Paris.

The Department of State was well aware of the need for better information on conditions in the field. In 1884 a Departmental report to Congress proposed the establishment of a regular system of inspections but no action was taken on the suggestion. In 1901 and 1902 Senator Lodge introduced legislation which included an inspection system but again Congress failed to act.

When Root became Secretary of State in 1905 he was determined to institute reforms similar to ones introduced in the War Department. He convinced President Roosevelt to issue an executive order extending the examination system, and he also established a system of efficiency reports for all employees similar to reports maintained on military personnel. Many of Root's ideas on reform were shared by Wilbur J. Carr who had succeeded Chilton as head of the Consular Bureau in 1902. Carr and Root worked with Senator Lodge on a revised draft of the 1902 reform bill which was introduced in Congress in 1905.

The Lodge bill proposed the establishment of a corps of five in-

spectors who would be appointed and commissioned by the President and be directly responsible to the Secretary of State who could authorize any inspections he deemed necessary. Inspectors would be given the title Consul General at Large to avoid conflicts with existing consular treaties which did not make provision for the position of inspector. The Consuls General at Large would have the power to suspend any consular officer who was not performing properly and take charge of the consulate for as long as 90 days just as bank examiners could suspend bank officials and run their banks. The bill required that each consular office be inspected at least once every two years.

There was the usual opposition in both houses of Congress to any consular reform. Several congressmen objected to the cost of the proposed inspection corps and suggested that it be reduced to three men but Root pointed out that it would be difficult to cover each of the 310 posts even with five inspectors. There was also opposition to the provision that inspectors had to be appointed from the ranks of the consular service but Root successfully argued that only an experienced consul would be able to evaluate the work being done and recognize deviations from accepted procedure. Root was also concerned that if the position were open to "outsiders" it might be filled by political appointees attracted by the \$5,000 salary or the opportunity for travel. It would be useless for one party hack to inspect another. Root insisted that the corps be composed of men of proven ability who understood the needs of the consular service. Congress accepted the inspection corps as originally proposed and the House report noted that "it is remarkable that the inspection system herein provided for has not been inaugurated long ago. Congress has compelled the frequent and rigid inspection of practically every other branch of the Government Service." The Lodge bill was signed into law on April 5, 1906.

Carr began organizing the inspection corps even before the bill became law. A five man Consular Reorganization Board was established to recommend changes in procedures and policies and per-



Wilbur J. Carr

sonnel files were reviewed to identify possible appointees to the corps. By mid-April all five positions were filled. Fleming D. Cheshire, who had entered the consular service in 1877 and served in five posts in Asia, was assigned to inspect the posts in the Far East. Cheshire had conducted several inspections of consular posts in the 1890s as had Richard M. Bartleman who was assigned responsibility for South America. Bartleman had 16 years of experience and had served at seven posts in Latin America and Spain. The posts in Canada and Mexico were assigned to another former consul with inspection experience, George H. Murphy, who joined the Department of State in 1886 and had served at nine posts in Europe. The Middle East and Africa region was assigned to the former Consul General at Constantinople, Charles M. Dickinson, and the posts in Europe became the responsibility of 14-year veteran Horace Lee Washington.

Each Consul General at Large was instructed to "begin the inspection of the consular offices in your district, taking up this work at a convenient point and carrying it on according to your own best judgment." Each man determined his own itinerary and inspection procedures. They received general instructions and advice on interpreting the Consular Regulations from the Third Assistant Secretary of State, Huntington Wilson, through Carr. The initial instructions to each inspector emphasized the "great importance" of their assignment and urged that the "inspection of each office in your district . . . be of the most thorough character and that you will learn every detail in connection with the conduct of each office."

In order to insure that inspections were conducted systematically and that nothing was overlooked, Carr studied the inspection systems of the Post Office, War, and Navy Departments and developed a detailed form to be filled out for each post. It was designed to bring out "every material fact connected with the management of the office, all about expenses, whether they are extravagant or reasonable, everything, in other words, connected with the office, including the efficiency of the

officers and what they are doing to develop our trade."

Consuls General at Large usually arrived at the consulate unannounced and asked to see the consul. They would then go through the inspection form item by item, a process which often took several days. There were basically three parts to the inspection report which was amended several times over the years. Part Two of the report was a detailed description of the physical location of the office and the methods of operation of the staff. The inspector noted exactly how the work was done, who was responsible for doing it, and how well regulations were being followed. Inspectors paid close attention to the procedures followed in invoicing goods to be shipped to the United States to insure that merchandise was not being undervalued and that fees were being collected properly. The Department of State was determined to bring uniformity and honesty to the financial operations of the consular service and correct the abuses of official powers which had been so damaging to the service's image.

In addition to uncovering deviations from accepted procedure, the inspection was also a means of educating consular officers. Unfortunately, many consuls were handed their appointments and a copy of the Consular Regulations and sent off to their posts with little or no training in how to administer a consulate. This often resulted, understandably, in differences in procedures from one consulate to another. One of the primary goals of the inspection system was "the furtherance of administrative policy and the encouragement of service cohesion and *esprit de corps*. It was hoped that periodic inspections would eliminate men who were not performing adequately and encourage those who were sincerely interested in the service as a profession by recognizing their efforts.

The Consular Service was determined to gain the support of the American business community by insuring that consular officers promoted trade and assisted Americans in securing economic advantages. Therefore, a major part of the inspection was devoted to an evaluation of the consul's efforts in the area of "Trade Extension."

Each consul was required to submit a written report detailing exactly what he had done in the past to increase the level of imports of American goods and develop opportunities for American investors. The American business community could be a powerful ally when dealing with Congress and the Department of State was prepared to insure that support by making consuls, in effect, salesmen of American goods.

The third part of the inspection report, which was completed at the end of the inspection, was an evaluation of the principal consular officer and his staff. Consuls were evaluated in several broad categories such as "Honesty," "Morality," and "Sobriety" and given an overall rating of Excellent, Good, Fair, or Poor. Inspectors were advised that Honesty included "purity of thought, candor, and conscientiousness" and Morality encompassed "decorum, general behavior, moral courage, and rightmindedness." The Consul General at Large was required to determine the consul's standing in the local community, the character of his acquaintances, the impact that the members of his family had on his social standing, and even the state of his health. One inspector deliberately spoke in a whisper in order to test the consul's hearing. All of this information was entered on the consul's efficiency record and became a major factor in determining his future with the service.

Carr realized that this evaluation was subjective and subject to abuse. The Consuls General at Large were advised to "be scrupulously careful not to allow any personal feeling for or against any officer in the service to influence you in any manner." They were also warned that their own "personal conduct should be most discreet, both in traveling and in the inspection of offices in your district."

The work of the early inspectors was physically demanding and often hazardous. Cheshire "barely escaped a typhoon" while inspecting the posts scattered throughout the South Pacific and Murphy spent the spring of 1907 dodging bandits and revolutionaries in Mexico. They were forced to contend with insects, disease, poor or

Continued on page 25

Portrait of John Foster Dulles

IN a political biography notable for its painstaking documentation, sobriety of tone, and literary grace, Townsend Hoopes has written the first authoritative account of the Dulles era of American foreign policy. The reputation of a statesman advertised in his day as a paragon of rectitude and diplomatic skill will not be enhanced as a result.

The late John Foster Dulles cannot be understood without reference to his rather forbidding personality and impressive background. Dulles was "... tough, self-centered, suspicious, insensitive," oblivious to subordinates and a sedulous courtier of the rich and powerful, but distinguished by exceptional stamina, tenacity, and steadfastness in adversity. In time, Dulles also developed two attributes fatal to the successful practice of diplomacy—a closed mind and a tendency to treat political and economic differences as moral issues.

Dulles rose to prominence as senior partner of the great Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell in the days when the New York establishment really counted. First exposed to foreign affairs in the household of a grandfather who was Secretary of State in the Hayes administration, Dulles served as legal counsel to the American delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, and then developed a lucrative international law practice in the period between the wars. In 1943 he became a sort of foreign affairs mentor to Republican presidential aspirant Thomas E. Dewey but otherwise played no significant role in the titanic events of World War II. As late as early 1945, the author tells us, Dulles "... was still a remarkably abstract and rather isolated observer of the world scene ... lacking practical experience in diplomacy since 1919 (experience of the kind that is acquired only through the sustained discharge of official responsibility)."

THE DEVIL AND JOHN FOSTER DULLES, by Townsend Hoopes. Atlantic-Little Brown, \$15.

After VE-Day, Dulles was invited to become Republican adviser to the US delegation to the newly-formed Council of Foreign Ministers. Here, exposure to Soviet diplomacy and a need to associate himself with the growing Republican disaffection over the wartime accommodations at Yalta, led Dulles increasingly to define the cold war in ideological terms. By 1951 Dulles had settled on an interpretation of world events that lumped Soviet encroachments in eastern Europe, the Chinese Communist revolution, the aims of Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China, the insurgency in Malaya, the Huk insurrection in the Philippines, and the Korean War as "all part of a single pattern of violence planned and plotted for 25 years." The high point of this period—and perhaps the major achievement of Dulles's career—was his negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty.

Dulles was sworn in as Secretary of State in January 1953 when cold-war tensions were at their zenith. He was not Eisenhower's first choice for the post, and Hoopes alludes to evidence that he tricked John McCloy into declining the post. The Truman-Acheson foreign policy had been flexible as a matter of operational principle, relying on the traditional propensity of Russian and Chinese expansionism to back down in the face of determined opposition. For Dulles, however, the policy of containment alone was "inadequate, negative, reactive and alarming in ... budgetary implications." He insisted on a "shift from a purely defensive policy to a psychological offense, a liberation policy, which will try to give hope and a resistance mood inside the Soviet empire"—and "put heavy new burdens on the jailers." These slogans—the first of a notable aggregation—were later to prove a hollow mockery for Polish and East German workers, and Hungarian freedom-fighters.

The new look of American foreign policy was soon demonstrated on the issue of West German rearmament. Here, Dulles created a crisis where none existed by trying to force EDC, the integrated European army plan, through the European parliaments. When France backed off, Dulles threatened an "agonizing reappraisal" of US commitments, but in the event did exactly nothing.

Far more serious was Dulles's refusal to attach any significance to

the death of Stalin, and his obdurate rejection of "competitive co-existence." Instead of seizing this opportunity to end the cold war, the contribution of Dulles was to perpetuate and institutionalize it.

Dulles's next venture into global diplomacy was to unite moralistic repudiation of containment with the prevailing mood for defense economy by sponsoring the strategy of "massive retaliation." This formulation succeeded in terrifying our allies more than our adversaries, and in the long-term left the United States globally vulnerable. As Hoopes says, "The effect was to make the United States progressively dependent on a nuclear capability which it could not safely or rationally use and at the same time to deny it a confident capability for engaging in a limited conventional war."

Later in 1954 Dulles turned his attention to the French agony in Indo-China. Here he managed to undercut the French, cheat Ho Chi Minh of a hard-won victory in the field and at the ballot box, and

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involve the United States in a long-term unilateral guarantee of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam—an extraordinary feat of diplomacy quite deserving of its subsequent memorial in the form of three million graves.

In the following three years Dulles distinguished himself by an East Asian policy that on several occasions nearly embroiled the United States in full-scale war with China. Compounded of the belligerent forward strategy of the Pentagon, shameless catering to the Republican right wing and the corrupt China Lobby, and a purblind refusal to recognize the realities of the Chinese revolution, the policy was sold to the American people as a crusade against godless international communism. Its object was to isolate the Chinese mainland; it succeeded in paralyzing our Asian policy for twenty years.

The Suez crisis of 1956 afforded Secretary Dulles his most dramatic opportunity to make a difficult situation worse. Already at odds with a large part of the underdeveloped world over its new posture of non-alignment, Dulles turned a blind eye to the realities of nascent Arab nationalism and

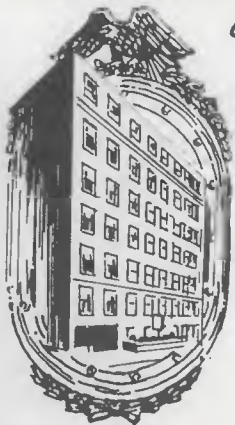
chose to regard its leaders as tools of Soviet imperialism. In a succession of *gaucheries* and affronts that culminated in the revocation of the Aswan Dam offer, he alienated the revolutionary but far from anti-American Nasser, while at the same time undercutting the British position in the Middle East.

By 1957, the appalling series of crises which Dulles's maladroit diplomacy had either precipitated or aggravated were provoking wide discontent among allies, Congress, and the thinking public. In two of the worst crises—the offshore islands and Suez—Dulles had had to be rescued from the “brink” by Eisenhower himself, whose judgment of the Soviet adversary and experience in dealing with allies far surpassed those of his Secretary. Then, as the career of Dulles came to a close, his tenacity of purpose in shoring up the western alliance against a new Soviet threat to Berlin, and his fortitude in the face of fatal illness, united to salvage his reputation. When Dulles died there was an outpouring of public acclaim and sympathy, and he and his mistakes left the scene together, as he would have wished it, shrouded in moral sanctity.

For the State Department the Dulles era does not evoke happy memories. Suspicious of the career service, Dulles tended to ignore experienced advisers on important policy matters and allowed the McCarthy virus to rage unchecked, accepting and even welcoming the departure of officers whose sole offense had been to tell the truth. He behaved, Hoopes tells us, like “. . . the High Commissioner of an occupying power: determined to impose his will, to extract from local resources whatever was necessary to accomplish his mission, but to do so without making himself dependent on the local elite.”

Nevertheless, the Department's own record during this period was nothing to be proud of and can only be compared to the Vichy era in France. Senior career officials at home and abroad vied with each other in endorsing every contemporary delusion about the nature of governments and events. Within the Department, they abjectly collaborated with the few inept political appointees sent in to purge their ranks. It is difficult not to be contemptuous of a career service so pathetically incapable of protecting both itself and the country.

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In retrospect it seems clear that only the abnormal and transitory economic and military dominance of US economic and military power during the '50s gave Dulles leeway to commit his follies and prevented them from turning into full-scale disasters. The next two administrations sought to exorcise Dulles's image by changes of style rather than substance. It is only today that the full reckoning is being paid.

—CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

Radical History?

VICTORS' JUSTICE, by Richard H. Minear. Princeton University Press, \$7.95.

WRESTLING with the force and skill of this book is hard. Richard Minear insists that in the aftermath of Vietnam he is writing radical history, a la Martin Duberman. He isn't. He writes a fair story of (does one have to quote Kennan again?) a legal-moralistic attempt to handle a problem more suited to Greek tragedy, Shakespeare or Brecht—the trial and punishment of selected Japanese politicians, diplomats and

military after World War II.

Mr. Minear picks up the post-surrender Tokyo trial as a stepchild of Nuremberg. He picks to pieces the prosecution's case, its methods, its dirty little tricks. He leaves at least this unhappy reader with the idea that justice wasn't done by any reasonable Western definition.

Mr. Minear is quite straightforward. He admits he writes only as a historian, not a lawyer. A reviewer must accept this, noting only two points: Mr. Minear might have deserted the academic cool long enough to give one editorial cheer for the magnificent performance of the Netherlands judge, Mr. Vert V. A. Roeling. By the same light then he should have pointed out more plainly the self-serving nature of some of the Indian judge's, Mr. Pal's, dissent, though it is a formidable document in itself. To Mr. Minear's credit he stresses that the prosecution tried to avoid publicizing the dissents.

The one hand hold one gropes for and finds to assault Mr. Minear's edifice is his failure to note Mr. Neil Sheehan's analysis

of the problem of Vietnam war guilt carried in the New York TIMES March 28, 1971 (Mr. Minear's preface is dated May 1971). Sheehan says, "History shows that men who decide for war, as the Japanese militarists did, cannot demand mercy for themselves. The resort to force is the ultimate act. It is playing God. Those who try force cannot afford to fail." Mr. Minear could have pondered that bit about "playing God." Shigemitsu (Foreign Minister, 1937-38, and tried at Soviet insistence only because he had been in office at the time of the Soviet-Japanese border fights) or Tojo understood God in a different way. So did the Bundy brothers, Rostow and the rest of that dreary crew. The morals of modern war are more complicated than the radical historians think. Without a victory or a defeat, the precedent we felt we established at Tokyo is also much more complicated than we thought. Any member of a Cabinet or military who learns of a war crime, and subsequently remains in that government acquires responsibility for

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those crimes. Radical historians feel that the passions of the present can best reflect the reality of the past. Some of us think of Clío as a quieter muse. Thus, Mr. Minear's excellent history seems to have put more weight on the Vietnam connection than his analysis should carry. In spite of these criticisms one ends up glad Mr. Minear failed in that one respect. He has thereby done a book that may stand long in historical literature. Certainly he has done a book that should be read by Foreign Service officers.

Those who live in East Asia can buy a paperback edition of Mr. Minear's excellent book for about \$2.25 published by Tuttle of Tokyo.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

Felicity Revisited

A YEAR IN UPPER FELICITY, by Jack Chen. Macmillan, \$8.95.

ONLY a churl like your reviewer would unhappily carp and cavil at a happy memoir about a happy year spent among the happy peasants of Upper Felicity. (Yes, Virginia,

there is such a place—in northern Honan and Jack Chen was there!) Jack Chen, the journalist son of Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister in the Wuhan Revolutionary Government in 1927, has lived and worked in the Chinese People's Republic since 1950, writing for the PEOPLE'S DAILY (*Jen Min Jih Pao*), PEKING REVIEW, PEOPLE'S CHINA, et cetera. He left Peking in late November 1969 to spend a year on a commune. There, he and his wife and his small son lived the simple life and relearned the precepts of the Chinese Communist Revolution. (Especially during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution many Western-educated intellectuals were privileged to purify their political thinking by hard labor in the *hsia-fang* movement and so to return to the true faith of Maoist fundamentalism.)

His diary of the four seasons in this village commune tells of the "everyday life of China's seven hundred million peasants" and comments on many aspects of agricultural life. Though subtitled *Life in a Chinese Village during the Cultural Revolution*, that the

Revolution was officially declared won at the Ninth Party Congress in April 1969 and that Chen did not arrive in Upper Felicity until late November 1969 may explain his sparse comments on the Revolution. For a great many people in China of all stations in life the Revolution was a most unhappy happening; to Chen it appears un-failingly happy and helpful. For a serious, disinterested report on this, we must turn elsewhere.

Chen does write well, engagingly, his drawings of people and places are splendid, and his book has much of interest and value. But, like Han Su-yin, he is so blatantly biased in his selectivity and interpretation as to make his account seem propaganda for Peking. The cloying sweetness of the Chinese peasants' unrelieved selflessness ("Serve the People") and their utter devotion to Chairman Mao and his teachings are a bit hard to stomach. This everything's-coming-up-roses version of the near millennium in China lacks credibility. It is, however, very readable and well worth reading.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

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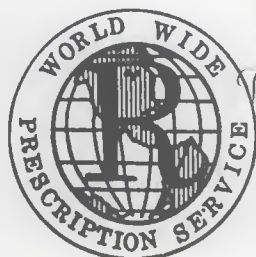
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INSPECTION SYSTEM

from page 20

non-existent transportation, and "wretched conditions you can't imagine." All of the men complained about the "constant travel and living in hotels."

The information gathered by the inspectors, however, was worth the effort. Cheshire informed Carr in June, 1907 that "The inspection is doing good, I see a wonderful change in the manner of some of our officers." Root testified to Congress in 1908 that "the effect upon our entire consular service of knowing that an inspector is coming around to find out what our consuls are doing is most salutary." Although some consuls regarded the inspectors as "Department spies," most of the service recognized the value of the system. Consul General at Large Heaton Harris reported to Carr in 1912 that "so far as I am able to judge, the systematic inspection of our consular officers has all but the universal approval of the service itself."

When Wilbur Carr became Chief

Clerk in 1907 he retained administrative control over the Consular Bureau and the Consuls General at Large. The position of Director of the Consular Service was established as part of the Departmental reorganization of 1909 and given to Carr who continued to direct the activities of the inspectors. By 1919 it was obvious that five men could not cover the entire consular service and the size of the inspection corps was increased to seven. The average length of service of a Consul General at Large was approximately two years. Although the original five inspectors established many policy and procedural precedents which were followed by their successors, each man determined his own criteria for evaluating consular operations.

When the Rogers Act of 1924 consolidated the Diplomatic and Consular Services into a unified Foreign Service the position of Consul General at Large was abolished. The act authorized the Secretary of State to detail Foreign Service officers to act as Inspectors with all the "duties, powers,

and prerogatives" of Consuls General at Large. Inspectors were authorized to inspect diplomatic as well as consular posts. Prior to 1924 there had been no systematic inspection of diplomatic posts, a condition which Senator Rogers described as "scandalous." The Foreign Service Inspectors reported their findings to the Division of Foreign Service Personnel which maintained efficiency records and the Division of Foreign Service Administration.

The location of the inspection corps within the Department of State has varied since 1924 but the basic goals of the system have remained constant. The establishment of the inspection system within the Department of State provided much needed information and was an important element in the reform of the Consular Service. Inspections did not entirely eliminate inefficiency and incompetent personnel but the institution of regular and systematic inspections of all field offices was a major step toward a more professional foreign service. ■

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BLACK OIL IN THE BLUE LEVANT

from page 14

and Greece. What affects one affects them all, and more or less equally. For political reasons, however, it is recognized that adherence by all of these states may be presently impossible. Those states forming the Arab Federation could form a nucleus. So could geographically interdependent Syria, the Lebanon and Cyprus. In any case, something should be initiated at once, with provision for the subsequent inclusion of the other concerned states. Here, as elsewhere, politics is the art of the possible. And success is self-reinforcing.

The costs of such an Eastern Mediterranean Surveillance and Information Center would be minimal—on the order of \$250,000 in initial capital expenditures, and a like amount in annual operating expenses—especially as costs will in at least some measure be shared. This is less than the cost of one medium-sized cleanup, per year.

The benefits of such a Center are now impossible to quantify. Deliberate violations of the Conven-

tion in the area patrolled could in any case conceivably be reduced to insignificance. From its base, the Center could maintain regular and random air patrols in international waters over the established tanker routes. When a violator is discovered, it could be identified and the spill photographed. Whenever necessary, a surface patrol from the nearest member state could be called and samples taken. Violation reports could then be forwarded to the country of the flag of the violator, either under the name of IMCO or through the host country. These reports would be in effect fully prepared legal cases, complete with statements of the witnesses, photographs and samples, if any, for action under the Convention. Operations could be shifted temporarily, from time to time, to airfields elsewhere around the basin, as necessary. As experience data was gained, the actual effect of the patrols could be better measured.

Whenever an oil slick was discovered, the Center's aircraft could, within their capability, spray the slick with dispersant. They

could monitor its movement, reporting as frequently as necessary. The Center could alert threatened states. It could help assemble the necessary (and available) pollution-fighting resources, identified through its files. It could act, not wait.

A logical base for the Center is Cyprus. The island is strategically located, more or less in the center of the Basin. Its government maintains good relations with all the states involved. Preliminary and unofficial exploratory contacts seem to indicate that it would be a willing host. The airfields, aircraft maintenance, and other facilities required already are available there.

If the binding influence of technical necessity has any international validity, there could be no better place to test it than in the Eastern Mediterranean. The regional need is obvious, the problem defined, the solution reasonable, the resources available.

Would not some cooperation be worthwhile, before irreparable damage is done? ■

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LETTERS TO FSJ

Recommendations on USIA

• I read with interest M. Michaud's article in your magazine of July, 1973, about the position of USIS and USIA in the government and the foreign service. It is easy to agree with all he says and it is easy to point out also certain handicaps from which USIA and State have suffered in their relations over the years.

The FSOs—but with some notable exceptions—have suffered from a basic jealousy of this “new and untrained” force coming into the sacred ranks of diplomacy at “exorbitant” salaries. “What good are they? Why do we need so many? We got along perfectly well before when there were no information or cultural programs” they say. Of course this attitude is diminishing and I suppose eventually it will disappear. When I first entered the State Department's cultural program I remember a career Ambassador's comment about the entry of personnel of the Department of Commerce into the FSO category which had occurred a few years earlier. “Of course we accepted them,” he said. “We had to, but we never considered them quite—quite gentlemen.” The attitude of the FSOs has come a long way since then.

But where the FSOs failed was in understanding their opportunities to use the USIS programs to further the foreign policy objectives of the United States. I think particularly of the leader grant program which allows each post to send a certain number of up and coming persons on the local scene to the United States for a handsome visit of up to three months. Where this program was used effectively it produced some remarkable results in either the short or long run. Yet when I called upon the heads of the political or economic sections in an embassy to sit down once a year with me and spend the necessary time to make a painstaking selection of candidates, they were often “too busy” to come themselves or they sent a junior officer without experience to the meeting. On the other hand it was often the ambassador,

either career or political, who took the greatest interest in this talent search.

This is of course only one of the ways in which USIS can contribute directly to the overall policy objectives. A talented press officer is often a key person in setting the tone of the local media vis-a-vis the United States. These are only two of a number of examples of the possibilities to which the FSO should be alive.

Now let us look at the shortcomings of the personnel of USIS, for they are many.

The unfortunate separation of the cultural and information programs in Washington has caused successive Presidents to appoint newsmen or broadcasters as directors of USIA, ignoring completely the fact that in the field the two programs are one and inseparable. These directors and their deputies have almost never been men with overseas experience in an embassy nor have they been trained in the ins and outs of foreign policy and its application. It is a great fallacy to suppose that a newsman necessarily knows anything about governmental information work. Looking back I can think of only two who had a basic understanding of the role of USIA—George V. Allen and Ted Streibert. Ed Murrow was a wonderful human being, but he knew nothing about the overseas operation of USIA and cared less. It seems to me that it would be far more sensible to appoint to this post a career ambassador whose experience had shown his understanding of the value and uses of USIA overseas, and whose standing would tend to draw FSOs and FSIOs closer together.

FSOs sometimes complain that some USIA personnel are brash and unpolished in diplomatic usage and this is certainly true, though the number is small. But the fault in this case lies with the practices of personnel selection by the Agency which are often based on personal favoritism of the director or faulty handling by personnel officers who have never served overseas and know nothing of why they are selecting this man or that woman.

And finally the greatest hurdle for the PAO overseas is to cope with the flood of materials dreamed up in Washington by domestic staf-

fers who have never served overseas. Much of this material is not suitable for any country program and certainly not suitable for *all* USIS operations. The number of domestic staffers of USIA should be reduced in favor of more overseas personnel.

It seems to me that these simple operational deficiencies could easily be remedied if USIA and State's CU were reunited and if the President were to appoint a director of USIA who was really competent in overseas informational and cultural work.

MORRILL CODY, USIA—Ret.
Paris

Perspective on Paddocks

• William Lenderking's review (FSJ September 1973) of the Paddocks' “We Don't Know How” criticizes the reactions of “some AID officials” to it.

In considering the book “unfair and superficial,” Lenderking says, the AID people seem to be demonstrating “defensiveness” and a feeling “that anyone who criticizes the AID program is certainly lacking in understanding and may even be unpatriotic.”

I am indebted to Peter Krogh, Dean of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, for bringing to my attention another review of the Paddocks' book. It's one that appeared in the September 1973 issue of PERSPECTIVE. I commend it to anyone who may have been impressed by Lenderking's review.

While the author of the PERSPECTIVE review, John D. Montgomery, is not an AID official but a Professor of Government at Harvard, he too considers the Paddocks' book “unfair and superficial,” although he uses different words. To quote some of them:

“This is not really a serious book, in spite of the sincere tone. It makes only faint pretense at objectivity . . .”

“It is most regrettable that this collection of horror stories is not a more thoughtful piece of journalism.”

Montgomery is by no means uncritical of our foreign aid program. Indeed, he credits the Paddocks with some “serious findings” that I consider over-stated. (If this should lead Lenderking to

label me "defensive," so be it. I do not, however, consider our aid program perfect or Montgomery "unpatriotic.")

But Montgomery goes on to point out that the Paddocks have not conducted "anything like a sample among the projects they studied"; that they have not recognized the successes of our foreign aid program; and that their book "only reinforces the urge to do battle by rhetoric" instead of "rationality."

HAROLD A. LEVIN
AID
(Visiting Scholar,
Georgetown University,
Academic Year 1973-74)

Further Perspective

• William Lenderking's inadequate review of the Paddocks' book "We Don't Know How," which appeared on page 27 of your September issue, was in my view out of place in your respected journal. Lenderking outlines the simplistic and biased Paddock "case" in eight sentences, then apparently agrees with it and naively asks if anyone can define our aid goals.

Obviously we always have goals, as any person fully familiar with the subject is well aware. Many of these goals have been attained. The Paddocks' "study" violates basic precepts of scholastic inquiry, and, one might assume, is designed to gain publicity for the authors rather than be a serious study of a serious topic. To restore balance to your pages, you really should now print a critique of the book. AID/OPA has an excellent one which I suggest you examine.

RAYMOND C. MALLEY,
FSR-2, AID
Washington

The Peter Principle

• I read with incredulity of the new procedures and criteria for performance evaluation of junior class employees (FSR-8, FSR-7, FSR-6 and FSS-8) announced by AID's Director of Personnel via State 227096 on November 17. That message instructed Mission Directors to recommend for promotion those employees who are "performing adequately or better."

Yes, adequately. To be eligible the rated officer must have been in his present grade for at least 52 weeks.

Correct me if I'm wrong, but I thought that recommendations for Foreign Service promotions were supposed to be based on the rating officer's belief that the rated officer could perform at a higher grade. Doesn't the officer's retention in the Service carry the implied assumption that he or she is performing adequately in his or her present grade?

I can only interpret this instruction to be an attempt by AID to get all of its employees past the threshold hurdle before the merger of the State and AID personnel systems which I feel is inevitable. Certainly it is in marked contrast to State's promotion policies, particularly at the Class 6 to 5 and FSS-8 to 7 levels and serves as another example of the inequities between the two systems.

Of course, my concern may not be justified. After all one rarely meets any AID officers below the grade of R-4 anyway (don't they start at R-5?) and State officers should by now be inured to seeing contemporaries in other agencies rise faster.

JOHN W. BLYGH, JR.
Monrovia

Enlightenment Through Offense

• Many other readers will no doubt be offended for the same wide variety of reasons that I was by Carroll Russell Sherer's "Resolution of the Wives Dilemma" in the October JOURNAL. Indeed, enlightenment through offense is clearly a principal purpose of the author. However, if her "resolution" is meant to be taken seriously, in rebuttal it needs only to be said that the allowances and privileges given to an officer's family—educational, commissary, housing, health care, and school and home leave transportation—are part of the total compensation paid him by the Foreign Service. As the BEX pamphlet for prospective examinees says, these "constitute the principal financial incentive" for service as an FSO. Mrs. Sherer's proposal as made could amount to a severe salary cut for any FSO who is unwilling to be separated from, or to coerce, a wife who prefers not to assume the traditional

Foreign Service wife role. On the other hand, her proposal would have real merit if she amended it to provide for payment of a salary to wives who have chosen that role.

JOHN L. WASHBURN
Washington

Must Reading on AID

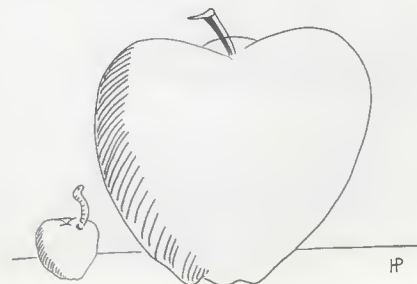
• William Turpin's article "They Have Moses and the Prophets" in the August issue cries out for a rebuttal. Fortunately, one is available which covers this ground more adequately and from a much broader perspective than I or most of my AID colleagues could command. I commend to Mr. Turpin and to all readers of the JOURNAL Chapter I of the 1973 report of the Chairman of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. Ambassador Edwin M. Martin's discussion of "The 'Crises' of Development" should be "must" reading for all those interested in aid.

MARJORIE S. BELCHER
Deputy Director
Washington

Praise for Tom Kelly

• I was much taken by Thomas F. Kelly's article "Who's the Kids Advocate" appearing in the September issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. I found it to be one of the most interesting and thought provoking pieces to appear in the JOURNAL in a long time. In the light of my own experiences as a Foreign Service father and my current position as Chairman of the Joint Embassy School in Jakarta, I would like to exchange some views with Mr. Kelly about the content of his article.

DONALD S. HARRIS
APO





THIS MONTH IN WASHINGTON

BY Rick Williamson

One of the joys of being the AFSA Counselor is writing this column. One of the real problems is figuring out how to lead it off each month. Fortunately, I get suggestions. One contributor wanted me to begin with the story about the traveling salesman who . . . But I told him this was a family magazine for foreign affairs professionals and that it was in bad taste to tell jokes of that ilk unless they were a lot funnier. Someone else wanted me to do a further exposé on Room 3662. You will recall from the November issue that before that room became popular, affairs of state were the prerogative of the Seventh Floor. So, searching out a good story I went to see how business was coming along. Nothing, just a long row of cardboard boxes. Not even a going-out-of-business sale. So next month, your fearless AFSA Counselor is going to take a break from snarling at management and go interview one of those heating-grate bums mentioned in an earlier issue.

The next time you are back in the Department, be prepared for a minor shock. Those long cream-colored corridors are now deep blue, Chinese red, mustard yellow, and even red-and-white candy striped. All part of a plan, says the General Services Administration, to make the corridors more interesting and eliminate dull sameness and a feeling of being lost. Some people would rather be lost.

A major event for the Association this month was Foreign Service Day, which we jointly sponsor with DACOR and the Department. This year, Foreign Service Day was a great success, culminating in a reception given by the Secretary (who at the last minute had a little matter in the Middle East to attend to) at the Pan American Union. The Saturday after Foreign

Service Day, the Association held its second annual brunch for retired members. This year's brunch, reported on elsewhere in the *JOURNAL*, was so successful that we hope to make it a regular event each Foreign Service Day.

AFSA Actions on Retirement Legislation

A major project this month has been our efforts to get action from Congress on two important pieces of retirement legislation. Hopefully, by the time you receive this, the President will have already signed the 1974 Foreign Assistance Act. This bill, as a result of a lot of hard work on the part of AFSA and AID, contains provision for Foreign Service retirement for career personnel in AID. The bill has already passed the House and Senate (by narrow margins) and been sent to the President. If the bill is signed, it will bring to a successful conclusion several years of effort on the part of the Association to give AID personnel a fair and equitable retirement system, and will constitute a major step forward in our efforts to create a unified Foreign Service.

This month Tom Boyatt and I also testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on a bill proposed by State and backed by the Administration to change the existing Foreign Service Retirement System. The bill contains a number of attractive features, such as important changes in annuities for surviving spouses, special relief for certain widows, and retirement of certain Career Ministers (those not serving in Presidentially appointed positions) at age 60. On the other hand, the bill also contained a number of features designed to bring the Foreign Service in line with the Civil Service under circumstances which were disadvantageous to Foreign Service personnel. We indicated to the Committee our opposition to these provisions. We also proposed

a number of additional changes in the Foreign Service Act, designed to improve the Foreign Service Retirement System. In all, we proposed 11 separate changes in the legislation to the Committee. The most significant change which we proposed was to permit Foreign Service personnel to retire with a limited annuity after 20 years in the Service, even if they had not yet reached age 50. If the Senate is willing to go along with this change—and much will depend on the attitude of the Department—this could bring about major benefits for the Foreign Service by permitting people to begin second careers at a younger age, and allowing those who remain to move forward more rapidly.

AFSA, State and USIA Agree on Selection Board Precepts

AFSA this month successfully concluded negotiations with State and USIA on the precepts for the 1973 selection boards. The Boards have already begun rank-ordering midcareer personnel in State, and the Threshold and Senior boards in State, and the USIA boards will meet on schedule in January. We will report separately in *AFSA NEWS* on the most important changes we have been able to bring about. In all cases except for the joint State-USIA junior officer boards (for FSO/FSIO-8s and 7s), where we agreed with management's approach, we have been able to bring about many changes in the precepts. The precepts should be published shortly, and we urge you to read them carefully.

In State, another preoccupation has been the study of the cone system which Secretary Kissinger ordered Director General Davis to undertake. The Director General in turn asked AFSA to provide him with our views on the cone system, and if we wish, to forward our views directly to the Secretary as well. This study will have major long-term implications for the per-

sonnel system in State, and will also have a direct bearing on how promotions are made this year at the Senior ranks.

AID

In AID, this month we had the first meeting of the Disputes Panel (the mediation and fact-finding body called for under the Executive Order) to deal with AID issues. As a result of the Disputes Panel's efforts and subsequent bargaining, we were able to reach preliminary agreement on one of the disputes, whereby AID would provide AFSA with a room in the headquarters building (we already have a room from State and USIA). On the other hand, we were still unable to agree on the Ship Travel dispute, in which we have been pressing AID to restore limited ship travel, so that AID personnel will have the same basic rights in this regard as Foreign Service personnel in USIA and State. We have been told informally that the Disputes Panel has produced findings of fact and recommendations favorable to the AFSA position. The issue now goes to the Board of the Foreign Service for final resolution.

We continue to make progress with AID management on two major personnel issues, the new personnel handbook, and a policy for converting or terminating limited status employees. We also were able this month to resolve a dispute on "modes of travel," a rather technical issue which nonetheless greatly affects which means of travel (other than ships) AID employees are entitled to use. The resolution of this issue basically brings AID back into line with the provisions governing travel in USIA. We had received a number of complaints from AID employees over this issue, and are pleased that it could be satisfactorily resolved.

SUPER-CHAPTER: AFSA-SAIGON

AFSA has many well-organized and highly effective chapters at several posts. We will be reporting on the activities of various chapters from time to time. Our largest chapter, and certainly one of our most active post organizations is AFSA-Saigon. The Chapter is

headed by Emil Lindahl, who is ably assisted by Steve Wallace (who handles many of the USAID and grievance matters), Vivian Anderson of USAID, and John Swenson of USIA. One of AFSA-Saigon's great successes has been in membership. In recent months, thanks to the efforts of Bob Zigler, Membership Chairman, we have received 94 new memberships from Saigon. The Chapter expects to go over 200 members any day now.

The Chapter has been unusually vigorous in dealing with grievances and informal complaints. Equally important, dealings with post management have resulted in a new housing policy for AID personnel which includes an imaginative point-bid system for housing allocation, and the establishment of an impartial housing board, on which AFSA-Saigon will have one representative. This agreement represents a major step forward in dealings between post management and AFSA Chapters.

INTERIM AGREEMENT TO ASSIST AID EMPLOYEES ROTATING TO AID/W

At the present time, AID Foreign Service employees who rotate to AID/W must pay any outstanding storage charges for household effects stored under government-issued travel orders. The employee must also pay delivery charges assessed by the firm. The employee then submits a voucher for reimbursement. AFSA has objected to this circuitous procedure which involves an employee temporarily assuming the government's debts.

As a temporary measure, to assist AID employees with the problem of paying storage and delivery charges for household effects, the Property Shipping Branch of SER/MO/TR will issue, upon request, an order to the storage company involved for AID to pay storage and delivery costs for household effects which have been stored at Agency expense. AFSA hopes to work out a more permanent arrangement in the near future. Meanwhile, we hope that this temporary procedure will alleviate some of the financial strains which have been imposed on Foreign Service employees by AID.

FOREIGN SERVICE DAY BRUNCH

Over 80 retired Foreign Service officers and their spouses met for a post-Foreign Service Day brunch at the Foreign Service Club on November 17. This newly-inaugurated tradition is designed to afford the Association's retired members an opportunity to learn more about AFSA's efforts as a professional association and as an employee representative and in turn for the Association to benefit from the ideas and expertise of these concerned retirees.

Tom Boyatt, AFSA Chairman, welcomed the group, reporting on the past year's operation of the Association and moderating the discussion. Mr. Boyatt's opening remarks covered three points made by Dr. Kissinger, one, that the career Foreign Service should be involved in the foreign policy process; two, that this process should be as open as possible within the agencies; and three, that this process should be as open as possible to the people, the Congress and the media which would lead to the building of a new foreign policy consensus.

This year's topic for discussion was the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (hereinafter known as the Murphy Commission). Fisher Howe, Deputy Executive Director of the Commission, began by calling attention to the presence of Ambassador Frances Willis, recipient of the Foreign Service Cup for 1973, in the audience and Ambassador Willis received a standing ovation from the group. Mr. Howe followed this with a report on Ambassador Murphy, who regretted his inability to attend, and then spoke of the mandate for the Commission and its program. He called attention to the fact that the Commission, established under the Foreign Service Authorization Act of 1972, had more authority and breadth than the Hoover Commission and was responsible to both Congress and the President. To get the institutional perspective, Mr. Howe said that meetings would be held with representatives of the institutions involved, with reports from them and for them and that the problems that cut across agency lines would be dealt with by

independent study groups. He said there were two compelling reasons for the Commission's study—the constantly changing environment and the radical changes in the foreign affairs field. "A more or less prosaic look at management which says that management must look at itself—how we can improve."

Ambassador Edmund A. Gullion, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, said that the balance of power and competitive coexistence rather than containment was the wave of the future, even though it made demands on a country and its leaders. Stating that Secretary Kissinger was a man who saw himself in the tradition of Bismarck and Metternich, he remarked that a retreat from involvement was possible, and quoted de Tocqueville on the inability of a democracy to make a success of its foreign affairs. Ambassador Gullion went on to say that a career professional foreign service is more necessary than ever in the conduct of foreign affairs—that the greatest asset we have is not elected politicians but the professional career services, Army, Navy, Air, Civil Service and Foreign Service. He called for attention to creative diplomacy in the developing world—the roots and seeds of conflict lie there and said the answers lie in attitudes rather than organizational change. Recognizing the agonizing problem of the conflict between the executive and legislative branches, he called for a rapprochement between the two of them. He also said that the Secretary of State *should* be both Chairman of NSC and Secretary and the public affairs area in the Department should be enlarged and charged with enlightening the public and dealing with it. He called for a disciplined hierarchic service "available to send the best people to the worst places," and said that he saw no harm in political ambassadors constituting 40% of the appointments if they have the confidence of the President, are qualified and are not just being rewarded for contributions.

Dr. Chester Crocker, Director of the Master's Program in Foreign Service at Georgetown University, said that the nation's record would seem to be almost one of continu-

ous catastrophe from the number of studies done in this field. But because we had avoided them we could afford to spend some time looking at the mechanisms and at how Dr. Kissinger "pulls diplomatic rabbits out of the hat." He called for a greater degree of candor and flexibility on a few key issues and the restoration of legitimacy to the operation of foreign affairs. Dr. Crocker, too, called for greater activity in the field of public affairs to organize domestic support. His recommendations were—accept politics in foreign policy, organize bureaucracy to achieve political aims, place greater emphasis on the production of intelligence and not penalize the professional in intelligence for being right. He added that any administration must count on the people in the foreign affairs field, that the professionals must cultivate an esprit and their self-respect, not docile subservience.

The view of the active professional in foreign affairs was presented by Brandon Grove, Jr., Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Council and Chairman of AFSA's Committee on Professionalism. Mr. Grove remarked on the outstanding success of the AAFSW Book Fair and quoted from a volume by Water Hines Page, Ambassador to St. James in 1913, where the Ambassador wrote, "The feeling grows on us that perhaps many of our telegrams and letters may not be read at all. Why send them?" Mr. Grove also quoted from Ambassador Gullion's prize winning essay in the JOURNAL's 1946 contest where the purpose of the foreign service was defined as making a maximum contribution to foreign policy. Dean Rusk was quoted as saying that foreign policy is not the private preserve of the State Department. In further defining the Service, Mr. Grove said that the Foreign Service is not a personnel system, it is a cadre of professionals, bureaucrats in the best sense, i.e., people who understand the operations of bureaucracy. He suggested that perhaps the Foreign Service better understood bureaucracy abroad than at home and called for more exchanges with business and academia. For the future he said there were four options; one, to make the State Department entirely Civil Service, two, to place

the Foreign Service directly under the President, three, to keep the Foreign Service as is through Class 3 but then establish an executive pool as a resource for assignments abroad or at home, or four, accomplish the needed changes within the scope of the Foreign Service Act. He added that better training was an essential in its relation to greater understanding and greater skill in the foreign policy process.

Animated discussion of many of the points raised by the panel followed with queries on how retired officers could help, strong praise for AFSA's stand on ambassadorial appointments, the suggestion that the Foreign Service get behind the idea of public financing of election campaigns, the advancement of the idea that the attitudes of the Foreign Service in dealing with international business should be improved, along with many other ideas, questions and trial balloons.

This stimulating session which had afforded both food for thought and for the inner man or woman ended in the early afternoon of a bright November day. AFSA ventures the hope that next year's brunch, the third, will be at once as agreeable and as thought-provoking, and that retired members will maintain their interest in the Association, use the Club facilities and offer their support and expertise.

CREDIT CARD PROBLEMS

A number of Foreign Service personnel have been experiencing problems in dealing with companies such as American Express or Central Charge. The most common difficulty has been that, due to transferring from one post to another and the resulting delays in mail reaching them, some Foreign Service employees receive their bills long past due, and are listed as "delinquent customers." Until two years ago, most companies permitted all overseas Foreign Service accounts (zip code 20521) to have a minimum of 60 days grace, and in cases of transfer a maximum of 90 days, for payment of regular bills without penalty of finance charges—or far more seriously—jeopardy of their credit rating.

However, most credit card operations increasingly rely on comput-

ers, and the computer apparently cannot isolate Foreign Service accounts from other accounts. AFSA has pointed out to a number of firms that its members' credit rating should not be jeopardized simply because of transfer or the delay in mail reaching them. At AFSA's request, to alleviate this situation, Central Charge has agreed to assign a particular branch in their central office to handle such problems. Foreign Service personnel having problems such as being listed by Central Charge as a "delinquent customer" should write to R. G. Moore, Customer Service Manager, Central Charge, 1215 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, and explain the circumstances peculiar to their case. In this manner, the "Credit Rating Profile" can be changed to reflect the extenuating circumstances in a particular case.

AFSA will try to work out similar arrangements with other firms such as American Express and the firms who are members of Washington Shoppers Plate. Members are requested to advise AFSA

of any problems of this nature with the firms involved and similar arrangements will hopefully be concluded with them.

Foreign Service People

BIRTHS

OTIS. A daughter, Jade Anna, born to FSO and Mrs. Terrell R. Otis on October 19, in Chiang Mai.

SHEINBAUM. A son, Neil H. F., born to FSO and Mrs. Gilbert H. Sheinbaum, on August 2, in Washington.

MARRIAGES

MARIN-McANINCH. Luz Marina Marin was married to Consul General Vernon D. McAninch on October 20, in Bogota.

GERRITY-VOLLERTSEN. Louise Gerrity, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Charles M. Gerrity, was married to Edward Peter Vollertsen, III on December 8, at Cathedral of Christ the King, Atlanta.

DEATHS

DODGE. John Doane Dodge, FSSO, died on November 6 at his home in Glen Echo Heights. He joined the Foreign Service in 1947, serving in Algiers, Mexico City, San Jose, Paris, Managua and Guadalajara. He is survived by his wife, Edith Palmer Dodge, 6115 Madawaska Rd., Glen Echo Heights, Md., and three children. Contributions in memory of Mr. Dodge may be made to the Leukemia Society of America.

FLEISHER. Greta Fleisher, wife of Wilfred Fleisher, Press Attache, Stockholm 1949-53, and mother of FSO Eric W. Fleisher, 875 Azalea Dr., Rockville, Md., and Benita (Baroness Claes Ramel), died on November 11, in Stockholm. She is also survived by another son, Frederic Elliot Fleisher of Stockholm.

SEIDEL. Harry G. Seidel, mission director, AID, Morocco, died on December 3, in Washington. Mr. Seidel joined AID in 1972 after serving with Standard Oil of New Jersey for 26 years. He is survived by his wife, Geraldine, of Rabat, and four children.

SPECIAL SERVICES

The Journal has inaugurated a new service for its readers, a classified section. In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and Journal readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

EDUCATION

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RETIRED LIST

Again this year, the Association has produced the list of retired members and it is available on request. Write or phone AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

COMING EVENT

HOW YOU COULD BE EARNING SOCIAL SECURITY COVERAGE NOW: By popular demand, this seminar, presented by Mr. Grover J. REES, Jr., Director of Investment Planning for Reynolds Securities, Inc. Members of the New York Stock Exchange, will be given again on January 16, from 12:00-1:00 PM, in Room 1912. Dept. of State. The seminar covers the various ways that YOU can qualify for Social Security benefits in addition to all your existing benefits. For example, did you know that it's possible to merely invest your money—not your time or effort—and get this coverage? These TAX-FREE benefits include: A RETIREMENT ANNUITY (for yourself and family); FAMILY INSURANCE (for widows and dependents); DISABILITY BENEFITS; FREE MEDICARE (Part I)—If you have any further questions, please call Mr. REES at 296-2770 (if no answer, call 530-8515) or write to him c/o REYNOLDS SECURITIES, Inc., 1735 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

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