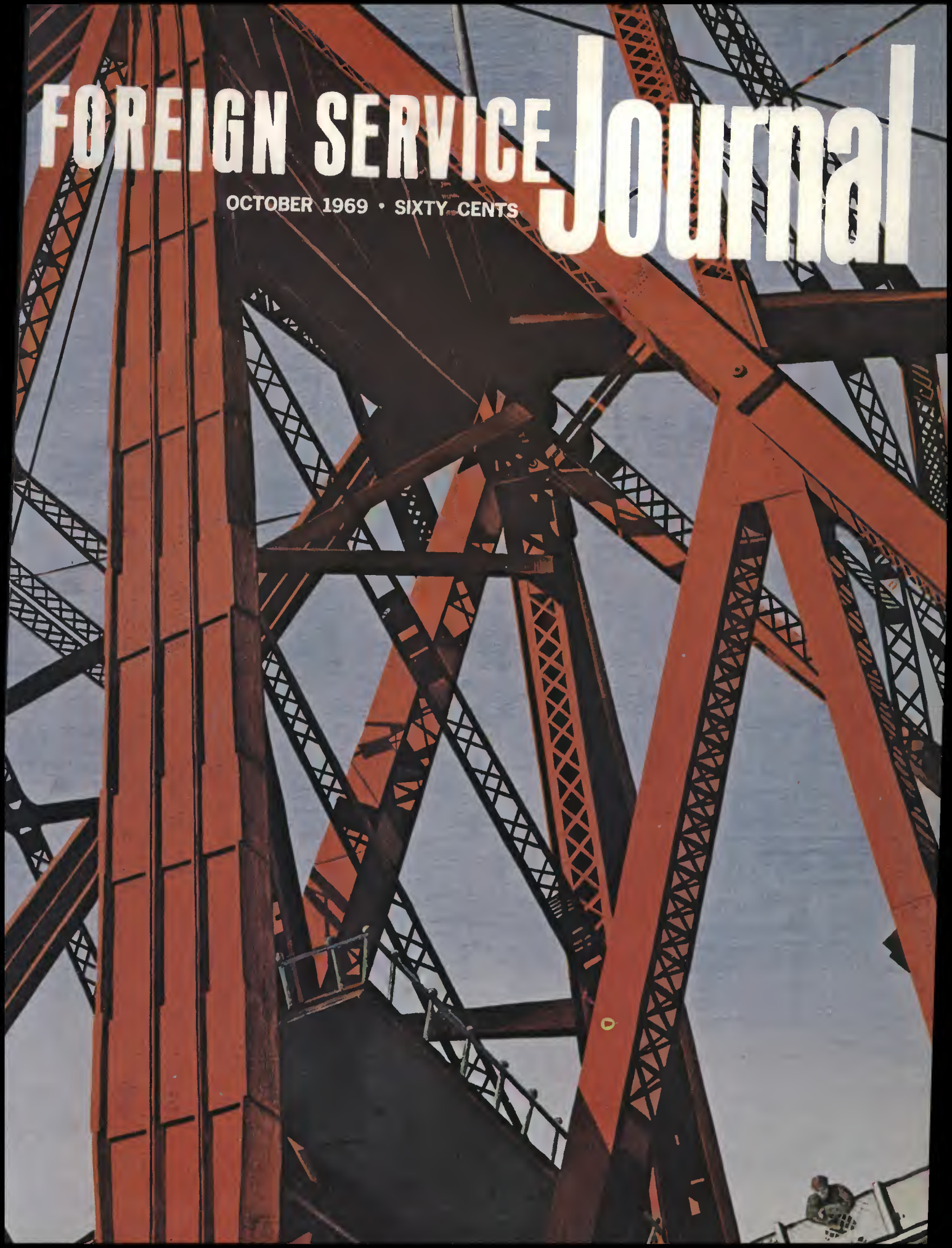


FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

OCTOBER 1969 • SIXTY CENTS



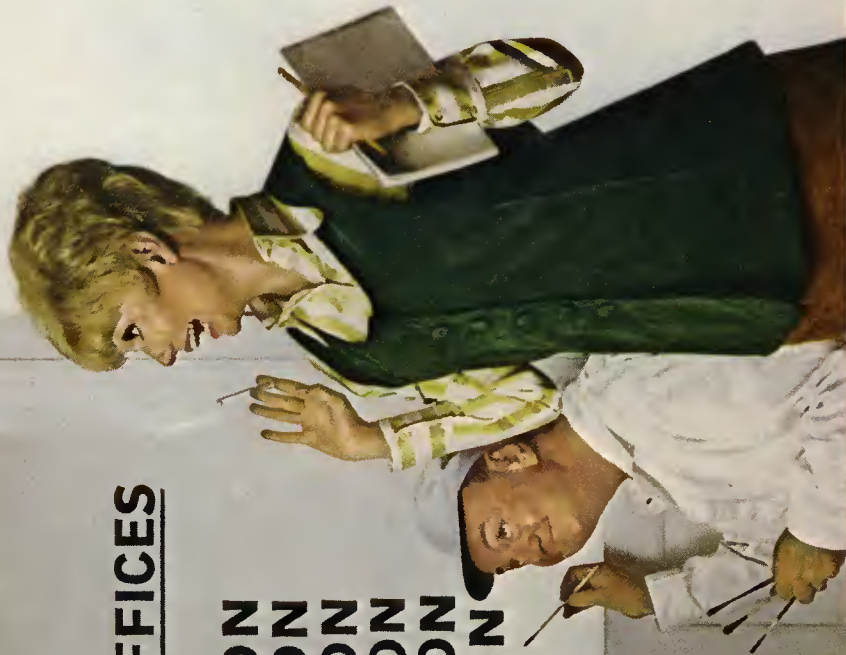
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you make it...

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Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.
Printed by Monumental Printing Co., Baltimore.

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A Memorandum from the Chairman of the Board

TO: Members of the American Foreign Service
Association

SUBJECT: Elections Committee

As you are aware, the members present at a business meeting in Washington on February 18, 1969, voted to amend the American Foreign Service Association Bylaws to provide for dismantling the electoral college system and the substitution of direct election of members for the Board of Directors of the Association. The purpose of this memorandum is to inform you that in accordance with the new election Bylaws, the Board of the election year, the Elections Committee shall issue an election call by general mailing to all *Active* members.

BARDOS, Arthur A.	USIA
CLARK, Joan M.	STATE
PARKS, William	AID
READY, Frank	STATE
STUTESMAN, John H.	STATE (Chairman)

The Bylaws require that on or before September 1 of the election year, the Elections Committee shall issue an election call by general mailing to all *Active* members.

I cannot urge too strongly that every member of the Association participate in the election process by nominating individuals or slates of individuals who are willing and able to help the Association maintain its forward movement.

LANNON WALKER
Chairman
Board of Directors

(See this month's *AFSA NEWS* for more complete information.)

About our cover . . .

The "Bridge" by Paul Child was painted from drawings of the Queensboro Bridge in New York, after it had had a coat of red-lead paint. Mr. Child was a teacher in boys' prep schools for 17 years. During the first half of those years, he taught American History and English at two schools in France, then returned to this country to teach art and photography as well as French.

World War II caused a sudden switch in professions. Child joined the Office of Strategic Service (OSS) when it was just being established, and was sent to the China-Burma-India war theater. It was on the Island of Ceylon, during this period, that he met his present wife, also in OSS. From 1941 until 1961 he was continuously in government service. For his work in OSS during the war Child received the Medal for Merit, the highest award possible for a civilian. It carries a citation from the President of the United States.

Child's last post in Foreign Service was in Oslo, as Cultural Affairs Officer. It was during this period that he decided to give up government work and devote himself entirely to painting, photography and writing—a plan not entirely realized due to the growth in popularity and importance of Julia Child's television program "The French Chef" which the Childs' work on together.

Paul Child has exhibited paintings, engravings or photographs in the following cities: Boston, Philadelphia, Hartford, Washington, Bonn, Paris, Cologne, Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. Some of his photographs are in the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

About the November issue . . .

The November issue of the *JOURNAL* will feature articles on problems, prospects and recommendations for the United States Information Agency. The winners of the Jack K. McFall Essay Contest will also be announced in this issue.

The *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published thirteen times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

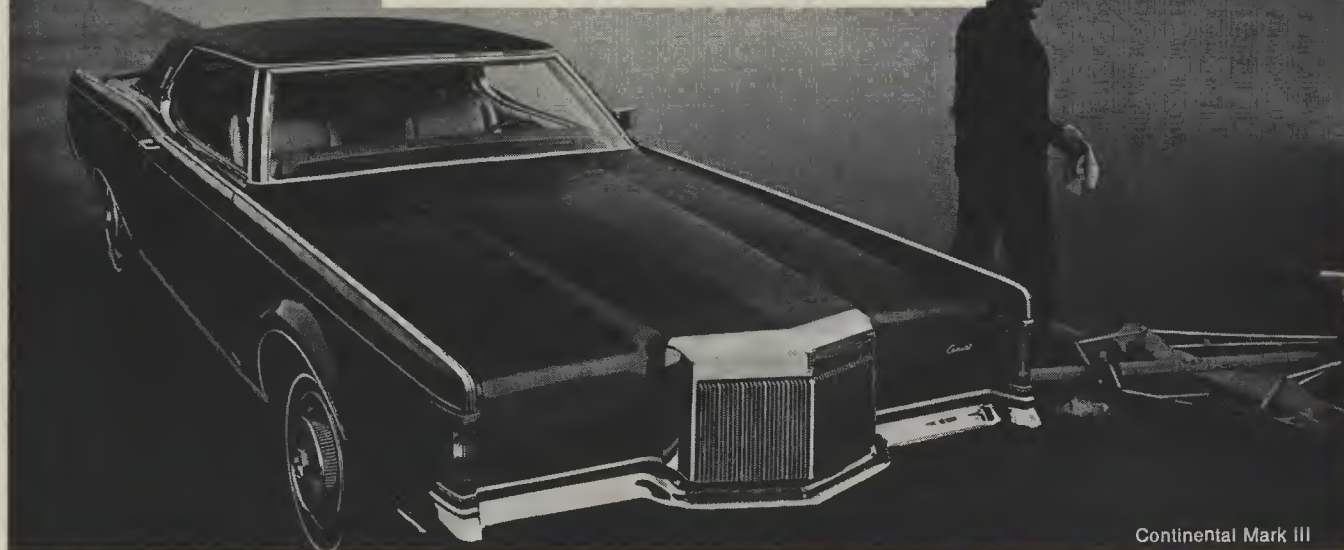
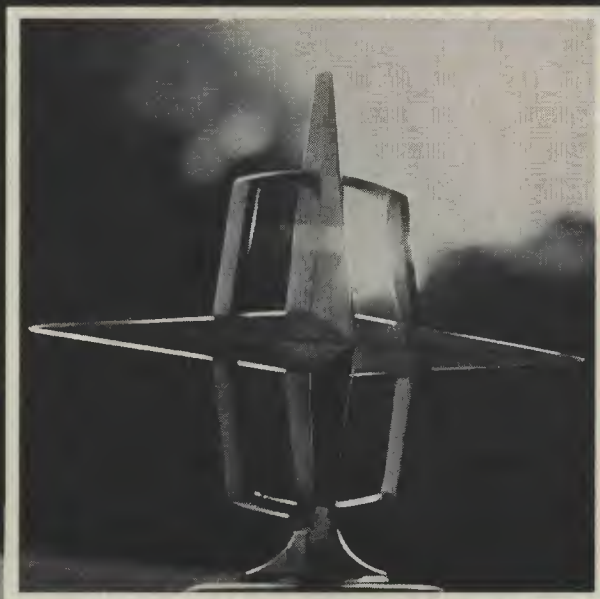
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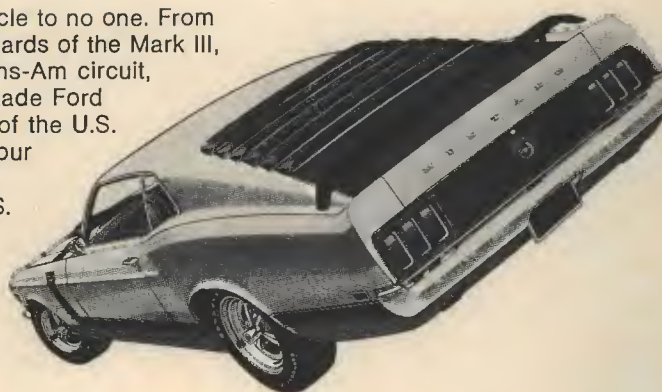
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Washington Letter

The best thing about getting away from it all for a spell (and don't tell us you never noticed we were gone) is the way it lengthens life. Not because of the renewed vigor and dynamism one brings back from a vacation, along with poison ivy and a peeling nose. What we mean is the way a change of scene makes time stretch. After just one week's absence the familiar routine seems as remote as Amos and Andy. And returning after five or six weeks one feels like a cosmonaut back from a first look at Uranus. Possibly even more disoriented, because cosmonauts get a steady flow of news from home, including all-star games and the Dow-Jones averages whereas in the roomier reaches of America one may go for days without hearing either Cronkite or Huntley-Brinkley, and not miss them.

We looked around eagerly to see what changes had taken place. Had they started digging the subway? Was the Kennedy Center getting ready to open? Had air pollution been eliminated? Was the Potomac flowing sweetly among its green braes, crystalline and abundant, and teeming with happy swimmers?

In a day or two, of course, one's internal calendar adjusts to the date on the newspapers. The sense of eager anticipation evaporates. Everything looks very much the way it looked when one took off. Hedge shaggier, to be sure, weeds thriving, lawn badly infected with impetigo. But that's normal in Washington's sub-tropical climate. (Last summer was a bad one, we hear: weeks and weeks of blistering heat, then rain, in waterspouts.)

The state of the world, as surveyed by the pundits, remains depressing, but when was it otherwise? The ultimate cataclysm does not appear perceptibly closer; we can still hope to escape extinction a while longer, by prayer, luck and the skin of our teeth.

The vacationist's euphoria fades even faster than his sunburn. But it's still a good idea to get away occasionally—to emulate the poet Norma Farber, who

*Took myself away for a feeling of far,
left my home by choice of challenge and change.*

Leaving home has the same purpose as home leave—to restore one's perspective and open up new perspectives. That, at any rate, was the original intent, as prescribed in the Foreign Service Act. The Department had a wonderful idea a few years ago, when it sent FS families out in trailers, like Steinbeck without Charley, to rediscover America. As this column suggested once before, it's good to be reminded that over large parts of this continent "Washington" means first of all a large state in the Pacific Northwest; you'd better bear down hard on the "D.C." if you want to escape somebody's reminiscences of a visit to Seattle.

Washingtonians, like New Yorkers, are inclined to display a certain condescension toward the provinces. A closer look at those provinces is a wholesome corrective to snobbery. Block Island, for instance. A down-at-the-heels outpost of Rhode Island, three miles by seven of cliffs, beaches, moors, abandoned farms, and history, more than 300 years of it. You can reconstruct it in the graveyard, tracing the great families—the Dodges, the Lewises, the Roses, the Motts, the Littlefields—down through the centuries, and the wars. As Thornton Wilder showed us in "Our Town," a country

graveyard is not a melancholy place. One takes away from it a sense not of the brevity of life but of its continuity.

It was on Block Island that we blundered into, and were hospitably embraced by, the No Friends of Music. They gather there for a week every summer, from as far away as Denver, to play for their own amazement—the president of a great industrial complex, an eminent book publisher, a painter and maker of stained-glass windows, others equally versatile. Truly Renaissance people.

A couple of weeks later, in the White Mountains, we had the good luck to attend the annual picnic and charade competition of a small community—permanent and summer residents—that has been doing that sort of thing for generations. The charades were horrifyingly elaborate; the performers included a bishop, the president of a major university, the dean of an Ivy League theological school. We shall not identify the community more specifically. Two Foreign Service families have already established residence there, and it would be a pity to start a stampede.

If we have expatiated on these encounters at too great length, forgive us. We feel they have some relevance. During our years overseas we often reflected that in assisting and publicizing our orchestras and soloists we were telling only part of the story. Our cultural maturity is demonstrated perhaps even better by the proliferation of ardent amateurs who make music for the fun of it.

You can't, alas, get away from it all. Even in the provinces the problems that weigh so heavily on our consciences and our budgets are omnipresent. In the White Mountains the wind swung around to the east one afternoon, and the stench from the paper mills a few miles away rolled nauseatingly over us. Those majestic New England rivers, with their poetic Indian names—Androscoggin, Penobscot—have become open sewers, torpidly bearing their freight of noisome sludge toward a polluted sea.

No place to hide.

Capital Transit: A Not-Very-Much-Progress Report

About that subway.

To state the topic thus is misleading. Any discussion is, inevitably, also about that bridge, about those freeways, about urban decay, about decentralization, about the degree of self-determination that should be entrusted to the people of the nation's capital, nearly one million of them.

It sounds fearsomely complicated. It is.

At the root of the controversy is a difference of opinion on the best way of moving people around inside this sprawling metropolis, and into and out of it. Some think the solution is more roads and bridges. Others argue that the city is already strangling in thruways, clover-leaves, overpasses and underpasses, and that every new road simply makes matters worse. They want to channel people-traffic—some of it, anyway—underground, as other large cities have done.

Plans for a subway have long existed. Routes have been laid out, station designs approved, a model car constructed and displayed to admiring commuters. The suburban counties have authorized bond issues to pay their shares.

So what is holding it up? That aforementioned difference of opinion, hardening into a head-on collision between two

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governmental entities. The City Council has set itself firmly against pending freeway projects, and specifically against the Three Sisters bridge and the traffic arteries that would feed into and out of it. (The Three Sisters are a clump of rocks in the Potomac between Key and Chain bridges. Their significance is symbolic rather than scenic; the bridge would bring a fresh torrent of traffic through Georgetown and across the Potomac Palisades, to the anguish of residents on both sides.) It is not the Council, however, that lays down the law for the District; it is Congress. The law in this case is the Highway Act of 1968, which decrees: no bridge and freeways, no subway.

There the deadlock stood until two months ago. Then the Council finally capitulated. It voted to approve the Three Sisters bridge and to "restudy" the North Central Freeway project. (It was a turbulent meeting, during which a Councilman and the District's Democratic chairman were among 14 objectors arrested.)

That would seem to have settled the freeway-subway controversy by answering the either-or question with "Both." But wait a minute. The chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia (a resident of Bowling Green, Ky., which requires no subway) announced this wasn't quite enough. Before his subcommittee will report out the 1.1-billion-dollar authorization bill—already passed by the Senate—and vote funds to start construction—\$18.7 million for fiscal 1969 and \$21.6 for fiscal 1970—the city must dispose of all lawsuits against bridge or freeways. Inasmuch as the residents of the affected areas are pretty mad about the whole business, a good deal of litigation is probable.

The Federal Government has a keen interest in the matter. In its attempts to decentralize by moving agencies out of the city it finds that many of its lower-income employees—and that of course is likely to mean blacks—have difficulty in getting to Rockville or points equally remote, and equal or greater difficulty in finding housing nearer the job. A subway would help.

So you would be wise not to count on being whisked to your office in Metro-style luxury the next time you get a stateside assignment, instead of having to buck traffic. Construction costs go up month by month; the original estimates are long since outdated. The suburban counties are getting restive; if nothing happens soon one or more of them may be tempted to pull out.

Five will get you ten that men will walk on Mars before anybody takes the tube from Chevy Chase to Foggy Bottom.

The Cultural Scene in the Nation's Capital

New Faces

National Gallery: New director—J. Carter Brown, 34, a former deputy director, succeeding John Walker, 65, retiring after 31 years with the gallery.

Corcoran: New acting director—Walter Hopps, previously head of the gallery's Dupont Center, replacing James Harithas, resigned. Harithas' departure, after one year, distressed some local artists. One was quoted as saying, "I guess they figured he was just a little bit too exciting."

National Collection of Fine Arts: New director—Joshua C. Taylor, University of Chicago art historian, succeeding David W. Scott, who moved over to the National Gallery.

National Symphony: New concertmaster—Miran Kojian, formerly with the Kansas City Symphony, replacing the veteran Werner Lywen, who has taken a professorship at Fresno State in California.

Juilliard Quartet: New violist, Samuel Rhodes, replacing Raphael Hillyer. Mrs. Rhodes could readily step into the ensemble in an emergency: she's Hiroko Yajima, who has appeared here twice in the Music From Marlboro series. In

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fact, she did step into Earl Carlyss' second-violin place when the quartet played at Mr. Carlyss' wedding last summer. The bride: Washington's own Ann Schein, concert pianist, who has performed under State Department and other auspices in Europe, Latin America and Asia.

Howard University: New president—James E. Cheek, 36, formerly head of Shaw University, Ralcih, N.C., succeeding James M. Nabrit Jr.

Coming Events

National Symphony: Oct. 14-15—Isaac Stern, in the Beethoven, and Holst's "The Planets." Oct. 21-22—American Jewish Festival, soloists Grant Johannesen, Zara Nelsova and Joanna Simon; music by Bernstein, Gershwin, Bloch. Oct. 26—NDR-Hamburg Symphony, under Schmidt-Isserstedt; Nov. 4-5—Alicia de Larrocha, pianist.

Washington Performing Arts Society: Oct. 4—Prague Symphony, Vaclav Smetacek, conductor, Eva Bernathova, soloist. Oct. 5—The Romanian Madrigals. Oct. 12—Shirley Verrett, mezzo. Oct. 19—Gerard Souzay, baritone. Oct. 26—Gary Graffman, pianist. Nov. 2—Roger Wagner Chorale.

National Ballet: Oct. 3-4-5—Margot Fonteyn in "La Sylphide."

National Theater: Sept. 29-Oct. 11—Elliot Baker's "The Penny Wars," with Kim Hunter. Oct. 27-Nov. 8 (tentative)—Arthur Miller's "The Price," with Shepperd Strudwick.

Arena: Oct. 28 through November: "Edith Stein," a new play by Arthur Giron.

National Gallery: Through Nov. 2—John Constable; through Oct. 5—Ailsa Mellon Bruce memorial exhibit; through Oct. 19—German Expressionist watercolors.

National Collection of Fine Arts: through Oct. 15—

Ioannis Spiropoulos (many consider him Greece's best living painter).

Corcoran: Oct. 3-Nov. 9—three young Washington artists, Sam Gilliam, Rockne Krebs and Ed McGowin; Oct. 10-23—David Smith retrospective.

Oddments

Good news for sellers, bad news for buyers: survey shows median price of new residences in Montgomery County during first quarter of 1969 was \$40,733, almost \$15,000 above the nation-wide median. Northern Virginia's figure was around \$33,000, Prince George's \$28,500.

Meanwhile, D.C. real estate taxes are going up—from \$3 to \$3.10 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation. That means \$20 more on a \$20,000 house.

Glen Echo residents are relieved to learn that the old amusement park site isn't going to become a high-rise apartment complex. To save it, the General Service Administration swapped the owners a downtown building. Some day, but not just yet, the National Park Service plans to develop the area for recreation purposes.

Amanda Explains:

*"No one is ever forgiven a good deed.
Your eyes made me feel warm when I needed warmth.
This was the unforgivable deed
Which road-blocks our relationship.
Better to cry. 'Unclean! Unclean!'
Than to display kindness and understanding,
Old Poet!"*

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The Plan will no longer pay expenses of a practical nurse out-of-hospital overseas when a registered nurse (R.N.) is not available.

Maternity benefits are paid the same as for any other illness or injury. Formerly benefits were limited to \$350.

The maximum benefit for each person for any one accident or for all sickness resulting from any one cause is increased from \$20,000 to \$40,000.

The Association believes that the last two changes will materially assist our members in meeting the increased cost of medical services.

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A Communication

BECAUSE I could not agree more with most of Mr. Turpin's exceedingly well argued points in "The Name of the Game Nowadays" in your May issue, I feel compelled to disagree with one particular concept which would, in my opinion, lead us down the wrong road in our relations with lesser developed nations. This is Mr. Turpin's interpretation of the process of change in these nations as "Westernization" for which we are responsible and which we should oversee.

First of all, I would quibble with the term "Westernization." This word incorrectly associates a particular culture (that is, a set of traditional values and symbols) with a process which can affect any society. Although Western societies were the first to experience this process in accelerated form, we did not invent it and have yet really to understand it. The propagation of modernization (the term I prefer) is analogous to that of measles, which affects some more than others, is decidedly contagious but does not really belong to anyone. While it is true that the modernization process brings cultures closer together, this is not through the propagation of one society's traditional values but through the gradual elimination of dysfunctional traditions in all societies. This distinction is important as it has a bearing on defining our rightful role in the modernization of other societies.

The fact that some elements in developing countries adopt some of our outward cultural traits and seek new concepts in our traditional literature, should not blind us to a much more fundamental phenomenon caused by the interaction of two cultures. An individual's sense of identity and his basic feeling of security are tightly bound to his cultural traditions. Traditions, rites and symbols are also, of course, the cement which holds societies together. The less functional such traditions are in a modern context, the stronger may be their emotional content. Westernization can thus often be seen as a threat to an individual's identity and to a society's very existence. This threat can trigger unreasoning defensive mechanisms of immense destructive power. Recognizing this phenomenon, demagogues, including communists in Indonesia, have effectively used the threat of Westernization to marshal mass support. Many Asian and African nations wish to be modern. None I know of wants to be Western and many will fight to the death to remain "themselves."

Three Ladies at Lunch at Limoges

*One wore a Paris hat
purchased a world back.
In the province of stuffed geese,
she looked an aristocrat
of similar proportions.*

*Her gossip cackled at that
correct pace of contortions
permitted her lineage.
She bobbled, she minced, she quacked,
her chins, her glasses, her stays*

*belonged to a happier age.
Her two companions paid heed,
offered due thanks for her greed.
The hat, puffed up like a crown
set the proper tone for the town.*

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Mr. Turpin has rightly emphasized our responsibility in assisting new nations to undergo as painlessly as possible a process which they probably caught from us and which they cannot really avoid given the current proximity of societies. For reasons just mentioned, I cannot agree with the means by which Mr. Turpin suggests that this responsibility can be discharged. Too many American advisers, especially in the social and political fields, are likely to cause the receiving culture to confuse modernization with Americanization and to create powerful antibodies effective against both processes. The use of international agencies to pass on our techniques is not a shirking of responsibility. It is simply a way of saying "this is how it can be done" instead of "this is how we do it." This simple difference in approach can cause a very important difference in the response.

There are, of course many nations where the cultural "rejection mechanism" is suppressed to such a degree that American advisors are welcome and even courted, at least by the governing elite. I would, however, hesitate to attribute such open door policies exclusively to the triumph of reason over instinct. Some leaders of lesser developed nations may consciously or unconsciously view the importation of American advisors as a means of avoiding the difficult social and political changes which accompany modernization. If this is the case,

direct American participation in a country's development would be a substitute for local initiative instead of a catalyst for modernization.

This having been said, I would like to join wholeheartedly Mr. Turpin's appeal for greater regional specialization. Although we should be painfully aware of the fact that technological advance and social change move in tandem, we have, as Mr. Turpin indicated, preserved an artificial separation of the two in planning and implementing our overseas programs. Successful operation of all overseas programs requires a continuous and accurate feedback on how these programs are affecting and are affected by the society in question. Area specialists are needed not only as perceivers and sensors to provide an accurate feedback, but also as line officers to ensure that this feedback results in timely and appropriate adjustments in our policies and programs. Our perception is too often weak and, when it is accurate, the coupling with policy may be missing. We have, as Mr. Turpin suggests, missed opportunities in influencing the economic, social and political growth of developing countries. I believe we have also seen opportunities where only pitfalls exist. For the latter reason, I would place the emphasis on greater area skills rather than on more posts and personnel.

PAUL F. GARDNER

Washington



Dusk On The River

*Laden Tramp heading south under a smoky, sunset sky.
Pushing a dragon's mouth of frothing foam
Through the dull, slack tide.
Her rusted sides reflecting blood, her funnel black
against the passing, green shoreline.
Heeling slightly, bound for the open sea and star
splashed sailor's skies, her screw slices the water
soundlessly while shipyards ashore build a land of
sparkling, firefly light.*

—HOWARD R. SIMPSON

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As E. B. White* says, "We put very little time or money into launching our best missile—our ideas." So it is up to *individual* Americans to share their cultural heritage with other *individuals* in the developing nations.

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*Mr. White is one of the 54 distinguished members of the committee which created this program and chooses the titles for distribution.

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"An alternative to our present policy of over-involvement in the affairs of Southeast Asia."

IT is sad, I think, that the era in American history that started with the New Deal and ended with Lyndon Johnson has not been given the honorable burial it deserves. For whatever one's politics, those were momentous years when much was achieved of which all Americans ought to be proud.

One could make a pretty good case for saying that the New Deal years ended on the streets of Chicago during the Democratic Party Convention in August, 1968, for there the children of the New Deal came into direct conflict with those who had benefited most from and had provided much of the leadership during the New Deal years. It was a tragedy that no Mark Antony appeared on the scene to remind us that "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones."

One could say that the foreign policies of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, the Eisenhower years, and the New Frontier came to their end in Vietnam. And again it is a tragedy that no one has come forward to bury those policies with the honors they deserve.

But that an era has ended, no one can doubt. The symbolic events are less important than the new awareness about the human condition that has been gradually borne in upon us. Nothing marks the end of the New Deal era more certainly than our incipient awareness that there is no substitute for diplomacy in the affairs of nations and that development is not the same thing as economic growth.

If there is to be more peace and less war on this planet, we are going to have to practice diplomacy more expertly than ever before, and we are going to have to promote something called development as a means of accommodating more of the millions in the world who are

struggling to get a foothold in modern, technical society. We are going to have to create the opportunities and teach the qualifications for more of these millions, and this requires much more than a concern for economic growth. As the mayor of St. Louis observed not so long ago, we who enjoy the fruits of modern society cannot simply hang out signs saying "the uneducated need not apply" and expect to keep intruders from our doors.

In these pages, I have tried to test these propositions in the context of Southeast Asia. What the United States does in Southeast Asia in the two or three years immediately ahead will determine in large part whether the new era in foreign policy starts on a constructive note or on a note of defeatism. Our own self-confidence as a world power and the confidence of our friends and allies in the region are at stake.

The Opportunities

In order to substitute the promotion of regional cooperation for our present over-involvement in the affairs of the nations of Southeast Asia, good diplomacy demands that we first understand where our real opportunities lie. They are not dramatic opportunities, such as were presented to us during the reconstruction of Western Europe under the Marshall Plan. However, we must make use of such opportunities as do exist if we are not to manufacture our own defeat as a result of our unhappy experience in Vietnam.

I list the opportunities this way:

(1) The leaders of Southeast Asia share a fear of domination by Communist China and a suspicion of Japan. Because of their fears and suspicions, they feel that they need a United States presence in the region. This is the major reason

Policy for a New Era

EUGENE R. BLACK

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why we can talk seriously about a US role in promoting regional cooperation.

(2) The promotion of regional cooperation offers one of the few constructive opportunities open to us in Southeast Asia in the years immediately ahead to reconcile our diplomacy with that of Japan. The Japanese say they do not want to see an Asia divided into "our side and the other side," as Americans have become accustomed to saying. They will talk about a "unified Asia" as long as they are going through the trauma of determining anew a role for themselves in the world. Neither of these rhetorical positions is very realistic, however necessary either may be for home consumption in the two countries. Asia can neither be unified nor pushed into choosing sides. We can hope to persuade the Japanese, however, that they will

From "Alternative in Southeast Asia," by Eugene R. Black, to be published October 13, 1969, by Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York. Reprinted with permission.

need regional cooperation in South-east Asia quite as much as we will need it. The bigger Japanese trade and investment in the region become, the more Japan will have to match it with a coherent political policy, simply to forestall a wave of expropriations of her property or restrictions on her trade. The one constructive policy that offers hope of protecting Japan's real national interests in the region, without suggesting Japanese commitments beyond what Japanese public opinion is likely to accept, is the policy of promoting regional cooperation.

(3) Each nation in Southeast Asia faces grave problems in maintaining internal order; each is vulnerable to some extent to serious internal upheaval, possibly encouraged from without and probably marked with considerable violence. As a result of our experience in Vietnam, we know that the United States cannot take direct responsibility for internal security in these countries. We do have it in our power to withhold or supply military equipment and training and to re-enforce or liquidate our military bases. Whether we exercise these powers or not, our actions or inactions will be important factors bearing on the stability of the region. We can exercise them in ways tending to promote regional cooperation.

(4) Sufficient economic growth has occurred in virtually all the nations of the region to cause elite groups to make development a primary objective. Their need for outside assistance in progressing toward this objective presents us, as I have said, with the most important, continuing opportunities to promote regional cooperation.

Whether or not we take advantage of these opportunities depends on decisions made in Washington.

Defense and Regional Security

How the United States redefines its security position in East and Southeast Asia will determine in vitally important ways the extent of our influence as a promoter of regional cooperation. This is a vast problem, involving technical considerations of military science well

outside my experience. As a development banker, I am naturally most familiar and concerned with the problems and opportunities of development finance. However, it seems plain that if we consider the problems of military bases and military aid simply in narrow, military terms, we are likely to eliminate many opportunities for effective diplomatic action. In fact, if the promotion of regional cooperation is to be a primary objective of foreign policy, it must be a primary objective in any redefinition of our defense posture, as well.

For example, it will no doubt be in our interests at some point to consider renewing our guarantees to Southeast Asia against overt aggression by Red China. Most diplomats with whom I have talked, Americans and Asians alike, believe that the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which has provided the legal basis for our intervention in Vietnam, has little, if any, future. Nor have I yet found an American diplomat familiar with Southeast Asia who thinks that a functioning, regional security organization to take the place of SEATO will be possible within the next decade, at least. However, Australia and New Zealand have rejected isolationism in favor of extending guarantees of military support to Malaysia and Singapore. Quite aside from our own commitments to Thailand, we can hardly avoid some sort of statement of common strategic interests with Australia and New Zealand; they are our partners in the ANZUS pact, and to declare that treaty a dead letter would have implications no responsible American official, in my opinion, would willingly accept.

Into this difficult and delicate situation, I think it important to insert the objective of promoting regional cooperation. This does not mean coercing the nations of Southeast Asia into some new military alliance. It does mean consulting with them informally and together about the future of our military bases and future military aid and training. It does mean trying to make any new strategic commitment

on our part as much a joint venture as possible.

Informal consultations on defense matters are now going on from time to time among top leaders in the region, especially among the members of ASEAN. That organization's potential usefulness lies in the fact that it has no Western connection—no connection outside the region at all, in fact. This we should respect. If the United States suddenly envisions ASEAN as an integral unit in its own strategic deployment, it will destroy the organization forthwith. However, we can talk informally in other ways with the leaders of the region about our own defense intentions. For example, we might explore with them the possibility of eventually turning over one or more installations in the Philippines to some Southeast Asian organization for the training of Southeast Asia's own military forces. Such a possibility may be a long way off, but introducing the idea now might serve the dual purpose of making our military presence in the Philippines less tendentious, while at the same time offering an earnest of our intent to deploy our military forces in ways tending to encourage regional cooperation and on terms acceptable to the nations of the region.

If we are to abandon counterinsurgency operations engineered largely by ourselves, as I think we should, the problem of maintaining internal stability will remain the number one preoccupation of most governments. It is not a question of maintaining law and order as we talk about it here at home. It is the much more fundamental question of an orderly evolution of legal and political forms of government where all interests are represented. The United States can do very little about this evolution directly, and we should abandon the pretense that we can. However, we must avoid preventing such an evolution, and our ability to furnish or withhold military equipment and training, whether we exercise it or not, is bound to have some bearing on this matter. We cannot simply ignore the fact that these governments

will want to buy arms and re-equip their armies from time to time. We cannot safely adopt the attitude that they should stop buying arms and use the money instead for development; the sad case of Malaysia's purchase of ten obsolescent fighter aircraft, to which I referred earlier, is just one illustration of the inadequacy of this kind of posture. In addition to suggesting the possibility that one or more of our military installations in the Philippines might eventually become a base for regional cooperation in military training, we could also, perhaps, encourage the governments of the region to inform each other, through some suitable, formal mechanism, when they intend to buy arms. The facts become well known very quickly, in any case. A ritual of formal notice might mitigate suspicions and place some brake on a desire to buy arms simply to threaten a neighbor.

Intraregional disputes, like that between the Philippines and Malaysia over the State of Sabah, pose the most difficult problems of all for United States diplomacy. Prudence tells us to give this sort of dispute the widest possible berth, but our inaction can be as partisan as our actions. We need to devise ways of inhibiting such disputes while not taking sides. Possibly, we and others could encourage the governments involved to seek rituals of mediation, including, perhaps, a sort of Taft-Hartley cooling-off period before there is a resort to threats of armed conflict. The world ought to be inventive enough to offer suitable means of mediation, through the World Court or elsewhere, or to offer a suitable means for rendering good offices to the governments of Southeast Asia in these troublesome cases. The United States may not be able to do more than pay the costs of the rituals, but it would be worth that cost to be able to exert some constructive influence in this direction.

The United States and Japan

The immediate test of our post-Vietnam policy in Asia will, of course, involve our relations with Japan. I see grave danger in talking with Japan about such immediate problems as Okinawa and the US-Japan security treaty solely in the context of short-term strategic in-

terests. As I write, Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi and US Secretary of State William P. Rogers are opening negotiations expected to last several months. In my view, the worst mistake we could make would be to so concentrate our interests in these negotiations on the fact that Japan is spending on its own defense only one percent of its substantial gross national product as to risk making US pressure the excuse that the Japanese Government uses to begin rearmament. I am convinced that it is very much in our interests to grant to the Japanese the time they need to define for themselves a new role in the world. A premature decision, exacted as a result of US impatience or pressure, could bring disastrous results inside Japan over the next several years.

If the United States conducts these negotiations in the context of a policy designed to promote regional cooperation in Southeast Asia, it is at least possible that the Japanese will, of their own accord and not as a *quid pro quo* for the reversion of Okinawa or some similar concession on our part, respond by devoting more effort and resources to that end. Insofar as the Japanese themselves see investment in development in Asia as an alternative to investment in rearmament, it surely is in our best interests to encourage that approach.

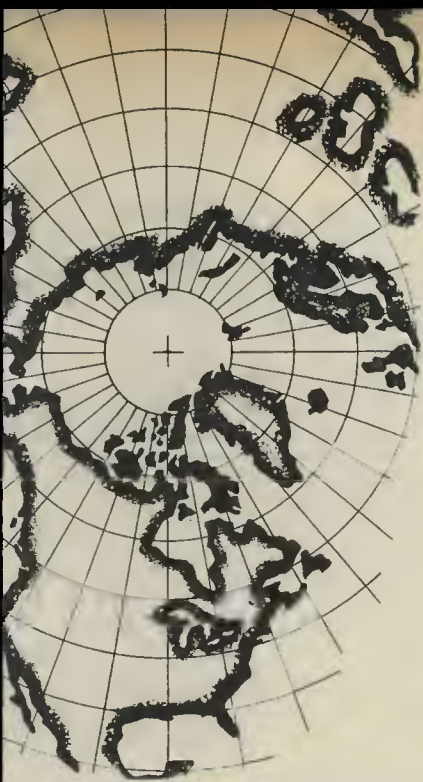
The Japanese remain a very practical people. I cannot believe that any Japanese Government in the foreseeable future is going to be blind to the common strategic interests our two countries have in East Asia, even if Japanese public opinion is not likely to be very understanding of these matters. For example, surely no Japanese Government is going to want to see the United States prevented from coming to the military aid of South Korea or Taiwan, should that be necessary; a military vacuum in this area would be a serious threat to Japan.

I take it for granted that Japan will sometime again become a major arms producer. Perhaps this will occur as a result of the needs of the Southeast Asian nations to re-equip their armies. Such needs could be rationalized in Japan simply as a good, commercial proposition. I would not rule out such a develop-

ment as being in the US interest. However, the important thing is to allow as much time as possible for the Japanese themselves to decide such matters with as little provocation as possible from the United States. We must not underestimate the desire of the Japanese to find a new relationship of equality with us to replace a relationship that they have come to regard as subservient.

We should use that time which the Japanese must have to accentuate our own peaceful interests in promoting regional cooperation and to involve the Pacific community in that task. To this end, there is room for a new medium of political exchange between our two countries. Although the business communities of the United States and Japan have established a growing number of connections, formal and informal, and although at the level of trade and economic policy our two governments exchange views regularly at the Cabinet level, there is not yet anything like the kind of political exchange that characterizes our relations with our European allies. This defect should be corrected.

Shortly after World War II, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands formed an organization called the Bilderberg Group, which brought together prominent people from government and private life from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss, privately and without press coverage, fundamental problems affecting the Atlantic community. I attended several meetings of this Group over the years, got to know many important people, and heard many points of view that I might not otherwise have understood. The organization had no official standing; its meetings were always informal. I think it would be a very good idea if some such high-level, unofficial organization were formed to bring together important people from the Pacific community of nations at this time. This should not be an American initiative; it would be very good if it could be a Japanese initiative. But the important thing is to provide a means whereby political problems affecting the Pacific community could be talked out in private among those whose attitudes and actions will be influential. In this way, perhaps, some



potentially serious misunderstandings within the Pacific region could be corrected before they have a chance to grow into serious impediments to cooperation.

A New Approach to Foreign Aid

Because our foreign aid program has been so thoroughly and, I think, so tragically identified with the Vietnam war, a major policy consideration affecting our future role in Southeast Asia involves deciding what the future of this branch of US diplomacy should be. In earlier chapters, I have suggested a few of the channels open to us to use development assistance to encourage regional cooperation. These suggestions have one thing in common: they envisage channeling much more development assistance through regional and international organizations like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. This is one key to the kind of policy reform I believe is urgently needed.

At this writing, foreign aid threatens to become a major institutional casualty of the war. The once robust public and professional support for foreign aid has largely evaporated. No piece of legislation causes more irritation and frustration in Congress than the annual foreign aid bill. Among the public, a great cloud of indifference has descended on the subject.

Unlike many who dwell upon the waste and inefficiency that has been one characteristic of our foreign aid program, I think it has been, on the whole, a success. One can always point to crises that occur despite foreign aid, but it is very difficult to spot those that do not occur, perhaps because of foreign aid. That there has been no serious outbreak of famine in the world for a long time now is a fact, and our foreign aid program helped to make it a fact. That there has been an historically unprecedented rate of economic growth in Latin America, Asia, and Africa over the past decade is a fact, and our aid helped to make it a fact.

However, quite aside from the loss of public support, I think the program, as it has operated in recent years, has suffered serious weaknesses. I think we have concentrated too little on quality, that is, development, and too much on quantity, that is, economic growth. Furthermore, as Congress has become increasingly disillusioned, it has condemned the administrators of foreign aid to a legislative incarceration so confining, so set about with the fetters of red tape, that I find it amazing that the machinery of AID functions at all. I have great sympathy for the men who have tried to make the program effective in these increasingly difficult circumstances, especially David Bell, William Gaud, and Rutherford Poats, with all of whom I have worked closely. But then I have just as much sympathy for Congress, presented as it has been year after year with lists of new programs, new activities, new looks, new gimmicks, many of which were designed not to illuminate the real opportunities and the real difficulties in development finance, but rather to preserve the old rationales and to keep the old bureaucratic machinery turning over for one more year.

We need a new rationale for foreign aid and a new means of practicing development diplomacy. Since the world has come to identify our foreign aid program so much with events in Southeast Asia, and since I believe development finance should play a central role in our policy after the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, it is logical to dis-

cuss a reform in foreign aid in the context of a new policy in Southeast Asia.

Ten years hence, say, I personally would like to see most of what we call foreign aid channeled through international or regional banks or funds. I think it is going to be less and less possible for the United States to exercise economic power through bilateral foreign aid, even if this were deemed desirable. The more that other governments learn the rudiments of development finance, the less they are going to accept our participation in their domestic policy decisions. Nor is such participation necessarily desirable even if it can be made temporarily acceptable. I question whether the scale or the character of bilateral intervention that has characterized our foreign aid program in the past any longer represents a real national interest.

As a development banker, I am frankly a partisan of multilateral and regional organizations, partly because while President of the World Bank I learned how effective they can be and partly because it is possible in such organizations to insulate the business of development finance somewhat from the competing and conflicting interests that beset all national governments. Those who lend money against long term repayment have to take a long view; they make deals which, if they are good deals, have to survive the ups and downs of commercial and diplomatic intercourse. If the credit supply is turned on and off like a water faucet, there can never be that degree of confidence between borrower and lender on which successful development finance depends. Standards have to be set; they have to be negotiated with sovereign governments in widely differing cultural environments. The negotiations often involve sensitive issues in the domestic affairs of borrowing governments. It stands to reason that this kind of intervention will be more acceptable if it comes from organizations where both the lenders and the borrowers are among the "owners," if you will. Or to put it the other way around, it does not stand to reason that the United States Government should undertake in the name of development to intervene

wholesale in the domestic affairs of six dozen or so poor countries.

There are other reasons for my partisanship. An international or regional bank or fund can draw on the capital resources and the human resourcefulness of many nations. An ability to draw on many sources of capital, not just one, is the best way I know to increase the supply of capital for development assistance, and an ability to draw talent from many nations, not just one, is a great asset, for no one nation has a monopoly on the skills needed for effective development finance.

The international bureaucracy, like our own, grew like Topsy at a time when utopian ideas of the possibilities of wholesale intervention in the name of development held sway. As a result, the UN system, particularly, is something of an administrative nightmare, which urgently demands the application of good management standards. It should be an important part of our "development diplomacy," and that of other rich countries as well, to use our influence to improve the performance and the management of these organizations. I think the best way of doing this is to adopt a policy of gradually shifting our own development assistance from bilateral to multilateral channels. By using our influence to strengthen international and regional development organizations, we will be broadening and deepening that one area of international cooperation which offers the best hope for gaining acceptance among the many diverse nations of the world community.

A world dedicated to development is, in my view, a necessary prerequisite to a world at peace or a world in which law has some real force.

Partly because the United States will always have special national reasons for providing development assistance, partly because of the limits of the international bureaucracy's effectiveness, we will probably always have to have a bilateral assistance program of our own. It should be lodged in a permanent institution, and it should reflect some of the lessons we have learned, not only in Vietnam but

elsewhere during the experience of our several foreign aid programs.

I cannot believe, for one thing, that we should charge to foreign aid, as we do now, and ask a US development agency to administer, as we do now, funds appropriated to further the immediate, short-range objectives of American foreign policy, such as the Vietnam war, or of counter insurgency operations, such as police training programs. These may from time to time be necessary, but they have nothing to do with development finance, and Congress should be presented with separate legislative requests for their support. The State Department and the Pentagon should be responsible for administering such unusual foreign-policy-support programs, which should be clearly labeled as temporary. Congress has a right, indeed a duty, to judge such requests separately and on the merits of the case, not as a part of a package mislabeled foreign aid. There would be more understanding of and support for foreign policy in Congress if less were camouflaged as foreign aid, and more support for foreign aid in Congress if development assistance were disentangled from matters of foreign policy to which it is not relevant.

This is another way of saying that I think our bilateral assistance program should have its own bureaucratic home. That home should be a bank or a fund, not an annex of the State Department. I think President Nixon should consider asking the Congress to establish a separate fund, say with \$3 billion in initial capital, as the financial and administrative expression of the US bilateral assistance program. Such a fund would be replenished, not every year, but only as the need arose. Congress, when it is not considering an appropriation request, could then concentrate on reviewing and evaluating performance and strengthening management and personnel practices.

Unfortunately, as in any banking operation, it is not possible to present Congress in advance of appropriations with a precise description of what development finance is going to be used for. It often takes months, as I have said, to make a

deal with a foreign government. Furthermore, the banker-client relationship should be reasonably confidential if development finance is to be effective. Sensitive issues involving the domestic policies of other, sovereign governments are often involved. The present procedures under which AID justifies its requests to the Congress on the basis of illustrative programs, are self-defeating. They make subsequent negotiations with foreign governments much more difficult; they stimulate more suspicion than confidence; and they result in actions that bear little resemblance to the illustrations offered in justification for the money in the first place.

New legislation establishing a permanent, separate development assistance fund should indicate that the prime purposes of such a fund would be to finance specific projects and programs in agriculture, education, and public health (the latter especially as it is concerned with family planning) in countries that are prepared to join in the financing of such projects and programs and follow reasonably sound fiscal and monetary policies. In practice, these would not be very confining limitations; they would permit financing virtually every aspect of a Mekong development program, for example. But these limitations would serve to focus attention here and abroad on those most difficult development problems for which bilateral finance, on terms easier than conventional loans, is desperately needed.

It might be worth considering, too, channeling special contributions to international and regional banks through this new fund in order to give more coherence to our development assistance efforts. As long as US bilateral assistance funds are seen, particularly in Congress, as competing with US contributions to international and regional development organizations, undue weight is likely to be given to parochial bureaucratic interests. If Congress set policy in terms of giving priority to the use of international channels, as I think it should, then it would seem wise to me to let the new development fund be the US point of contact

with the relevant regional and international development organizations.

Reconciling the State Department's duty to control policy with the demands of efficient management in development finance will always be a tricky problem. The government has tried to solve the problem by putting the development agency inside the State Department. I favor putting it outside the State Department. Neither is a perfect choice. However, whether it is put inside or outside, I do think it important to leave to the State Department the full responsibility for representation overseas. As long as the job of representation abroad is divided among many competing agencies, of which AID is an important example, it will prevent building up within the Foreign Service of the United States those skills which are needed in a modern, professional diplomatic service.

Effective development finance does not require a large, permanent presence on the customer's home ground. In fact, such a presence is, in my view, highly undesirable. The most dangerous consequence was pinpointed recently in a report of the National Planning Association (NPA) of Washington, D.C., entitled, "A New Conception of US Foreign Aid." The authors of the report remark that over the past fifteen years, thanks in part to the success of the US foreign aid program, leaders in most poor countries have accumulated a great deal of knowledge about how to go about encouraging development. But, they go on to say:

Leadership groups . . . still have difficulty in agreeing on development objectives and assigning a high enough priority to them compared with the other competing national, group, and individual goals. This is a political problem and, while the ability to solve it can be improved by the availability of external assistance, the will to do so cannot be imported. Moreover, an effort to generate the necessary consensus and commitment from outside—particularly by officials of the most powerful nation in the world—tends to exacerbate rather than lessen the problem.

I agree with the authors of the NPA study that, in general, it is not a good thing, especially for resident US officials, to try to influence priorities in the domestic policy of sovereign governments, even in favor of development goals. Insofar as it is in the national interest to undertake this kind of direct intervention anyway, the officials belong in the Foreign Service of the United States, not in a development finance agency. Except in very special cases, resident representatives of development finance agencies should be concerned simply with administrative matters of interest to that agency.

As a rule, technical assistance personnel, employed by the US Government, should also not be stationed overseas for long periods. Many too many today are employed by the US Government who should be employed instead by the governments requiring their services or advice. Too much of what we call technical assistance fails because a man cannot be the hired hand of two governments at once and hope to be effective. Helping others to contract for the technical assistance and advice they need is one of the most important functions of development finance. But the contract should be between those who want assistance and those capable of providing it; the banker, even if he finances the contract indirectly or directly, should stay out of the negotiations. The banker's influence is expressed through the negotiations and the documents involved in the lending process.

If the US Government did more to help others contract for the assistance they need and provided fewer hired hands of its own, and if those AID officials overseas who are performing high-level diplomatic tasks were absorbed into the Foreign Service where they belong, it should be possible gradually to eliminate our permanent bilateral aid missions overseas. By vesting our foreign aid program in a fund or a bank, managed by a small but highly competent staff, without the encumbrance of large permanent missions overseas, we would be substituting for an overly active policy one that invites others to come to us with their own projects and

programs. Our invitation should be as generous as we can make it; I am not recommending a cutback in the funds devoted to foreign aid. But I am suggesting sufficient disengagement overseas to give full play to the importance of self-help in development finance.

The place to start with this kind of reform is Southeast Asia. If the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam leaves the United States with any option, I think we should reduce promptly our AID missions in Saigon, and in Thailand and Laos. In any case, these missions, because of their deep involvement in the war, are atypical; their elimination in favor of channeling more assistance through regional and international organizations should be part of the general reduction of the official US presence in Southeast Asia. The US Government, in my view, should help the Vietnamese (and the Thais and the Laos) to contract themselves for the services and advisers they need in the reconstruction period, rather than encouraging them any longer to rely on personnel supplied by and working for the United States.

These prescriptions may seem too passive to those who are familiar with the terrible statistics of misery that are used to delineate rich nations from poor nations today. I certainly believe that the United States should be willing to devote one percent of its national income, along with other rich nations, to helping poor nations with their developmental problems, for their poverty makes talk of the subject here at home seem trivial. This target has been advanced for several years now as the measure of a just contribution, but, in fact, the United States has been moving away from it, not toward it. In 1964, we were a leader among the 16 rich nations offering development assistance; in 1968, we ranked seventh; in 1969, we will rank tenth in terms of the share of our national income to official and private aid. That share is closer to 0.5 percent of our national income than it is to one percent.

What I conclude from these facts is that the quantitative appeal has not worked. Realization of the
(Continued on page 51)

Charles Maechling raised the question, "Is US overseas internal defense inherently fallacious, or is it merely incomplete?" Minister Hannah replies.

Internal (or External) Defense Policy

IN his interesting article, "Our Internal Defense Policy—A Reappraisal," in the January issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, Mr. Charles Maechling searches for the flaw in the United States Counter-Insurgency Doctrine which allows the enemy to "force an escalation and bring military doctrine to the fore [and] by a sort of strategic judo, turn our strongest asset—modern firepower—against the society we are supposed to be defending." He asks, "Is US overseas internal defense policy inherently fallacious, or is it merely incomplete?" Four specific inadequacies are identified:

1) "The policy . . . only fully addresses itself to the equipment and training aspects . . . In the military sector, the policy denies the United States any authority beyond an advisory role (except in *extremis*)." [And wisely so. To assume operational responsibility is the road to "Americanization." The interesting question is what constitutes "*in extremis*" and how does it come about?]

2) "The doctrine . . . over-assumes both American influence and American ability to solve the internal difficulties of other countries." [Correct. A frequent weakness of American optimistic positivism which tends to assume that all problems, including the most complex non-American ones, are simply new frontiers to cross by forging ahead with vigor. A related flaw is the failure to distinguish between subversive or guerrilla activities reflecting internal fermentation and those stimulated or caused by external sources.]

3) "The doctrine fails to take into account the serious consequences of escalation, particularly if accompanied by active US military intervention. It blindly ignores the catastrophic effect of modern military operations on fragile societies." [True enough, and the implication of this doctrinal hiatus regarding escalation is at the core of the difficulty.]

4) "There is no national consensus in favor of supporting unpopular local regimes against local insurgencies throughout the underdeveloped world." [Amen. And if the United States counter-insurgency doctrine encompasses this prospect, it is badly in need of re-examination.]

Mr. Maechling concludes that by involving the United States "in the internal affairs of other countries, without having authority to guide the domestic affairs of those countries," our counter-insurgency doctrine "invites

NORMAN B. HANNAH

The author has been Deputy Chief of Mission in Bangkok since July of 1966. Since joining the State Department in 1947, he has had assignments at Shanghai, Tabriz, Tehran, and Kabul, at which latter post he was Deputy Chief of Mission. More recently he was Deputy Director of Southeast Asia Affairs in the Department and Political Adviser to CINCPAC. After service overseas with the Navy in World War II, he was an instructor at the University of Minnesota.

indecisive entanglements and inconclusive results" and when applied in "remote areas and ambiguous situations . . . invites . . . involvement in foreign land wars that would drain our resources, estrange our allies . . . etc. In short, our overseas internal defense policy treats counter-insurgency as an end in itself, instead of as a delicate instrument to be sparingly employed in the service of specific foreign policy goals."

Indeed. But *when* should the counter-insurgency instrument be used and when not? The article indicates it should not be used in remote areas or ambiguous situations and strongly suggests this should have excluded Vietnam and Southeast Asia, but not the Dominican Republic. Surely, distance and ambiguity are factors to be considered, but they are inadequate analytical tools for decision-making. To exclude all places outside North and Central America would be a withdrawal decision having strategic significance beyond what could be encompassed in a counter-insurgency policy. To exclude all ambiguous situations would virtually nullify the counter-insurgency concept since the cultivation of apparent ambiguity is the very essence of the Communist "wars of liberation."

What then is an appropriate situation for application of counter-insurgency doctrine? Logic suggests that it be applied *only* in cases of genuine insurgency or in a case of true *internal* defense. Within this category there may be subclasses or specific cases which we would exclude for specific reasons, but clearly a specialized instrument should only be used to cope with those problems it was designed to meet. To extend its use to such a totally different problem as external aggression would, firstly, fail to stop the aggression and, secondarily, would tend to discredit counter-insurgency doctrine itself by saddling it with the burden of failure in tasks it was not designed to perform. That this secondary result is al-

Insurgency or Aggression?

ready happening is evident, not only from popular and political manifestations in the United States but from Mr. Macchling's article itself. This is not to imply that we should not respond to situations of aggression, whether direct or indirect, but only that, if we decide to respond, the instrument should be one appropriate to the purpose—not the counter-insurgency doctrine.

Of course, it will be immediately answered that the threat often is a complex amalgam of internal fermentation and external exploitation and support, and that it is impossible to isolate "either-or" categories. Quite right, and this is part of the contrived ambiguity which is the essence of the Communist "war of liberation." But we need not accept this ambiguity as inevitable or as defining the rules of the game. Ambiguity is the deliberately induced muddiness which makes it possible for Mao's "fish" to swim in a sea disturbed from different complex causes. This is an excellent strategy for guerrillas swimming in an environment they do not control but seek to control. It should not be imitated by those who claim to rule the sea (or environment) and who want to expel unwanted fish. The custodian of a lake or fish hatchery pond does not try to swim in his lake, camouflaged as a "fish," seeking and destroying unwanted breeds. We need not and should not tacitly agree to wage our defense on the same ground and by the same rules that the enemy chooses for his attack. Doing so makes us vulnerable to that very same induced escalation which, as Mr. Maechling so graphically illustrates, like judo turns our own strengths against us.

If ambiguity is a Communist instrument, then ours should be the opposite, namely a conceptual and operational logic capable of penetrating this ambiguity to reach clarity. We are capable of analyzing and judging the degree and form of external input to an apparent "insurgency." True, our information will always leave something to be desired, but in politics and war we cannot postpone decisions which will be made in any case, either deliberately or by default. Options unchosen, or kept open indefinitely, evaporate.

Determining the role of the external input in any given guerrilla subversion may be highly complicated and subject to constant revision on the basis of experience and new intelligence. But the underlying question to be decided is clear, namely, can the apparent "insurgency" be contained, reduced and eventually liquidated by combating its *internal* aspects only? If so, then our

judgment is that it is fundamentally a genuine internal insurgency, amenable to treatment by normal methods of counter-insurgency.

On the other hand, if analysis suggests that the effective continuation (or likely increase) of the external input will undermine and progressively frustrate the counter-insurgency effort, then we have a different situation. If a steady stream of infiltrators with supplies destroys the "nation-building" effort as fast as or faster than it proceeds, then on balance the defenders will be losing ground, because they will eventually wear out even if the enemy does not win a victory. If, for lack of effective opposition on the ground before entry, the aggressors are enabled to enter the victim's territory clandestinely, emerging only much later in the simulated role of genuine indigenous "insurgents," then this contrived ambiguity will permit them "to swim like fish" in the social environment just as Mao prescribed.

In such a case it may *appear* that we are confronted, not with an aggression, but with a local insurgency which has got out of hand and is deteriorating. This will call for a greater United States assistance to the counter-insurgency effort which, unfortunately, will not stop the aggression which will continue and will be increased as necessary. Eventually, we will be faced with the question whether to quit or to put in our own forces. And if we deploy United States troops in a counter-insurgency role, we are in the box Mr. Maechling describes, where the enemy "can force an escalation and bring military doctrine to the fore [and] by a sort of strategic judo, turn our strongest asset—modern firepower—against the society we are supposed to be defending."

If, in a specific case, analysis indicates the counter-insurgency can *only* be decisively successful if insulated against the external input, we have a critical decision to make. We can withdraw if the stakes are not worth the candle—but we must look far enough ahead to anticipate this and decide before our prestige (not to mention our forces) is deeply committed. On the other hand, if we will not withdraw, we face two additional questions. First, how can the external input be stopped or *decisively* reduced? Second, if United States forces are required, should they be deployed primarily in a blocking role against the external input, thus insulating the indigenous government's forces, allowing them to concentrate their efforts on liquidation of the guerrilla forces already in the country? Or should we deploy our forces in a

counter-insurgent role, throughout the cities, villages and farms of the country, gradually but inexorably taking over the whole war by the simple application of our overwhelming superiority of resources? If we do this, we are indeed allowing the ambiguity contrived by the other side to trap us into fighting as if we were intervening in a genuine insurgency (or civil war), and into replacing the local government forces, thus unwittingly appearing in the role of occupier rather than liberator.

Mr. Maechling rightly says the doctrine "fails to take into account the serious consequences of escalation, particularly if accompanied by active US military intervention." In fact, the doctrine barely takes note of the possibility of the deployment of United States forces, which is regarded only as the last in a series of progressive steps which might be taken to assist in restoring or maintaining *internal* order. Little analysis has been made of the circumstances in which this would be called for. Nor has it been related to the critical difference between an internal insurgency and an external aggression (whether open or ambiguous). The doctrine takes only casual note of the fact that subversion involves external as well as internal threats, or of the need to study the different kinds of threat, the possibility of external exploitation and a larger-scale war. It is illustrative of this gap that Mr. Maechling was able to write a broad appreciation of counter-insurgency doctrine without once mentioning the external input of men, weapons, guidance and political leadership.

This is the real core of the flaw in the doctrine—the deployment of United States forces is regarded only as another step in a continuous undifferentiated escalatory ladder of measures all directed at "Internal Defense" or "counter-insurgency." In fact and logic, however, the deployment of United States forces is *not* simply another step in a ladder running from diplomacy, advice, technical assistance, through public safety programs, pressures for reform, military equipment and military advisors. On the contrary, the deployment of United States forces is qualitatively different and should not be undertaken as merely the last step in an effort to suppress a true insurgency. United States forces may be used for defense against aggression or to block off routes of aggression, thereby making strategic positions capable of being expressed and achieved in territorial terms.

This is not to deny that a guerrilla situation can develop progressively, changing nature as it grows. This can happen. In the very early stages its level and extent may be so limited that the external input does not provide a sufficient target for suppression, even though the guerrilla subversion may depend on it. At this stage, it is reasonable to treat the subversion *constructively* as an "insurgency" and apply to it the methods of counter-insurgency. However, if the terrorist campaign grows and if the external input increases, it is necessary to keep this earlier *constructive* judgment under review in order to determine whether and when it must be revised. If this review indicates at some point that the counter-insurgency can *only* be decisively successful if substantially insulated against the external input, it becomes necessary to revise the strategy for dealing with it. A choice is then faced—either to deal *effectively* with the external input or consider withdrawing from a

doomed counter-insurgency and seek a solution by other *internal* means, perhaps political. The thing to avoid is deploying United States forces in a counter-insurgency role, waging war *among* the people to be defended, while facing a continuing external input.

How then can we answer if asked to identify the flaw in counter-insurgency policy? We can say that the policy fails to distinguish qualitatively between indigenous insurgency and external aggression, but treats the latter merely as a potentially complicating escalation on the enemy's side which may require escalation of the counter-insurgency effort on our side. In perfect reflexive symmetry, the policy avoids distinguishing qualitatively on our side between the support of counter-insurgency programs and the deployment of United States combat forces, but treats the latter as only an escalation of the former. In fact, however, shifting from insurgency to aggression and from counter-insurgency to war against an aggression, whether open or infiltrated, is no more a linear escalation than calling in the police to restore order after a neighborhood ball game has been converted into a gang war by importation of a gang from the next block—regardless of whether the interlopers entered whooping in formation or silently through an unguarded alley. True insurgency and aggression are fundamentally different. Counter-insurgency and armed defense against aggression are also fundamentally different and are conducted according to different rules with different objectives.

We do indeed need to examine carefully the applicability of counter-insurgency doctrine to determine when it is an appropriate tool. There are various criteria to apply. As Mr. Maechling suggests, one is remoteness of the area, although that should not be *merely* a function of distance but of total strategic situation, including whether the area is adjacent to an aggressive Communist land base or far removed, and whether it is likely to become a source of further spread of infection or can be isolated, as in the case of an island. The degree of United States strategic interest is another factor. The quality of political and social leadership is another factor, as well as its amenability to change. There are still more.

However, the most fundamental of all is one that has received virtually no attention, namely, whether the situation involved is primarily and effectively a genuine *insurgency*, i.e., springing from internal causes, or, on the other hand, springing from external aggression, even though dissimulated. If, in the latter case, we allow the aggression to continue under a canopy of continued ambiguity, we will indeed give the enemy the tactical advantage of determining both the battlefield and the rules and he will be able to force an escalation which can, "by a sort of strategic judo, turn our strongest asset—modern firepower—against the society we are supposed to be defending."

In any conflict, both sides have a role to play in determining the choice of battlefield and the strategic pattern of struggle. If one side's weapon is a contrived ambiguity to mask aggression as insurgency, the other side's weapon should be insistence, both politically and militarily, on tearing away the mask and forcing the war to be fought as that which it really is—or not fought at all. ■

Including the concept of sharper dialogue between Washington and the field, of mutual intellectual provocation, of brainstorming over the wires.

Communication and Controversy:

THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF FOREIGN SERVICE REPORTING

DURING the past two years we have had at least three significant opportunities to evaluate the functions of the Foreign Service of the United States. The painful BALPA exercise required some hard thinking about the staffing of our overseas posts. The American Foreign Service Association published its report "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," presenting some thought-provoking ideas for changes in the foreign affairs community. A new administration is restructuring our policy machinery, and the Department of State's new leadership has promised some constructive changes.

Certainly this is a good time to take a hard look at what we are doing, to ask ourselves if all of it is really necessary, and to ask what more we should do. However, one of the most vital functions of the Foreign Service appears to have received low priority: reporting. Under the BALPA program, the thrust of the effort on the reporting side was to reduce the number of required reports, i.e. to focus on reducing the quantity rather than improving the quality. "Toward a Modern Diplomacy" said little about reporting, and there are no signs visible from the field to indi-

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

The author is Second Secretary of Embassy in Tehran. He has seen reporting from several angles during his six years of Foreign Service experience: as a consular officer, an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, a regional bureau staff assistant, a political reporting officer, and an economic reporting officer. While he admits to producing a fair amount of paper and is working on a novel and a play, he looks forward to the day when we react to a total environment and not just to a printed page.

cate that the new administration plans any real changes in the reporting system. The likely result is simply less (temporarily) of the same thing.

It may be time to make an inquiry into the very purpose and nature of Foreign Service reporting, to ask if the function itself is as vital as we have assumed it to be, and to ask if the traditional approach to reporting is relevant to our times. In the process, we have to face some questions about the nature of the Foreign Service.

The Word Merchants

The first step is to ask: What is the purpose of Foreign Service re-

porting? Why do we station "substantive" officers in the field and judge them in part by the reports they send back to Washington? Are they simply to collect, organize, and communicate facts about their host country and its relationships with others? To make judgments and predictions, or to offer provocative opinions to catalyze thinking in Washington? To make a deliberate effort to influence policy decisions in Washington by presenting a line of argument or by trying to create an image of the host country and its policy? To participate in some kind of dialogue between Washington and its field posts?

It is possible to cite examples for each of these, and to reach a superficial conclusion that Foreign Service reporting embraces the entire range of purposes. It is equally possible to argue that different officers must be placed at different points on the spectrum, and that rank and function affect the type of reporting an officer does. Nonetheless, any objective analysis would show that the vast majority of reporting officers concentrate on the "information-gathering" or "intelligence" function—collecting, organizing, and reporting what the post

believes to be facts. One need only skim through the pile of airgrams that comes into a bureau every day to confirm this—and to see why few people above the level of Country Director ever read them.

There are a number of reasons for this—reporting requirements such as CERP, the increasing demands of Washington agencies for specialized information, the limitations imposed by rank and hierarchy, the limited range of formats—but the underlying cause is a matter of philosophy or attitude, of an approach to Foreign Service reporting based on strongly held assumptions. There is a widely shared consensus (which I will call “traditional”) as to the purpose and the essential qualities of Foreign Service reporting, and it is this consensus that must be questioned.

Most Foreign Service reporting is not designed consciously to influence the direction of policy, or to provoke a response from Washington as part of a dialogue. The Foreign Service has generally conceived of its reporting as being primarily *informational*, i.e. designed to place the necessary information (and much that is unnecessary) in the hands of Washington officials. There is an assumption that the primary duty of the substantive officer is to report all facts of any conceivable importance or relevance, as seen from the post's point of view. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that officers are judged in part by the *quantity* of reporting they do (publish or perish!). Inspectors have criticized sections for not producing a sufficient volume of reporting at the same time that Washington was exhorting posts to reduce the volume of traffic pouring in. The tendency toward overstaffing and specialization within Foreign Service posts and Washington's insatiable demand for facts and statistics that can be incorporated into its own reports have turned this assumption into a paper nightmare (not long ago, one post received an airgram from the Department asking for statistics on an economic matter “regardless of accuracy”). This emphasis has made most reporting officers, willing or not, into highly skilled sets of eyes and ears. No matter how “active” they are per-

sonally, their reporting *function* is essentially passive.

There is a strong emphasis on *unanimity* and *consistency* in both the reporting of facts and the analysis of and comment on those facts. Reporting officers are under pressure from their superiors (and more subtle pressure from Washington) to make their reports conform to the post's previous reporting, and to the views of senior officials. The result is to encourage adherence to the “conventional wisdom” or the “establishment” point of view. Equally unfortunate is that this emphasis requires that differences of opinion be resolved before the report is sent, and that those differences not be shown in the report. The result is often bland reporting which reduces analytical thought to the lowest common denominator, and which may deprive Washington of independent views as to the facts and their significance. PPBS techniques now being introduced are likely to increase the demand for agreed facts, and to reduce further the time and motivation of reporting officers to concentrate on analysis and the expression of opinion.

This situation is aggravated by the mechanics of Foreign Service reporting. While great strides have been made in improving Washington's communications with its field posts, the means of reporting remain essentially unchanged. Reporting officers must collect the material to be reported, put it together in a draft, clear the draft with other officers and make changes as necessary, and then give the cleared, agreed draft to a secretary who must laboriously type out the report in a prescribed format for transmission, whether by telecommunications facilities or by pouch. There are further procedural complications in each case: initialing, signature, registering, encoding, making copies, etc. When the report is received in Washington, it goes through more stages—decoding, routing, copy-making, and distribution within bureaus and offices—before it reaches the reader. In sum, we work with a cumbersome system designed to prepare and transmit an agreed written text, which is then recreated or reproduced for a number of

readers in Washington (and, sometimes, at other posts). It is a time-consuming, labor-intensive procedure based on the assumed primacy of the written word as a means of communication.

The whole process detracts from the operational role of substantive officers. The reading, writing, and rewriting of papers ties reporting officers to their desks when they should be out of the building making contacts, talking to people, or traveling. It would seem a reasonable rule of thumb that a substantive officer should spend at least half his working day in direct contact with his host country, but how many approach that goal? Our fixation on paper erodes the Foreign Service's most valuable resource—the time of its officers.

The Information Explosion

There are a number of factors at work which may reduce the relevance of the “traditional” style of Foreign Service reporting. Most important is the information explosion and its associated effects. It was not many years ago that Washington depended on Foreign Service reporting as its most reliable source of information on events in most foreign countries. The Embassy's views had a definitive, “official” quality which distinguished them from more erratic and unfocused information from other sources. Media of communication were far less developed then, and the mere fact that Foreign Service posts could telegraph or radio their reports gave those reports a quality of currency as well as superior veracity. To some extent, this situation still prevails in many less developed countries and at our more remote posts, but things are changing fast. The increasingly widespread use of advanced means of communication provides instant news on events in the most distant places. Hordes of reporters, cameramen, journalists, social scientists, and prospective authors descend on every trouble spot and send back floods of information. Even in quiet times, we

(Continued on page 33)



Election Call

This Election Call is issued in accordance with the recently amended Bylaws of the American Foreign Service Association which require the solicitation from all *Active* members of the Association of nominations for candidates for election to the eleven positions constituting the Association Board of Directors. The nominating and election processes are as follows:

On or before October 15—nominations to be received by the Elections Committee. Candidates may be presented either individually or as members of slates. The Elections Committee will determine whether each nominee as of October 15 fulfills the eligibility requirements which are (a) current residence in the metropolitan area of Washington, (b) *Active* membership, and (c) current in dues payment.

Members of the Elections Committee shall not be eligible as candidates, nor may they accept appointments as officials of the Association or members of the Board of Directors at any time during the election year.

Incumbent officers of the Association or members of the Board of Directors, if otherwise qualified, may be candidates.

After eligibility of all candidates has been determined, the Elections Committee will ascertain whether there are at least 22 qualified candidates. If fewer than 22 candidates qualify, the Elections Committee will choose candidates, with their consent, in sufficient number to assure at least 22 candidates. In selecting additional candidates, the Elections Committee will bear in mind the desirability of reflecting the structure of the Active membership of the Association—STATE, AID, USIA and ACDA.

Not later than November 15—the official ballot bearing the names of all qualified individuals and slates will be mailed to the *Active* membership. In order to facilitate informed voting, the Elections Committee encourages the preparation of brief platform

statements to support candidacies, both individual and slate. A copy of each such statement will be included with each ballot. The Association will address envelopes provided by candidates or slates who wish to send additional platform material to the Membership at their own expense.

Not later than December 31—votes must be received by the Elections Committee.

January 15, 1970—The new Board of Directors will take office.

I ask that you send your nominations and supporting platform statements as soon as possible to:

Elections Committee
American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
or
c/o Department of State

Remember — We must have your nominations not later than October 15.

John H. Stutesman, Jr.
Chairman
Elections Committee

Northern California Retirees Meet

The largest group of retirees in the West gathered at the Monterey Peninsula Country Club for luncheon on June 7. Nearly 100 former members of the Foreign Service, wives and guests were present for a program which specified no speeches and no protocol (husbands and wives were not to sit together). The group thanked Honorable and Mrs. Lewis Clark and Mrs. Gerald Keith for making the Club available to them.

Retired List Now Ready

As in past years, the Association has prepared a list of retired members of AFSA. This list also includes retirees who subscribe to the JOURNAL. It is available on request, at no charge. Please write: American Foreign Service Association, Dept. R, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

New Editorial Board Member



Princeton Lyman, who has been an officer with AID since 1961, was named recently to fill a vacancy on the Editorial Board of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

Mr. Lyman did his undergraduate work at the University of California at Berkeley, and received a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1961. He served for three years in the Far East Development Planning Office in Washington, and for three years in Korea. At present, he is Chief of the Title IX Division in the Office of Program and Policy Coordination, where he works on social and political development questions related to aid. He is the co-author of a book on political and economic development.

Mr. Lyman and his wife, Helen, are both from San Francisco, and both have undergraduate degrees from UC Berkeley, though Mr. Lyman studied at Stanford before coming to his senses and transferring to Berkeley. The Lymans have three daughters, but still maintain their attachment to apartment living. They are located in Silver Spring.

Retired Officers' Day

AFSA and DACOR jointly are planning a Retired Officers' Day for mid-November. When the date is firmly established further information will be sent to retired officers.

Scholarship Announcements

The Committee on Education regrets that the name of Joanna Maria Brown, daughter of William A. Brown, was omitted from the list of students who were granted the AFSA Award for Student Excellence. Miss Brown is attending Sarah Lawrence College.

Students and parents who wish to participate in the scholarship program for 1970-1971 are reminded that February 15, 1970, is the deadline for the receipt of the student's part of the application at AFSA.

Please write to the Committee on Education, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, for application forms to be issued when they are printed.

In the initial request be sure to give the student's full name and his mailing address as of October, 1969, and the name and address of parent or guardian.

AFSA Award For Student Excellence

This award was established in special recognition of the most outstanding scholarship applicants who are in their final year of secondary school. Students are judged on scholastic achievement, qualities of leadership, character, motivation and potential.

Application is made in the same way as for scholarship except that parents need not submit confidential financial information.

Other Scholarships Available To Children of Foreign Service Personnel

Families should not restrict applications for scholarships to AFSA's limited program.

The Committee on Education has

been informed that the following scholarships are available to children of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information to the schools, colleges and universities indicated:

Amherst College Scholarships: To be granted to the son of a Foreign Service officer entering as a freshman. Renewable upon maintenance of a satisfactory record and demonstration of financial need. Write to Dean of Admission, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Carleton College: The Robert L. Oувerson Memorial Scholarships. Available for four years to a son or daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Award is based on financial need. Apply to Director of Admissions, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For the sons and grandsons of Foreign Service officers of career. Address inquiry to the Director of the Office of Financial Aid, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Kirkland Hall Junior College: Tuition Scholarship available to dependents of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of military personnel. For further information write to the President, Kirkland Hall Junior College, Easton, Maryland 21601.

Middlesex School Scholarship: Offered on a competitive basis for Grades 8 through 10 to the son of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

St. Albans School: Priority will be given to the son of a Foreign Service officer in the award of a scholarship in memory of Phillip Funkhouser. Apply

to Headmaster, St. Albans School, Washington, D.C. 20016.

St. Andrew's School: Middletown, Delaware. The Norris S. Haselton Scholarship. Awarded to the son of a Foreign Service officer of career. Write to Director of Admissions, St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware 19709. Other scholarships are also available at St. Andrew's School.

Vassar College: Complete information on Vassar Scholarships may be obtained from the Director of Admissions, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is available at Vassar for daughters of Foreign Service personnel.

Another scholarship, given by an anonymous donor, is awarded at Vassar to the daughter of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the daughter of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Yale University Scholarships: A scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Freshmen Scholarships, 1502A Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Foreign Service Retirement Legislation

AFSA is pleased to announce that on September 18, 1969, Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, introduced legislation of great importance to those who participate in the Foreign Service Retirement System. His Bill, H.R. 13876, proposes to amend the Foreign Service Act to provide for (a) use of the high three-year average salary to compute annuities, and (b) the addition of accumulated sick leave to years of service at time of retirement. Hearings on H.R. 13876 were conducted by Representative Hays on September 24.

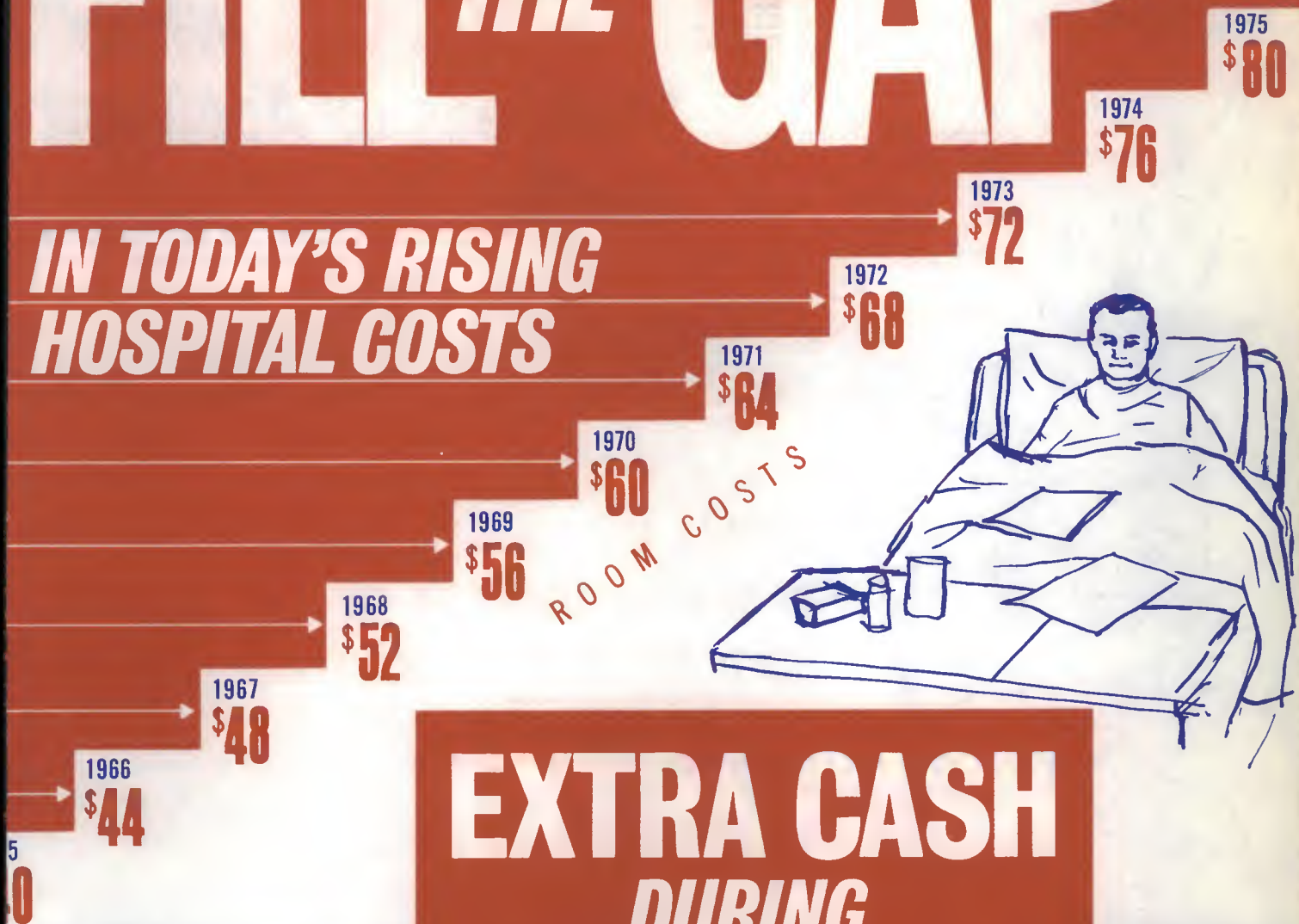
A similar Bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act has passed the House, as well as the appropriate Senate Committee, and will be considered by the Senate in the near future. We all owe a debt of gratitude to Representative Hays for his action on our behalf.



The Basic Officer Course, 88th Class, is pictured at the Foreign Service Institute. Left to right, Richard A. Coulter, David R. Patterson, Daniel A. Strasser, Michael J. Hogan, Alma L. Thomas, Allen M. Hale, Gerald W. Scott, Harold E. Meinheit, Edward Olson, Jose L. Fernandez, Raymond F. Burghardt, Marc S. Heilweil, Gary S. Basek, Sandra L. Coffee, Laurence E. Pope, Bruce Malkin, James W. Swihart, James F. Collins, Ray A. Meyer, Charles H. Thomas (Course Chairman). The average age of the class is 26; 7 are married; 12 came in at the 0-7 level; 8 have graduate degrees; 4 are former Peace Corps volunteers and 3 had previous military experience.

FILL *THE* GAP

***IN TODAY'S RISING
HOSPITAL COSTS***



**EXTRA CASH
DURING
HOSPITALIZATION**

for members of the
**American Foreign
Service Association**



and their families . . .



AN EXTRA PAY CHECK ***When Sickness or Accident Strikes Your Family!***

FEATURES THAT MAKE THIS PLAN AN IDEAL SUPPLEMENT TO ANY PROTECTION YOU MAY ALREADY OWN.

- **No AGE TERMINATION**—Can be continued after you reach age 65.
- **No MEDICAL APPLICATION** is required.
- **PRE-EXISTING CONDITIONS** are covered if member or any of his family have not received medical treatment or advice or have taken prescribed drugs of medicine for that condition within six months prior to the effective date of his insurance coverage. May be covered at the end of any three month period where such treatment has not been received.
- **MATERNITY BENEFITS**—Helps fill the gap of expenses most group plans do not pay for on the family plan.
- **Private Room**—Pays toward the difference in the cost of a private and semi-private room normally not covered by group plans.
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- **EXCLUSIONS & LIMITATIONS**—Declared or undeclared war; service in the armed forces of any country; acts of intentional self-destruction or attempted suicide while sane or insane; confinement in any institution primarily operated as a home for the aged or engaged in the care of drug addicts or alcoholics.



Designed for

**THE AMERICAN FOREIGN
SERVICE ASSOCIATION**

Members

EXTRA CASH BENEFITS

During Hospitalization

PREMIUMS

FAMILY PLAN:

AGE	Annual	Semi-Annual	Quarterly
Under 40	\$ 69.30	\$36.30	\$19.25
40-49	72.60	38.50	20.35
50-59	99.00	50.60	26.95
60-64	141.90	72.60	37.95
65 & Over	84.70	44.50	23.65

INDIVIDUAL PLAN:

Under 40	\$19.25	\$11.28	\$ 6.88
40-49	24.75	14.30	8.53
50-59	38.50	21.45	12.38
60-64	57.75	30.80	17.05
65 & Over	42.90	23.65	13.75

Pays up to 52 weeks during hospital confinement for each ACCIDENT or SICKNESS, BENEFITS are payable for periods of hospital confinement as follows:

MEMBERS AGES 18-64

FAMILY PLAN

FIRST 7 DAYS

NEXT 358 DAYS

	SICKNESS	ACCIDENT	
Husband	\$10.00	\$20.00	\$20.00
Wife	7.50	15.00	15.00
Child (14 days—21 yrs.)	5.00	10.00	10.00

INDIVIDUAL PLAN

Insured member	7.50	15.00	15.00
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MEMBERS AGES 65 AND OVER

FAMILY PLAN

365 Days

Husband	\$15.00
Wife	15.00

INDIVIDUAL PLAN

\$15.00

Application For Enrollment In The American Foreign Service Association Group Hospital Insurance Program

Undewritten by Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co., Omaha, Nebraska

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
 DATE OF BIRTH _____ CURRENT AGE _____ HEIGHT _____ WEIGHT _____ SEX _____

PLAN OF INSURANCE

☐ **MEMBER ONLY PLAN**

☐ **FAMILY PLAN**

METHOD OF PAYMENT

- ☐ Quarterly
☐ Annual
☐ Semi-Annual

THIS INSURANCE COVERAGE MAY ONLY BE ISSUED TO AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION MEMBER:

☐ I am currently a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

☐ I enclose my membership application and appropriate dues payment.

I enclose my initial premium in the amount of \$_____
 (Refer to premium table to determine correct premium amount.)

Please complete this section only if you are requesting coverage for dependents.

FULL NAME	RELATIONSHIP TO MEMBER	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH
	WIFE (HUSBAND)		
	child		
	child		
	child		
	child		
	child		
	child		
	child		

In applying for this insurance coverage, I understand and agree that:

1. no coverage shall become effective under this program until the last day of the month during which a total of 400 AFSA members become enrolled. Thereafter, insurance coverage shall become effective on the last day of any calendar month during which an application together with the proper premium amount is mailed to the administrator.
2. only hospital confinements commencing after the effective date of insurance are covered, and
3. any condition for which I or any of my eligible dependents received medical treatment or advice or have taken prescribed drugs or medicine within six months prior to effective date of the insurance coverage will not be covered until the expiration of three consecutive months of insurance coverage without medical treatment or advice or having taken prescribed drugs or medicine for such condition.

DATE _____ SIGNATURE _____

Application must be accompanied by check or money order. Send remittance to:

Joseph E. Jones, Administrator
 1666 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
 Washington, D. C. 20006

Special Notice To Returning Activists

AFSA is carrying on a series of new activities through its Openness Committee to stimulate much greater communication, mutual projects of common professional interest, and exchanges of persons and information with a wide variety of outside organizations.

We need returning activists to replace officers who have departed on assignment. The following are areas of activity planned for the coming year. Officers interested in contributing to these programs should contact the Chairman of this Committee, Erland Heginbotham, extension 21114. Travel and stimulating opportunities for association with important professionals in other areas of foreign affairs are available for officers with imagination and initiative.

If there are areas of openness not covered below that you would be interested in initiating, innovators are particularly welcomed.

Planned AFSA Openness Committee Activities, July 1-December 30, 1969

1. Subcommittee on National Representation and Dialogue
 - a. International Studies Association. This affiliation will be maintained and expanded:
 1. Follow-up on letter to the Secretary on exchanges, research conference, and State Department Fellows program
 2. Preparation for Fall Conference
 3. Study of curriculum for foreign affairs
 - b. Business affiliation:
 1. Explorations with Young Presidents' Organization to be continued
 2. Discussions with United States Chamber of Com-

New Careers

John Keppel retired on September 14 as a Foreign Service officer and as Deputy Special Assistant to the Secretary for Population Matters. On September 15 he entered on duty with the United Nations Development Programme in New York as Chief of the Population and Family Planning Unit.

John P. Wiley, who served with AID from 1962 to 1968 as Director of the Mission in Paraguay and Director of the Office of Logistics for the Vietnam Bureau, has been appointed Deputy Director of the Mayor's Economic Development Committee. Mr. Wiley has previously served as Assistant to the Staff Director.

merce to be initiated

- c. Program of joint activities with the National Council of the Community World Affairs Organizations to be reviewed and implemented as appropriate. Recruitment of personnel to staff such activities.
 - d. Communications Media
 1. Identification of personnel to undertake explorations with a view to possible affiliations and joint activities to be continued and accelerated.
 2. Subcommittee on Technology
 - a. Preparation of study papers on the foreign policy implications and applications of present and future developments in numerous areas of technology will be continued and accelerated with a view to their possible publication in the JOURNAL, and for use in an AFSA-sponsored conference on this or related subjects.
 - b. Exploration with the National Academy of Science and other outside authorities will be undertaken to explore possibilities of affiliation in joint undertakings, and exchanges of views.
 3. Subcommittee on Trends in Diplomacy.
 - a. Work will be continued to identify individuals who might wish to participate in the activities of such a subcommittee.
- In all of the preceding areas emphasis will be placed on projects which might be developed in which outside resources would be utilized to catalyze undertakings by others or by the Department in ways which would be beneficial to the better management of foreign affairs.
4. Officer to provide liaison with Open Forum Panels.

AFSA Membership

Your American Foreign Service Association is growing twice as fast as it was last year at this time, according to the AFSA membership secretary. As of September 19, 1969, our membership campaign had picked up 1,165 new regular members, and 115 new associate members. A year ago at this time, we had accepted applications from only 440 new members. Thus, AFSA membership is now at an all-time high and growing.

If you have not already done so, please send in your 1969 dues. With AFSA's expanding programs, we need your continued support!

Marriages

JEW-GROVER. Rose Jew, illustrator with the Department of State, was married to John C. Grover, Pouch Control Officer, State, on August 19, in Zermatt, Switzerland. Mr. and Mrs. Grover will reside in Washington.

Deaths

AWAD. William M. Awad, AID, died on August 17 in New Jersey. Mr. Awad joined the ECA in 1948 and served in China, at Bangkok, Athens, Saigon, Baghdad, Taiz, Belgrade, Kabul and Taiz again. He is survived by his wife, of 103 Oak Street, Tenafly, N.J., a daughter and two sons. Contributions in memory of Mr. Awad may be made to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

CHASE. Susan Curtis Chase, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Peter R. Chase, died August 10, following a horseback-riding accident. Miss Chase was visiting her parents in Tripoli where her father is Mobil Oil Libya, Ltd.'s Concession Affairs Adviser. She is survived by her parents, three sisters and a brother.

FEISSNER. Freda Knouse Feissner, longtime Washington resident, died on September 6, in Washington. Mrs. Feissner is survived by two sons, Karl G. of Silver Spring and FSO John E. of 2536 Queen Ann's Lane, N.W., and a daughter, Bettianne Dickerman.

PEASLEE. Amos J. Peaslee, former Ambassador, died on August 29, in Clarksboro, N.J. Mr. Peaslee, an international lawyer, became a Presidential assistant with the rank of Ambassador in 1956 after three years of service in Australia. He was the author of "A Permanent United Nations," "United Nations Government," "Constitutions of Nations," and "International Government Organizations." He is survived by his wife, two sons and two daughters.

STEPHENS. Oren M. Stephens, Senior Research Officer for USIA's European Research Center, died July 7 in Arlington. Mr. Stephens joined the OWI in 1944 and served as chief of policy control for the Far East. He received the Emblem for Meritorious Civilian Service in 1945. In 1946-47 he was west coast editor of NEWSWEEK, then editor of the Santa Rosa EVENING PRESS. During the Korean War he served with the Department of State, joining USIA in 1954 as Deputy Assistant Director for Policy and Programs. He is survived by his wife, Lorene, and a son, Stephen.

THAYER. Charles W. Thayer, former FSO, died on August 26 in Salzburg,

Austria. Mr. Thayer entered the Foreign Service in 1933 and served at Moscow, Hamburg, Berlin, Kabul, London. He served with the US Army as a lieutenant colonel and in the OSS during World War II. After an assignment at the National War College he was appointed chief of international broadcasting at VOA, then served at Bonn and as Consul General in Munich before resigning in 1953. He is the author of "Bears in the Caviar," "Hands Across the Caviar," "The Unquiet Germans," "Diplomat," "Moscow Interlude," "Checkpoint" and "Guerrilla." Mr. Thayer is survived by his wife, Cynthia, and a son, James Dunn Thayer.

WHEELER. Dr. Jean Wheeler, wife of Joseph C. Wheeler, AID, and her 11-year-old son Daniel were killed in an auto accident on August 17 in western Arizona. The family was driving to Los Angeles to fly to Pakistan where Mr. Wheeler was to serve as AID mission director. Besides her husband, Mrs. Wheeler is survived by three daughters and a son.

Book Fair Is Oct. 27-29

Lovers of books and art from all over Washington will join thousands of fellow bibliophiles from the State Department as the AAFSW Book Fair opens at the Exhibition Hall at noon on Monday, October 27. The three-day Fair closes on October 29.

Members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women have been occupied during recent weeks organizing and pricing the more than 30,000 books which have been contributed for the Fair, and many more books on all subjects will be pouring in during October.

Already on hand is a new set of the Encyclopedia Britannica donated by former Senator William Benton, a long-time patron of the AFSA Scholarship Fund. An autographed recipe by Mrs. Richard Nixon will be contributed as well. Prizes for the children's art exhibit will be awarded, and a local author, Mrs. Barbara Brooks Wallace, will be on hand to autograph copies of her book about an 11-year-old girl, "Claudia."

In addition to books and paintings, the very popular poster booths will be open again this year, and posters from all over the world, including some particularly beautiful ones from the Far East, will be for sale at moderate cost, an AAFSW officer reported. A first-day issue Apollo 11 envelope is another among many specialty items to be offered.

Last year's Book Fair brought \$11,000 to the Scholarship Fund.

FS Club Announces Happy Hour

The Foreign Service Club has announced that, commencing September 29, there will be a "happy hour" at the Club for all members and their guests from 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. Monday through Friday.

At the "happy hour," popular drinks (martinis, manhattans, and highballs) will be served "two for the price of one."

Club members are encouraged particularly to bring friends who may not be familiar with the Club's facilities. It is hoped that the "happy hour" will serve as an inducement to good fellowship and as an inexpensive way for Club members to introduce potential new members to the Club.

The "happy hour" will remain in effect until further notice. Members will be pleased to hear that a waggish attempt by some less serious members of the Club Committee to call this the T.G.I.F.T. hour (presumably for Thank God It's Five Thirty) was defeated by a more sober majority at a recent meeting.

Comments on AFSA Report

The AFSA NEWS of July 1969 requested comments on the report "AFSA and Employee Management Relations." A number of officers have replied commenting on the report, offering their time and support and in certain instances citing specific grievances. The comments on the report are being studied and the offers of support are being recorded. As no formal grievance machinery yet exists, individual grievances are being submitted to the Board of Directors for its consideration.

AFSA Talks Reform in Philadelphia

Three AFSA representatives spent two days in Philadelphia on September 16-17, meeting with a variety of students, citizens and community leaders on the needs and prospects for reform in foreign affairs. These meetings were part of AFSA's continuing efforts to improve communications with the public, to build a constituency for foreign affairs, and to identify organizations with which a continuing affiliation for joint undertakings can be established. Association speakers outlined the AFSA reform program and reported on encouraging recent actions by Department officials.

The Philadelphia meetings were sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia—one of the strongest of such Councils around the country. AFSA was represented by its new Executive Director, Edward P. Dobyns, Openness Committee member Warren Clark, and AFSA Board Member Erland Heginbotham.

Events included radio and television appearances, talks to WAC young professionals, students at Temple University and the regular monthly meeting of the World Affairs Council membership. This last event was the high point of the trip in evoking lively audience interest in what Philadelphia citizens could do to help.

AFSA is continuing active exploration of this latter point in discussions not only with the Philadelphia Council, but also with the National Council of Community World Affairs Councils. AFSA representative Stephen Rogers will be available to discuss with NCCWAO officials at Racine, Wisconsin on September 25th the possibility of special arrangements for stimulating extensive Associate Membership and JOURNAL subscriptions by Council members, as well as establishment of a continuing liaison for undertaking projects of mutual interest to the two organizations.





are inundated with mountains of printed materials on current events—newspapers, magazines, journals, newsletters, reproductions of articles and scholarly studies, outright propaganda sheets, and books (where the printed word falls most behind the times). Governments and international agencies are adding to the river of facts by telling more and more about themselves—and the rest of the world—through publications, broadcasts, and press conferences. (The volume of material put out by the US Government Printing Office alone is staggering.) And now we face the prospect of Marshall McLuhan's "Global Village," in which people in all parts of the world will be aware almost instantaneously of events elsewhere, through communications satellites, massive broadcasting facilities, cheap television sets and transistor radios, and other means. Whether people like it or not, they are being "plugged in" to the outside world, and are increasingly subject to the impact of media. The cliché about having the Vietnam war in one's living room merely presages things to come.

What does this mean for the reporting function of the Foreign Service? It is already apparent that, in many cases, we are duplicating information available to Washington from other sources, and that some of our work is simply the transmittal of texts which are available to the public. It is difficult for the Foreign Service to compete with news media on everyday events; the State Department's operations center receives streams of wire-service reporting

around the clock, and often gets the first word of a crisis from these rather than from the Embassy. Information from various types of intelligence sources often pre-empts Embassy reporting or accomplishes what the Embassy does not have the facilities to do. On many non-crisis subjects, simply mailing copies of documents to analysts in Washington may be more efficient than writing airgrams. More efficient systems of information retrieval will eliminate much of the back-and-forth questioning between Washington and its field posts. In short, if we restrict ourselves to reporting facts, we will often be redundant as a source, for we are only part of the community of media and information.

"Traditional" Foreign Service reporting will still be needed for certain purposes. Foreign Service posts will continue to be an essential source of information on privileged or sensitive subjects which are not conveyed by other media, such as a Chief of State's remarks to an Ambassador. It will often be necessary to call on Foreign Service posts to confirm or sort out facts reported through other channels. What is needed is not the elimination of the "traditional" approach, but a weeding-out of the non-essential, and a shift of focus.

The Milieu: Change and Controversy

Another factor is the changing milieu in which we live and operate. This is not the relatively static world of the assumed positions and hierarchical relationships of the colonial era, the cold war, or "Pax

Americana." Old ideologies and the leaders who incarnated them are dying off; new forces are emerging, and the international system is becoming more fluid—and potentially more volatile. Not only are those much-written-about changes taking place—the assertion of new nationalisms, polycentric communism, the revolution of rising expectations, the population explosion, the widening gap between rich and poor nations, the "Green Revolution" in Asia, and possibly destabilizing changes in nuclear weaponry—but actions now being taken or considered, especially by the United States, will catalyze other forces within the time span of our own careers. Given this milieu, it could be literally dangerous if Foreign Service reporting were to reinforce the "conventional wisdom" by avoiding controversial positions and sticking to palatable, cleared facts. In such a context, the Foreign Service has an obligation to point out and even try to predict changes, and in some instances to deliberately provoke a reaction from the bureaucracy in Washington. Policy-makers are hard-pressed with crises of the moment, with operational problems, with "putting out fires"; overseas posts do them no service by conveying the impression that the relative weight of factors bearing on policy decisions has not changed.

A closely related factor is the spread of controversy itself, of challenges to various establishments and ways of thinking. Whether they are dissidents in Czechoslovakia or campus rebels at Berkeley, an increasing number of people do not feel obligated to accept a given order as fixed or permanent; they believe change is both desirable and possible, and demand the right to dissent. This intellectual milieu of controversy has brought its problems, but it can also bring benefits if we do not react to it with blind negativism. Dissent, even if it is misguided, can provide new insights into the meaning of events, and can prepare our minds for necessary change. The foreign affairs community must recognize the constructive role of controversy, and adjust its institutions to exploit controversy rather than to suppress it.

The Generation Gap

The Foreign Service is now recruiting among a generation of young people who have grown up in this milieu of controversy. They have been affected profoundly by the communications revolution and the explosion of knowledge. They are more intensely aware of their environment, more inclined to question and dissent; there is a tendency toward independence of mind, and the open (even if noisy) exchange of views. If the Foreign Service is to attract the best minds from this generation, it must convince young people that it recognizes controversy as a constructive force, encourages the expression of independent views, and allows dissent from the "conventional wisdom." For a variety of reasons, the Foreign Service has not been very successful in conveying the image of an organization that encourages independent thought and expression; the present system of Foreign Service reporting is definitely a contributing factor. Those who think that this problem is a temporary aberration caused by pot, Vietnam, or Dr. Spock, or that this generation gap is no different from previous ones, are deluding themselves; the forces encouraging the questioning mind of youth are growing stronger, not weaker.

A Change of Philosophy

It is a reasonable lesson of history that an organization confronted by changes of this magnitude should not resist them, but should exploit them to its own advantage. This will require a basic change of philosophy in the Foreign Service, particularly in its approach to reporting.

The basis of this philosophy must be the recognition of the fact that Foreign Service reporting cannot be comprehensive, and that it need not be comprehensive. As the volume of available information increases, reporting officers are likely to find more and more of their time occupied in simply collecting and collating materials. If Embassies work under the assumption that their mission is to report everything of apparent significance, they will find that they can satisfy this requirement only by expanding their staffs to ludicrous sizes. It is a

waste of government money and officers' time to assign highly motivated, intellectually broad-ranging men to the compilation of data at our overseas posts, particularly when the exploitation of media, new systems of information retrieval, and the increasing centralization of analysis could make much of their work redundant or irrelevant. A philosophy for future Foreign Service reporting would require that reporting officers be rewarded, required, or otherwise motivated to report only on matters of major significance, leaving routine and highly specialized matters to other officials, to agencies specializing in the acquisition of published or broadcast information, or to analysts in Washington who have access to all media.

A corollary is that the Foreign Service must recognize that its primary duty is not simply to report information, but *to make judgments and recommendations*. The Foreign Service does not have the resources to outdo its competitors as an information collection agency, but it may (and should) have the resources to make superior judgments on the implications of a given set of facts, and to recommend policies and actions best suited to advance American national interests in those circumstances.

If we are to break with the "informational" assumption, the future environment may require that we replace it with a "provocative" assumption. Reporting officers could be instructed to consciously approach their task as an opportunity to influence the thinking of policymakers, or even to provoke reactions. As competitors within the community of media, we will have to be more stimulating than others to gain attention; something other than bureaucratic loyalty should inspire readers in Washington to look at Foreign Service reporting first.

Such a philosophy would have to embrace the creative role of controversy. It is inevitable that the strong-minded individuals who represent the best in the Foreign Service will clash intellectually if they are allowed to deal frankly with important substantive questions. To the extent that the Service can attract and hold the most outstanding members of the new generation,

they will fuel these controversies. This is to be welcomed, not shunned, for decision-makers can be provided with alternative analyses and recommendations, and can draw on the best of both sides. This approach could be extended to include the concept of a sharpened dialogue between Washington and the field, of mutual intellectual provocation, of brainstorming over the wires to start chains of thought.



A Change of Methods

We must also break away from our fixation on the cleared written document in its never-changing formats. We are close to the day of instantaneous world-wide communications by many means; rather than confine ourselves to one, we should exploit all for their peculiar advantages. Much has already been written about "face-to-face" communications (e.g. by a secure television circuit) between the Secretary and his Ambassadors, and many have lamented that Ambassadors are being reduced to errand-boys. What about the other side of the coin? Such improvements in communications give Ambassadors the opportunity to take the initiative, to exploit the medium to press home a point.

The same principle applies to reporting officers below the Ambassadorial level, though their media may be different. Exploiting other means of communication could catalyze officers to be more direct, relevant, and provocative, particularly as improved media make quick exchanges of views both easier technically and less frustrating bureaucratically. Suppose, for example, that all reporting officers had direct access to the keyboard of an on-line teletype (say one keyboard to a section in a large

Embassy), and could send to a specific addressee in Washington who had a print-out near his desk. There would be no clearances, no typing of drafts, no machine work by the Embassy's communications unit, and the officer's report or query would not go through automatic reproduction and distribution in Washington, thus preserving privacy when desired and avoiding possibly embarrassing situations. The reporting officer could speak his mind frankly, and would not be affected by the law of anticipated negative reactions that inhibits drafters. The man in Washington could respond instantly where appropriate, tapping out his reply as soon as he had digested the print-out. Scrambler telephones could provide the same sort of flexibility if they were available to all officers. Such systems would enable officers to communicate directly on specialized matters of detail without wasting the time of others. By encouraging a more open exchange of views, they would tend to stimulate the thinking of the men at both ends of the line. Perhaps most important is the impact such systems would have on the traditionally hierarchical structure of Foreign Service establishments, both in Washington and abroad. The bureaucratic system would have to be more open, less rigid, less subject to procedural discipline, and would be more stimulating and rewarding as a place to work.

The formats of Foreign Service reporting have their own restrictive effects, discouraging the expression of different points of view even when such views are relevant or strongly held. It is often said that foreign policy is made by means of official-informal letters, and it is easy to see why; such letters allow the writer to speak as bluntly as he cares to, and to control the distribution at the other end. Simple changes in mechanics could bring the form of reports into line with a new philosophy of reporting. Within the present airgram structure, for example, we could allow a dissenting officer (or officers) to add a paragraph or a separate page after the comment or conclusion section of the airgram, clearly distinguishing his views from those expressed in the preceding section. Another ap-

proach would be to add the dissent as an attachment or enclosure. The format of reports should be designed to make clear which officer is responsible for which set of views. For example, the presently faceless system of telegraphic reporting in which all telegrams appear to be from the Ambassador could be more personalized simply by prefacing the text with "From (Drafter's name)." Another way would be to provide the dissenter with a completely separate vehicle for his views distinct from the "official" Embassy report.

Rewarding Dissent

Foreign Service officers are often exhorted to be daring, original, and aggressive, but the system continues to discourage those who are. The only way we can have old, bold Foreign Service officers is to institute rewards for courage and perceptiveness. It does no good to extoll initiative and individuality if the personnel system is not attuned to those virtues; good intentions are too often overcome by procedure. The agencies in Washington, the Embassies, and the personnel system must be so structured and imbued with a philosophy of relevance and respect for individual achievement that reporting officers will be driven to seize the initiative and concentrate on the essential. Circularizing a new philosophy will not suffice; practical steps are necessary.

One approach is to upgrade the process of evaluating reporting, and to link it to the personnel system. At present, few people in Washington have the time or inclination to evaluate Foreign Service reporting in a way that will influence the reporting officer's career. Desk officers in the regional and functional bureaus are usually sporadic in writing evaluations, partly because it is not clear what impact their efforts would have. Perhaps the most logical step would be to institutionalize the evaluation of reporting in a distinct body; for the Department of State, this might be a group associated with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research or the Director-General's office. Wherever located, this group would be instructed to evaluate reports a fixed period after they were written, say

six months. The panel, acting under a set of criteria that would weigh the relevance, predictive accuracy, and policy value of the reports, would write a commentary where justified, either laudatory or critical, and that commentary would become part of the officer's personnel file. Selection boards and the Career Management staff would be instructed to take these commentaries into account in their evaluations of officers. The system would have to be designed to play down the success of professional prognosticators who report "sure things" or focus on subjects of minor importance, and to reward reporting officers who risk the displeasure of supervisors on important issues and are proved right. Whatever system is devised, it must be credible enough to make it worth the risk to be a Devil's Advocate.

The Future Service

There are doom-sayers who predict that developments such as the information explosion and the proliferation of expertise will make the concept of an elite corps of Foreign Service professionals irrelevant, and that the Service will either disappear or degenerate into an overseas bureaucracy of paper-shuffling technicians. This could happen if we do not take the initiative, but it is by no means inevitable. The service can continue to play a major role if it exploits the changes in its operating environment rather than resisting or ignoring them. The role of reporting officers is going to change whether they like it or not. We can best exploit our reporting role by becoming advocates of positions instead of being passive observers.

The future of the Service depends on our staking out new purposes in addition to the old, and focusing on the essential and discarding the unimportant. We could sink to the level of diplomatic technicians if we fail to assert ourselves now. By accepting the challenges of other media, we could prove ourselves superior in breadth of view and soundness of judgment. By accepting the challenges of an open exchange of ideas, however controversial, we can expand the influence in Washington we may otherwise lose. ■

RETURN TO MYKONOS



ANNE K. RELPH

Mrs. Relph was an English and Journalism major at UCLA and then went into the theater. She acted in television and on the stage in California, New York and later in London where she met her husband, an FSO. Since then the Relphs have served in Geneva, Munich and the Republic of Chad. Mrs. Relph has written for the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

I first saw Mykonos ten years ago with the sense of original discovery a phil-Hellene is guilty of at the sight of that shimmering island. It was early in March and we were among the first visitors of the season. Little children followed us in the streets to offer us flowers; we were greeted everywhere with *kaliméra sas*, "a good morning to you," and invited to share a cup of Greek coffee, a bit of cake, some oranges. We met a weaver woman, Vienoula, and her family who invited us to walk beside them in the island's Easter procession. We learned why the word *xenia* means both "stranger" and "welcome" in the Greek language, and we left the island feeling that whatever might be wrong with the rest of the world, at least there was Mykonos. Now people were saying that Mykonos had changed. Could this be possible?

This summer, the port town of Piraeus was awash with humanity when we arrived to catch the new ship *Delos* which was to whisk us to Mykonos in the record time of five hours. Our first trip had taken ten. We had sat on the rear deck of an ancient island steamer, wedged between grandmothers dressed in black and a few goats. There had been a good deal of talking and laughter and the sharing of olives and cheese. Now while the ship's radio blared out the theme from "Never On Sunday" we reclined in deck chairs admiring the rugged coastline of Greece. We passed the temple of Poseidon poised high on a hill, constructed for eternity. The sharp sea breeze was still the same, and the islands we passed as mysterious: Egina, Poros, Naxos Ios, the names themselves like magic incantations.

The ship's only stop was Tinos, sister island to Mykonos and Delos. Its houses are square and sit on neat rectangles of red earth. The houses of Mykonos, in contrast, cling together up the side of a hill, an exercise in cubism. No one lives on sacred Delos, once the treasury of the Athenian league. The winds blow over it, and the bees come to it, and the tourists. They stroll among its broken marble temples across fragments of mosaics in Roman houses, admire its archaic lions still roaring at an enemy long since vanished, and leave at sunset. Delos returns to its sleep of centuries.

We only had time to buy a soggy ice cream from a smiling vendor before, with a blast of the ship's whistle, we were on our way again. In a few minutes the blue-gray promise of Mykonos took shape before our eyes. Our first surprise came at the sight of the new harbor. Two long arms of the quay came out to meet us, so that, except in the roughest weather, one could almost step from boat to shore. The hands of the windburned fishermen stretched out to greet us were as friendly as I remembered them. There was the usual crowd of people meeting the boat: women in clean housedresses offering rooms to rent, a well-dressed young man from the new tourist hotel, a green uniformed tourist policeman ready to answer questions in three languages, but not one face that I recognised.

We climbed into a red Volkswagen bus belonging to the new hotel and began our climb up the hill. I had a chance to look down on the town. Physically it had changed very little; it was still the tight cluster of whitewashed houses and red domed churches that had defied wind and pirates for centuries. Above us two giant, white windmills turned slowly, making flour for the dark island bread. (Friends had told us that one of the island's windmills was now a Go Go club, but we were spared the sight of that.) The bus twisted and turned up the narrow roadway, barely missing two countrywomen balanced between their baskets on the backs of trotting donkeys. Perhaps things hadn't changed so much after all.

That evening in the smart new tourist hotel, I began to wonder. We were surrounded by the kind of luxury I have never associated with Mykonos. There were thick towels, hot showers, a bedroom in coordinated colors, and a view of the Aegean that looked like a poster inviting one to come to Greece. After dinner that evening we walked out onto the terrace to enjoy the last rays of the sun. Two fishermen walked by carrying their nets. They neither looked up at us nor spoke. I went to sleep that evening with the sense of having lost something.

We felt better the minute we started toward town the next morning, carrying our suitcases. The air was cold with the taste of the sea. All along our way people were opening their shops. Handwoven shirts and dresses made turquoise and magenta patterns on whitewashed walls. The acrid smell of a sagebrush fire told us that we were passing the bakers shop. "*Kaliméra*," I said to a woman whitewashing the street outside her house. "*Kaliméra sas*," she replied with a smile. Ah, perhaps things were not so bad after all.

(Continued on page 50)

"We have been concentrating too much on winning every case, and not enough on getting a system in which the cases are decided fairly."

More Purpose and Less Policy in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs

WHEN I used to argue cases for the Government in the Supreme Court, I had for awhile a record of which I was extremely proud. Of the first eight decisions the Supreme Court came down with in cases I had argued, the Government won every case. I was feeling very flattered and proud of myself when Oscar Davis, who was then First Assistant to the Solicitor General and now a Judge on the Court of Claims, said, "Do you know what would happen to the United States if the Government won every case? Do you realize what a disaster that would be for a government under law if everybody knew the Government always won? We want to win each case, but not every case."

That is the position that the United States is in internationally. We have been concentrating, I believe, too much on winning every case and not enough on getting a system in which the cases are decided fairly. So I would make the suggestion to the Secretary of State that by and large over the next ten years the outcome of particular situations is comparatively unimportant. Our security will not depend on having a particular victory here or there. It will depend on an international system that works better than the one we now have. And rather than twisting arms at the UN, indicating that Congress will cut off aid unless some government votes right—pressure tactics in which this government and others frequently engage—we should try to improve the process. We may lose a few votes but we will be served in the long run.

The fact that Mexico was not a puppet of the United States served us well during the Cuban Missile Crisis when Mexico supported the United States resolutions in the

ROGER FISHER

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OAS. Mexico could not have done as much for us if they had routinely voted for us in the OAS before. They had demonstrated their independence, and it is much better to have your friends in the jury box than sitting at the counsel table. You want to have friends sufficiently impartial so that their views carry weight. This would be one means of strengthening the United Nations—respecting it. Another would be trying for universality even if we lose some votes—getting the two Germanies, the two Koreas, the two Vietnams, and the two Chinas into the United Nations—getting, I would suggest, Red China on the Security Council so that the five nuclear powers are the five permanent members of the Security Council. Improving the international system also means depoliticizing the recognition process in international affairs so that we can talk to somebody without approving of him; adopting a more British standard on recognition and trying our best to accept *de facto* recognition. It also means cutting down on the dirty tricks; a little less of CIA operations. We might adopt Kant's imperative so that in the general

conduct of the international system we behave in a way in which we are prepared to have other governments behave.

The second major point I would make would be "the conduct of our foreign affairs should be future oriented." There are three different ways of looking at what we are doing in foreign affairs. For simplicity you can call them past, present and future. If someone asked, as the Secretary is bound to ask, why are we doing what we are doing in this particular case, whether it is economic sanctions on Cuba or Rhodesia or our voting policy in some organization, why are we not selling this or why are we doing that, one explanation will be an historical one. "Well, here is what happened. First Cuba seized the sugar plants and then we did this and he did that, and they did this—and that is why we're doing it." It is a causative explanation. It explains what we're doing now because of what happened before.

A second explanation is in terms of the present: "That is our policy—we always do it that way." We have a generalized statement of our attitude—current policy. The reason no medicine gets shipped to Cuba is because that's our policy. Our policy is one of not accepting the Castro regime. Our policy is one of supporting the OAS vote. We explain our conduct in terms of a present attitude (or platitude), a posture which is plausible as a static situation. It can be justified; **this** is what we are doing. We always do it. Why do you walk to your office on the right side of the street? I **always** walk on the right side of the street to the office—always. It is an explanation.

I say we ought to look to the future. This is why I say perhaps

we don't want to have a "foreign policy." Foreign policy should be someone else's generalization of what we are doing, not our own. We should not be doing something **because** we have a generalized statement. If I walk down and discover that on the righthand side of the street the sidewalk is blocked, I should say, "What's the best way to get there?" and not say, "I will walk here because it is my policy to walk on the righthand side of the street." There is a temptation when we ourselves define policy as the way we always do things to think we have given a reason that is adequate to justify our conduct.

Now, putting purpose into foreign affairs is more difficult than one might think. There are essentially three ways we can accomplish things in the world. One is self-help. If we want Iwo Jima to be ours, we take it. If we want to build a bridge, we build it. If we want Hanoi bombed, we bomb. But we can do very little in foreign affairs by ourselves. A second way in which we can accomplish something abroad is through long term programs like education and economic development. Here we invest some resources in the attitudes or abilities of others. We hope that others will trust us, or respect us, or be better equipped to handle their own affairs. Those are long term programs and quite important, but they are not the subject of our current conflicts.

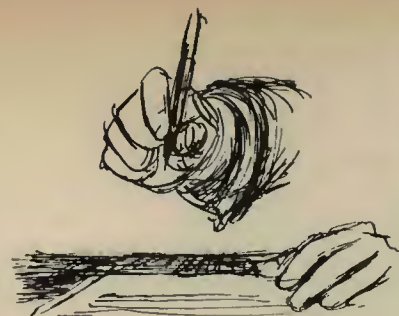
The critical thing about foreign affairs is that they are **other people's** affairs. Most of the important decisions are made by somebody else. All the things we are talking about take place in foreign countries. **They** are the ones with the primary responsibility for what takes place. In Czechoslovakia, in China, in North Vietnam, Rhodesia, wherever it may be, it is **their** decision which is crucial; perhaps we can have some impact on it.

Any conflict can be described as a situation in which we want another government to make a decision they are not willing to make. If they are willing to make it, we wouldn't have a conflict. Every international conflict is a case where there is another government that has a decision which they are not making which we would like them

to make, or they are making a decision which we want them not to make. This is the third way of carrying on international affairs: exerting influence. How do we affect those decisions?

It is here that I would like the Secretary of State to turn to the Desk Officer of each country and say, "Just what is it that we want Bolivia (or Peru) to do? Don't tell me our policy is one of friendly cooperation. Don't tell me our policy is one of not supporting regimes which have been historically hostile. What do we want to have happen? Within the next period of a year or five years, what decisions are they likely to make that we don't want them to make (or are they not likely to make which we would like them to make)—decisions which are of sufficient interest to us to concern ourselves with them and ones which we have a chance of affecting?" And when the Desk Officer has written down the decision he thinks we want the government of Bolivia or the government of Peru to make, then I would ask him to explain, "Why didn't they make it yesterday? What did the choice look like to them then?" When he has written out the pros and cons as they look to the other government, the Secretary should ask: "All right now, of all those reasons which favor the decision or oppose the decision, which ones can we affect? Why do you think that what we are doing is going to cause them to do what we want them to do? If not, what is? How much does it cost? Are we justified in asking for it? Does our purpose justify this cost?"

Max Stanley asked what would happen if Fidel Castro called up the President and said, "I yield. You win. Economic sanctions have gone on long enough. Send down your terms. I'll sign. I'm not quite sure what you are driving at, but whatever it is, I am sure you are a realistic politician. Send me the terms and I will sign them." How long, Max asked, would it take the State Department to figure out what it was we wanted Castro to sign? Our policy on Cuba has an historical explanation. It can be justified in terms of the past; it can even be justified in terms of the present by a policy statement. It is



very hard to justify as being the best way to move the Caribbean to where we want it to be ten years from now.

The third point I would try to make in the general approach toward the conduct of international affairs would be to pursue the policy of breaking up our problems and dealing with them piece by piece. Pursue the policy of answering questions on their merits rather than by reference to some policy statement. This is an old song for those of you who have heard me sing it before: fractionate conflict; deal with disputes piece by piece. I think it is nonetheless wise for having been said before. There is a tendency, if we get into a dispute about Berlin, to refuse to sign the Civil Aviation Agreement with the Soviet Union, as President Kennedy did. If we don't like what the Russians did in Czechoslovakia, there is a tendency to delay the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, as is taking place today. There is a tendency to use "leverage." If somebody else does something we don't like we look around for something we can do to them that they won't like, and then we do it. This puts all our eggs in one basket and makes the relationship precarious.

I would suggest that the opposite of a war situation is not a love match where everything is based on emotion. War is where the conflict is total, and peace is where you deal on the merits of the particular problem. The fact that we are peaceful with Canada does not mean that we agree with them on everything. It means that when we have a real red-hot fight on the registration of Canadian securities or advertising or automobile parts or news magazines, we can get along perfectly well on other matters. We don't say we are not going to cooperate with Canada on the St. Lawrence Seaway because she

is taking a tough position on the Columbia River. We deal with each question separately. We cannot hope to agree with the Soviet Union or with China on every issue. We should not try to have a love match. We should try to break up the problems and deal separately with trade or, as someone suggested in one of the groups this afternoon, let's at least cooperate with China on influenza control. Most of the Asian flu starts there. We may have a common interest here, and we can work on that if not on wheat sales. Break the issues up.

Now, we do lose some "leverage" by abandoning the chance of saying, "Well, all right for you. If you are going to go into Czechoslovakia, we won't let you build your Embassy in Washington where you were going to." The leverage, however, is likely to be highly unsuccessful. The cost we pay is likely to be much more than any potential benefit. Trying to use leverage tends to escalate a dispute and make it lead to a stalemate; we tend to prevent cooperation in areas which will serve our common interest. So I would tell the Secretary, "Break it up. One issue at a time." We can work on one area and deal with it separately. Try to avoid the reaction of saying, "Well, after what they did here, I am not going to go along with them there."

This procedure of separating questions has worked—even with the Soviet Union. We have separated out for more than twenty years the preservation of the seals in the North Pacific. We cooperate fine. We built the herd back up from 160,000 to about four million seals through detailed cooperation. We can inspect Russian seal fishermen out there, and regularly do. We send the Soviet Union a check every year for the seals we catch—their percentage of the herd for not having hunted in certain waters. It is understood by everybody that that is a separate question from Berlin, and it is a useful way to carry on international business. . .

Our insistence on the right to use nuclear weapons first seems to be an absurd policy in this day and age. I think it is a good time to get over that. We should say that we

are opposed to the first use of nuclear weapons and that we would love to have some agreement outlawing their use. Our stationing of X-thousand nuclear weapons in Europe should be re-examined. The admission of East Germany to the United Nations along with West Germany might be favored. There are a whole host of policies which, if we weren't stuck on them, there would be no particular reason to have—and they are probably against our interests. It is quite likely that if we put someone on the job, saying, "How do we get out of that position plausibly?" it wouldn't be too hard to do away with a number of these. And here, I think, a number of things we have been talking about today would fall under that general heading.

My final point would be to fix up the State Department so it does this kind of thing. That is hard. I promised I wouldn't talk about departmental reform, but there are some things that ought to be done. How do you put purpose back into the conduct of our foreign affairs? How do you fix our domestic institutions so that the administration is freer than it has been and so that there are good ideas coming in? You want to get some new, good, people. There have been comparatively few transfusions of talent of significance during the last three or four years.

This would be true in the State Department, and I think also in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. There is room for new fresh blood. Get ACDA away from handling today's negotiations, and get them on to the strategy of restraining arms, as the Agency was originally set up.

I think we might agree on one suggestion: get some younger people in. This requires concern with the problem of offering a career that doesn't tie one down. Today if you are interested in the Foreign Service, your first three years may be spent stamping visas in Mexico City. The State Department, I know, gets some very talented graduates of the Harvard Law School who soon decide to quit the Foreign Service or to quit the State Department. Things can be done about this.

There have been a lot of suggestions made, but it will take someone's decision to do them even though they step on people's toes. Do we want to develop new institutions within the Department, such as devil's advocates, or special channels for outside ideas? One suggestion I have made is to require automatic re-examination of standing decisions, such as those imposing sanctions or refusing to trade. The Secretary would say, "All right, the decision is now made, and we will re-examine it in thirty days, (or sixty days, or ninety days). At that time **you** (Mr. A) come back and say why we should continue it, and **you** (Mr. B) come back with another suggestion, with something you think is better. The Secretary will re-examine the matter then."

We are now in a position where a decision lives indefinitely. A decision to break off trade now becomes a decision to break off trade indefinitely, because there is no process for developing in "yes-able" form an alternative concrete proposal for the Government to adopt. I would also require each Desk Office regularly to present, or have someone present, some alternative policies. Even if they think we are doing the right thing with respect to Cuba, what two or three policies are the next best ones, and how would we carry them out? The Secretary should indicate that their job is to present that which we ought to be doing and might be doing, rather than to present the reasons for doing what we are doing.

Too often the State Department devotes its energies to explaining why what we are doing is right. Frequently this is done by saying, "It is their fault. They are worse than we are." Okay, they are worse than we are. That means the world is a tougher place than we thought, perhaps. But now what do we do? When the State Department justifies keeping China out of the United Nations on the ground that China doesn't want to be in the United Nations, I say, "Well, I disagree with China. I am not going to let them dictate my policy. I want them in the United Nations whether they want to be in or not. And if

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Eliza Sinclair established a fief on her "pictur'd island" with the Pacific as a moat and herself as undisputed sovereign.



Willie Maugham and the Wonderful Widow Sinclair

SOMERSET MAUGHAM's cynical opinion of women is legendary. In his short stories, novels and plays he invariably portrayed white women as bawds, haridans or witless wenches. He apparently was a congenital misogynist, and remained so until his death at the age of 91 in mid-December of 1965, venting, whenever possible, his social and literary spleen upon the female species. Unless women redeemed themselves in being good partners at bridge—his avid preoccupation when not writing—he considered them loquacious nuisances or conniving courtesans. His favorite saying was: "No man in his heart is quite so cynical as a well-bred woman."

Therefore, it was with refreshing surprise, while I was preparing my recently published biography-odyssey, "The Two Worlds of Somerset Maugham," that I learned of his deep admiration for a white woman of America's mid-Pacific Hawaiian Islands.

He had become acquainted with the life story of this extraordinary lady during his visit to Honolulu in November and December of 1916, while en route to Tahiti, via American Samoa, Fiji, Tonga and New Zealand, where he intended conducting researches on the life of Paul Gauguin in French Oceania for "The Moon and Sixpence."

"I met her grandson in a Honolulu bar in a narrow alleyway linking the waterfront with the business section," he said. "It was called the Union Saloon of Cunha Alley, and it was famous because it was where

WILMON MENARD

The author is a world traveler, a former war correspondent and screenwriter for Hollywood and now a full-time freelance writer. His last book was "The Two Worlds of Somerset Maugham," considered the most definitive study of the British author. This article is not an excerpt from the book but a special feature written for the JOURNAL.

Hawaii's last king, David Kalakaua, and his close friend, Robert Louis Stevenson, came to drink in seclusion in one of its private booths.

"This gentleman that I met in the Union Saloon was a member of a respected family who had settled in the outer islands. His name was Robinson, and he was from the island of Kauai. He was a rather handsome man, erect, with dark hair and distinguished features. Although casually dressed, there were in his bearing the unmistakable qualities of good breeding. He was deeply tanned, which made his alert, intelligent eyes most arresting. I somehow associated him with the sea, or a life in the open. I liked him immediately. And over gins, he told me the fascinating story of his grandmother of Hawaii's Niihau Island.

"It was not an account that included his famous grandfather, Captain Francis Sinclair, of the Royal Navy, and one of the heroes of the battles of Copenhagen, the Nile and Trafalgar, because he had died before the really interesting period of the family life had its

start in Hawaii. The man from Kauai's story was an absorbing one of the Captain's wife, Eliza McHutcheson Sinclair, who brought her family, lock, stock and barrel to the islands aboard a sailing-ship."

With deep sincerity and enthusiasm, Maugham made known to me the courage and vision of Widow Sinclair of Hawaii's Niihau Island.

Captain Sinclair and his wife had retired in 1840 to a farm in Craigsforth, Scotland, within sight of the ramparts of Stirling Castle. It seemed an ideal place to raise their seven children. But Eliza Sinclair, although of durable Scotch stock, foresaw the bleak years ahead for the children. The life was lonely, the harsh winter months intolerable, the yield from the worn-out earth certain to diminish with each succeeding generation of the family. It was not a fit legacy for her sons and daughters. She waited, fretted and planned.

The opportunity of escape from Craigsforth came sooner than she anticipated. Captain Sinclair received a notice from the Admiralty that retired commanders who had served with distinction in the Royal Navy would be rewarded with grants of land in New Zealand.

"I'm sick of the sea," he informed Eliza. "I have no mind to sail to the end of the earth to take possession of an unknown and undoubtful parcel of land. This farm suits me."

"We will go to New Zealand," Eliza said immediately. "They say it's a beautiful island, with plenty of room to move about."

"An island filled with hostile Maoris is how I've heard it!" he argued.

"We'll sell this rock-farm and settle in New Zealand!" snapped Eliza.

And so it was decided. Eliza Sinclair was a stubborn and determined woman, once her mind was made up. And in the end Captain Sinclair, accustomed to giving orders and being obeyed, knew she was right. He came to realize that a better life had to be provided for the children.

The Sinclair family settled first in Wellington, but, spurred by the dream of a large, permanent family domain, moved to Pigeon Bay, and then Holmes Bay.

"I can see that hardy Scotch woman," said Maugham, as he retold the story he heard in the Union Saloon, "leading her flock all over New Zealand, like a female Pied Piper, searching, peering, sniffing, listening, as if to coordinate all her senses in selecting just the right location."

Her relentless quest for Utopia was tragically interrupted by the drowning in a schooner wreck of Captain Sinclair and the two elder sons off Christchurch. When she recovered sufficiently from her almost crushing grief, she took up the search again.

"It's what he would have wanted," she told the remaining members of the family. "Now I must make all the decisions." And she added: "The Pacific Ocean has many islands and seacoasts, so perhaps we shall sail out across it to see what we can find."

Her daughter Jean was married at this time to Captain William Gay, and she instructed him to make a search for a suitable sailing vessel that could transport livestock, household goods and the entire family on an extensive cruise into the Pacific. He found one, a barkentine, and Eliza Sinclair paid cash for it. The year was 1863. The provisioning and loading of the vessel commenced immediately.

"Grandmother Sinclair was on the dock or on deck most of the time," Robinson of Kauai told Maugham, "checking cargo aboard, keeping the crew stepping lively, and conferring with this and



Niihau girl in traditional hula.

that official for clearance of the port. Then one day, she announced: "She's ready to sail!"

The hawsers were dropped, the family waved farewell to friends on the dock, tears were shed, and Eliza Sinclair cried back: "We'll all write just as soon as we find a place to settle down!" Beyond the headlands, sails were hoisted and, with Captain William Gay at the helm, the barkentine put to sea on the long cruise for a real Arcadia.

Their first stop was Tahiti. Eliza Sinclair had heard favorable reports of this central island of the Society Group, where Captain Cook had once brought a group of

Royal Scientists to observe the transit of the planet Venus. From the sea the prospects looked inviting.

She reported: "It was a lovely day, and in the sunlight the islands of Tahiti and Eimeo (Moorea) were very green, with clouds girdling their pinnacles; waterfalls poured down some of the slopes, and there was the fragrance of tropical flowers in the trades. It was such a refreshing sight after so many days at sea. We felt that this might be our home."

But once ashore, Eliza Sinclair found, to her intense disappointment, that Tahiti's only available land was coastal, merely a shallow apron of palm-shaded beaches and brief extensions into ravines and short valleys. The only suitable land was planted in sugar cane, and this was not for sale. No part of the island offered suitable acreage to establish a farm.

"The Widow Sinclair didn't think that the livestock aboard the barkentine would do well in such a hot, humid climate," said Maugham. "She had fallen in love with Tahiti, and the gay, happy natives had charmed her, but she knew that it was no place to reestablish the family. So, reluctantly, she gave the order to sail northward."

The next stop of the barkentine

Children on the beach at Niihau.



was Honolulu. Curiously, on this first visit, Eliza Sinclair was not receptive to the Island of Oahu. The ideal climate, the beauty of the landscape, and the handsome Hawaiians appealed to her, but, as she wrote: "Huge grants of land appeared to be owned by a few commercial houses, who were only interested in leasing, and other private holdings were just not for sale. Nothing within the vicinity of Honolulu would have suited us. We were looking for our own private domain, with plenty of space on all sides."

She ordered her son-in-law William to set sail for British Columbia.

But Canada was a disappointment. "We will return to Hawaii," she informed her family. "I made a mistake in not visiting the other islands of the Hawaiian group."

The barkentine could not have put back into Honolulu at a more opportune time. Young Kamehameha the Fourth had died, and Prince Lot Kamehameha had been placed on the throne of the kingdom of Hawaii.

Samuel Chenery Damon, a seaman's chaplain and one of the missionaries from Massachusetts, who, apart from his ecclesiastical activities in the vice-ridden port, was also able to find time to amass a sizeable fortune—had occasion to visit the barkentine on its return to Honolulu.

He reported his amazement in finding the vessel "with a beautiful and brilliant old lady at its head, books, pictures, work, and for all that could add refinement to a floating home, about them, and cattle and sheep of valuable breeds in pens on deck."

Maugham said, with a wry smile: "The Widow Sinclair's barkentine didn't come to Hawaii loaded down with Bibles, pump organs and Mother Hubbards. They had plows, seed, and livestock. And there was gold in the barkentine's safe to pay their way. Which must have been a refreshing change to the Hawaiians, who were accustomed to receiving penniless missionaries from Massachusetts with just the rusty, mildewed clothes on their back, and who expected the natives to feed and house them and



Fisherman casting net

make cash donations."

Eliza Sinclair, through an unexpected meeting with a member of Kamehameha the Fifth's court, learned that the island of Niihau, more than a hundred miles southwest of Honolulu, was for sale. She arranged an audience with the King to negotiate for the purchase of Niihau.

"She drove a hard bargain," chuckled Robinson of Kauai, as he continued the story of his grandmother. "And King Lot was in no position to haggle. He needed cash for his depleted treasury. Grandmother Sinclair secured sole ownership of Niihau for \$10,000 in gold."

So the Widow Sinclair took possession of the lonely island of Niihau, 17 miles southwest of Kauai Island; the foundation for the home was laid—and the Arcadian life, under a matriarch, had its inception for the family.

Labor was plentiful from nearby Kauai Island, and the manor-house was quickly constructed beyond the present Puuwai Village, at Kiekie, just above the thundering surf. It became a 20-room, ranch-type mansion,¹ bordered by wide verandahs, passageways, servants' quarters, barns for splendid Arabian horses, and sheds for handsome carriages.²

And Eliza Sinclair ruled Niihau Island, with kindness and sagacity.

"No place on earth, I'm sure, was there a happier family," said Maugham. "It became a total world for the family, and the spirit, grace and vision of the Widow Sin-

¹ The walls and timbers of the home today are the same prefabricated sections made in Boston, and shipped around Cape Horn in 1864.

² 300 Arabian horses now graze on the island, and the horse-drawn carriages are still used on Niihau by the Robinson family.

clair became the guiding light."

An early visitor to Niihau, in 1875, described her:

"A lady of the old Scotch type, very talented, bright, humorous, charming, with a definite character which impresses its force upon everybody; beautiful in her old age, disdaining that servile conformity to prevailing fashion which makes many old people at once ugly and contemptible: speaking English with a slight, old-fashioned, refined Scotch accent, which gives *näiveté* to everything she says; up to the latest novelty in theology and politics; devoted to her children and grandchildren, the life of the family, and though upwards of seventy, the first to rise, and the last to retire in the house . . . she rides on horseback, in a large, drawn silk bonnet, which she rarely lays aside, a light in figure and step as a young girl, looking as if she had walked out of an old picture, or one of Dean Ramsay's books. . .

"There is a tutor, a young Prussian officer, who was on Maximilian's staff up to the time of the Queretaro (Mexico) disaster, and is still suffering from Mexican barbarities. . . . Her sons, superb six-foot men, not only emulate the natives in feats of horsemanship, such as throwing the lasso, and picking up a coin from the ground while going at full gallop, but are surfboard riders, an art which it has been said is impossible for foreigners to acquire. . ."

Maugham, listening raptly to the grandson's account of Eliza Sinclair and Niihau Island, inquired if it would be possible, in the short time that remained for him in Honolulu, to visit the private island.

Robinson of Kauai shook his head. "I'm afraid it would be impossible. It would take too long to round up all the members of the family to vote on that. You see, strict prohibitions about white visitors to the island were put into force long ago. It's one of the last refuges now for the Hawaiian race. Grandmother Sinclair made us promise that Niihau would never be turned into a tourist attraction." He extended a friendly hand to Maugham. "But if you come back to Hawaii again, do come to Kauai and visit us. I wouldn't be surprised

if the voting might go in your favor. If anyone could write the story of my grandmother, I'm sure it would be you, Mr. Maugham."

Now, almost a half-century later, Maugham still regretted that he had not lingered in Hawaii and written his story of the Widow Sinclair and Niihau Island.

"The concept of a family living alone on their own private island appealed to me immensely," said Maugham. "I suppose everyone dreams of owning his private island, far away in a summer sea. I know that I've entertained that idea for many years."³

In a last communication with Maugham, before his death, I was able to give him an up-to-date report on Niihau Island.

It was still owned by Widow Sinclair's descendants, now currently managed by her great-grandson Selwyn Robinson. The children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of Eliza Sinclair continued to hold family reunions in the family mansion at Kiekie—and still do today—and it was always in an atmosphere of mid-Victorian elegance, with the flickering flames of candles in heavy silver candelabras shedding a mellow glow in the grand dining-room and reflected from the

hand-polished surfaces of rare carved antiques imported from England, via New Zealand, more than a century ago.

Maugham was pleased to hear of this. "It is good that they keep up the old tradition. Very good, indeed! A measure of self-respect, and an awareness of the memory of the wonderful Widow Sinclair, a truly grand old lady."

Niihau Island is still today private property, and no doubt will continue to remain so indefinitely. Anyone of a curious or challenging nature who attempts the rough channel crossing from Kauai to Niihau—whose silhouette from afar resembles a whale basking on the sunlit ocean—will find that one can *legally* approach no closer than the prescribed below-highwater mark on any Niihau beach.

If a trespasser should be able to get ashore unobserved, or under cover of darkness, he is sure to be quickly discovered, placed in custody of the Hawaiian residents themselves, and politely requested to leave. Neither the owners, nor the Hawaiian residents, care to have their island invaded by curiosity seekers.

The taciturn millionaire bachelor, Aylmer Robinson, who died a short time ago, had this to say, in substance, about the island being *kapu*, or prohibited, to visitors, tourists, do-gooders and crusaders.

"There can be no half-way arrangement about Niihau and the nearly 250-odd almost pure-blooded Hawaiians living there. They, by free choice, have decided to live quietly, peacefully and healthfully, with an instinctive return, so far as is feasible, to their diet, their old Hawaiian customs and traditions, fishing and native handicraft.

"I, and the family, don't feel that they should be exposed to publicity, cameras, or tourists, who would come solely to gawk, ooh-and-ahh!, and photograph them as if they were ethnic freaks in some circus sideshow."

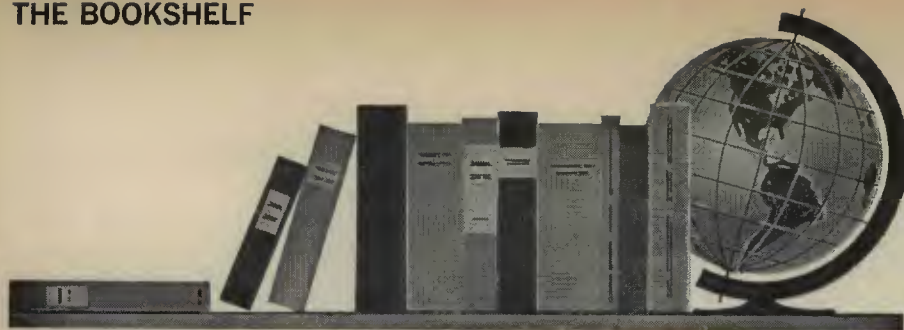
There is sound reason in Eliza Sinclair's edict on Niihau Island, particularly so when one considers the history of the swiftly paced extinction of the pure, or near-pure, Hawaiians in the eight-island archipelago. Pure Hawaiians numbered 300,000 in 1779; in 1832 they had dwindled to 130,000, and 49,000 could only be counted in 1872; and the latest Bureau of Census report lists only 12,000 *near-pure* Hawaiians, which indicates, of course, the eventual and total effacement of the near pure-blooded Hawaiians, except for the last remnant living on Niihau Island. So the Robinson family are convinced that the Hawaiians living today on this private island—who speak and write exclusively in the

(Continued on page 48)

³ Maugham did essay living on a private island, Tetiaroa, near Tahiti, during his visit there in 1917, as related in the author's current biography, "The Two Worlds of Somerset Maugham."

The cattle raised on Niihau are exported to Honolulu.





Journal Book Essay

THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE—IDEAS, POWER AND VIOLENCE IN AMERICA by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Houghton Mifflin Co. 1969) may best be described as a kind of political stock-taking of 1969 America by the country's leading intellectual-in-residence. In six chapter-essays, Mr. Schlesinger expatiates in eloquent detail on some of the principal afflictions of our time—violence as an American way of life, the intellectual and American society, the origins of the Cold War, Vietnam, our alienated youth, and the nation's political prospects. Nearly all the pieces have appeared before in HARPER'S, FOREIGN AFFAIRS and other magazines.

The tone of these essays is—as befits the *confidant* of Presidents—lofty and hortatory; the style is vintage Schlesinger, rhythmical, ingratiating, and felicitous in expression—a style wholly aimed at flattering the reader into an unresisting acceptance of the author's creed of enlightened Mandarinism.

This is a book which can, and should, be read at two different levels. At a lower and more prosaic level each of the six essays constitutes a useful though not particularly original analysis of the subject that it purports to cover. Thus Mr. Schlesinger examines the problem of contemporary violence in terms of its place in American history and deplores the factors that seem to make it an ineradicable feature of contemporary culture: the rifle lobby, gunplay on television, and the general callousness induced by continuing exposure to the horrors of the Vietnam war. He gives a conventional and almost fatuously sympathetic assessment of the reasons for the alienation of modern youth. He presents the standard liberal argument against United States involvement in Vietnam, characteristically laying most of the blame on President Johnson and soft-peddling the earlier role of the Kennedys and the ex-Kennedy advisers. His piece on the prospect of American politics is a lucid exposition of the Jeffersonian

and Hamiltonian traditions in American politics and how these must be reconciled to provide a viable concept of the presidency.

However, to approach the fruits of Mr. Schlesinger's coruscating intellect at such a pedestrian level is to do both him and the reader an injustice. To read this book merely for instruction would be a waste of time. Its real virtue is as an exemplar of the Mandarin mind, matured and ripened by social and financial success and made giddy by prolonged exposure to the heady atmosphere of political power. As a revelation of the casuistry which the intellectual employs to cover the tracks of himself and his accomplices in their periodic excursions into the realm of public affairs the book is a minor classic.

Take the chapter on Vietnam. The Schlesinger thesis is that the war is a disaster. In that case, who brought it about? Where to lay the blame? The Kennedys are his political heroes so they must be exonerated. Secretary McNamara was part of the team so his obstinate advocacy of escalation is ignored and he is described as the "custodian of the negotiating interest." The logical villain is of course Lyndon Johnson, whose responsibility for the escalation and the bombings is inescapable; and Schlesinger devotes several pungent paragraphs to the congenial task of arraigning the previous President before the bar of history. But drawing this relatively easy bill of indictment fails to deal with the rationale of the intervention. Guilt-ridden as only an intellectual can be, Schlesinger senses the complicity of himself and the Kennedy intellectuals in this Alcibiadian venture—for who if not he and Goodwin and Rostow and Bundy (McG.) were responsible for escalating the sober military doctrine of limited military intervention in defense of carefully delineated United States strategic interests into an exalted concept of the American global mission in the underdeveloped world. To exculpate himself and his colleagues a scapegoat must be found, and one preferably outside the intellectual community. So in by the heels Profes-

sor Schlesinger drags the much belabored effigy of (you guessed it) the late John Foster Dulles, complete with Presbyterian conscience and pacomania. By the smoothest verbal alchemy imaginable, this venerable figure, whose Secretaryship (despite some unfortunate sloganeering) was signalized by both prudence and parsimony, is saddled with the ideological responsibility for a bloody land war on mainland Asia costing thirty billion dollars a year.

Then there is the chapter on violence. Mr. Schlesinger exhibits all the horror of the Boston intellectual at mob-violence, lynchings and racial massacre, especially when perpetrated by such unsavory types as the redneck, the blue-collar worker, and the drink-inflamed "Know Nothing." But in the cushioned safety of his parlor Mr. Schlesinger is accustomed to wax dithyrambic about the French and Russian revolutions. He wastes no tears on the old men and young women who fell by the guillotine, or on the three companies of Swiss Guards who were massacred to a man defending the royal family against the mob that invaded the Tuileries. You may search his writings in vain for any denunciation of the Bolshevik butchers of the Russian royal family. Between one and two million people were murdered in cold blood by Stalin and his colleagues during the purges, but the worst the Professor can say about this sinister ogre was that he was "... a dictator who, for all his quite extraordinary abilities, had his paranoid moments" (p. 136). In fact, Professor Schlesinger positively preaches the virtues of violence provided it serves the cause of progress.

Now those of us who are dull or Christian enough to deplore *all* violence except under imminent threat to life or safety would be stumped by the intellectual and moral dilemmas posed by this selective tolerance of slaughter. Not so Professor Schlesinger. To take care of the dichotomy he falls back on a favorite catchword of the intellectual community, RESPONSIBILITY. The idea of applying this rarefied existentialist concept to the ruthless power politics and savage confrontations of the 1960s makes one hope that Professor Schlesinger will undertake to inculcate it into the leaders of Al Fatah or the Black Panthers, as well as the hard-eyed bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. It should prove to be an interesting DIALOGUE.

The chapter on intellectuals in American society is equally disingenuous. Mr. Schlesinger first tries to establish the credentials of his union by enrolling all or most of the Foun-

ding Fathers—a retroactive exercise in definition which would have raised the eyebrows of even the intellectual giant of that enlightened generation of men of affairs, Thomas Jefferson. He talks loosely of intellectual vs. anti-intellectual eras in American history, labeling every period that stressed material gain or the profit motive as *ipso facto* the latter: surely a generalization of the worst order. Mr. Schlesinger lauds the brief Kennedy period as the era in which the intellectual deservedly came into his own, conveniently forgetting how he himself told us in "A Thousand Days" that for political and personal reasons the young President was reluctant to become dependent on the "Establishment" lawyers, bankers and men of affairs who had traditionally advised Presidents in the past and therefore fell back on the more easily dazzled Cambridge intellectuals.

The subtle way in which Mr. Schlesinger seeks to promote the Mandarin image also emerges from the way he blatantly plays up his friends. This may be the privilege of a memoirist, but not of a sober, objective historian. The late Senator Robert F. Kennedy—a warm, humane man and strikingly appealing politician—is given a philosophical profundity and statesman-like depth far beyond his limited accomplishments as a government official and legislator. A great deal of space is devoted to denigrating a fellow-pedagogue named Dr. Chomsky (who apparently belongs to the disestablishmentarian wing of Mr. Schlesinger's profession) on the ground that a professor of linguistics has no business pontificating about politico-military matters—then, by flattering inclusion, the author accords to Richard N. Goodwin, a peripatetic journalist and instant expert on Vietnam, Latin America, American urban problems, and the black mentality, an importance quite out of proportion to the influence Mr. Goodwin has ever actually exercised within government or without. The Bundys (who are fellow Brahmins) are naturally described as "brilliant"—though on the somewhat dubious basis of their responsibility for deepening our involvement in Vietnam! And both Charles Bohlen and George Kennan are retroactively promoted to positions of wartime influence which should give them both an agreeable surprise.

These and similar revelations, each minor in itself, reveal the role that Mr. Schlesinger envisions for RESPONSIBLE intellectuals (i.e., Mr. Schlesinger and friends—that of Olympian advisers to Periclean Presidents. What it so often means in practice (as we know from experience) is the in-

trusion of the perennial academic amateur, reveling in his newfound proximity to "power," bubbling over with ideas to be executed by others, dashing in and out of the White House basement with confidential papers sticking out of his jacket pockets, decorating his living room mirror with Embassy invitations, taking surreptitious notes during Top Secret briefings, and making midnight calls to his literary agent so that he can turn the thrilling experience to profitable account.

Nothing so illustrates Mr. Schlesinger's limitations in surveying the contemporary scene as his incapacity to face reality fairly and squarely. He treats ideas, power, and violence as abstractions, not as the projections of sweating, irrational humanity. Mr. Schlesinger favors a strong President—but without any accompanying crudity or megalomania; he glorifies the American global mission—and seriously believes that it can be carried out by example alone; he casts a benign eye on some kinds of violence—provided the right people don't get hurt; he tolerates permissiveness in youth—and in a crisis expects them to display the discipline and teamwork of West Pointers.

In short, Mr. Schlesinger may be a talented writer and distinguished historian, but as a pilot on a lee shore in rough weather he is less than satisfactory. Buy his "Age of Jackson" and leave this volume on the rack.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

"Ich Bin Ein Berliner"

THIS famous four-word phrase, understandable even when spoken with the brittle New England accent of a President Kennedy, is given depth and meaning in Walter Henry Nelson's "The Berliners, Their Saga and Their City."

The author was a Foreign Service brat who, as a boy, left Berlin with his mother in May 1940, while his father stayed on as a member of the United States Consulate General there until he was interned and eventually exchanged for German diplomats from the United States. Our author returned to Berlin during the airlift in 1948 in uniform as a member of Military Intelligence. Later he visited and lived there from time to time gathering material and cultivating his Berlin associates, who included his mother, an officer in the United States Mission there for seventeen years after the war.

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discriminately with broad sweeps of historical background, the book settles down to a detailed workmanlike description of his two heroes—the living, dynamic and ever-reborn city of Berlin, and the distinctive and irrepressible collective personality of the Berliner. Although he deals realistically and fully with the Berlin Wall and the other effects of the political division of Germany, to Walter Nelson the city of Berlin comprehends both East and West Berlin and the redoubtable Berliner who survives all hardships and indignities lives in both or either sector of the city.

The political, economic, and social aspects of life in both sectors of Berlin are described in sympathetic detail. Although there is never any question where the author's political sympathies lie, he is at great pains to register the successes and failures of both systems with objectivity and fairness. The result is respect for the author's balanced judgment and appreciation of his ability to ignore the cold war clichés and deal with the problems in practical terms. In a curious way he gives the reader a sense of the unity of the city and the toughness and persistence of the Berliner which gives one a feeling—or perhaps even a hope—that the eventual solution will be what the Berliners want for themselves, and not what the Soviets or the West want to impose upon them.

In the days when diplomacy looks upon Berlin as a source of prestigious discord between East and West, or worse still, as a trip wire which would set off a nuclear World War, it is useful to have a book talk about Berlin as a fascinating, exciting city and the Berliners as cynical, tough, but essentially fun-loving people who want to live their lives in peace.

—EDWIN M. J. KRETZMANN

THE BERLINERS: *Their Saga and Their City*, by Walter Henry Nelson. McKay, \$6.95.

"American Music"

IN "American Music" Irving Sablosky has written a highly readable history of music in the United States. His book is the music book of the prestigious History of American Civilization series published by the University of Chicago Press.

Though Sablosky knows music (he studied composition and was for 10 years the music critic of the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS), his book is for the general reader. He avoids pedantic and technical terms and his learning is enlivened by his enthusiasm. He manages to tell in less than 200 pages the complex story of music in America from the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock to the Beatles' kind of

Rock. He covers music in all its forms—art, folk, pop, musical comedy, opera—and all its places—Puritan singing schools and television programs, cotton fields and Carnegie Hall, opera house and barn dances, theaters and schools.

Sablosky describes how American music "developed, like the country itself, from a number of different starting points and in a number of different directions at once. It was always the product of at least two different forces, and usually of more, meeting like vectors in a mathematician's diagram, each encounter working irretrievable changes in the quality, quantity, and direction of the forces coming together."

One of the most interesting chapters tells how the coming together of Protestant hymnody, African chant, West Indian Voodoo, and Spanish, Caribbean and French folksongs was evolved by Afro-Americans into the music called jazz.

The non-musical reader will recognize many names, such as Charles Ives, Stephen Foster, Duke Ellington, and Leonard Bernstein. He will meet new ones, too, like Theodore Thomas, "father of the American symphony" and John Sullivan Dwight, Transcendentalist and America's first music critic.

The editor of the History of American Civilization series, historian Daniel J. Boorstin, says in the preface, "In this book, Mr. Sablosky helps us hear what [American music] can tell us about America. What, he asks, has been particularly American about the music composed and performed in the United States?" Mr. Sablosky doesn't just ask the question. He answers it, too.

—S. POUSER

AMERICAN MUSIC, by Irving Sablosky. University of Chicago Press, \$8.50, paperback, \$2.25.

Middle East Rivalry

PUBLISHED for the Academy of Political Science at Columbia, this volume is a collection of 16 essays growing out of a conference held at Columbia in December 1968. The editor is J. C. Hurewitz, who also contributes an introductory essay.

The subject of Soviet-American rivalry in the Middle East is timely and the aspects discussed—the arms race, economic competition, cultural rivalries, and the quest for stability—are all of immediate concern to today's policy maker. Unfortunately, the essays were written before the commencement of the current Soviet-American talks on the Middle East. While it is too early to tell what those talks will produce, it is also too early

to conclude, as most of the essayists seem to, that there is no prospect of a Soviet-American understanding or détente in the Middle East.

The essays are somewhat uneven in quality and the level of scholarship is not as high as it might be. Nevertheless, it is a useful collection. Perhaps the best of the lot is Franklyn Holzman's article on Soviet Trade and Aid Policies.

—RICHARD B. PARKER

SOVIET-AMERICAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, edited by J. C. Hurewitz. Praeger, \$7.00.

Back to Underpinnings

POLITICS IN EUROPE is a collection of readings in comparative government with emphasis on Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. The readings, which include those of great practitioners such as Churchill, Lenin and de Gaulle as well as those of renowned scholars such as Hoffmann, Pye, Friedrich and Almond, are diverse, informative and, for the most part, easy to read. Some of the pieces are classics in the field of comparative government. The book was meant for undergraduates but could be a useful refresher for that

tired Foreign Service officer who has been so busy with the office routine that he has forgotten the theoretical underpinnings of the grand effort he embarked upon.

—LESLIE L. ROOD

POLITICS IN EUROPE: *Comparisons and Interpretations*, edited by Arend Lijphart. Prentice-Hall, paperback.

Snow Job

C. P. SNOW's most recent volume is an excellent, pithy description of the broader range of problems we face on this planet. However, \$2.95 for 44 pages of text seems a bit excessive—a good book to borrow but not to buy.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

THE STATE OF SIEGE, by C. P. Snow. Scribners, \$2.95.

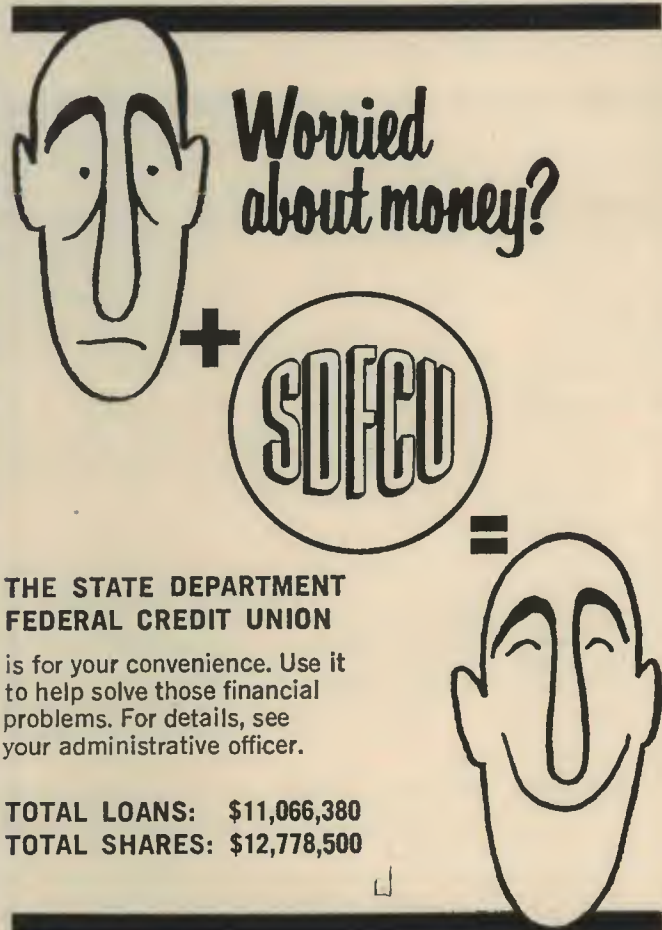
A Laxity Toward Laxness

JOHAN GRIFFITHS' view of Iceland is a delightfully readable one; it is sprinkled with perceptive observations (e.g. "The Icelanders are a people shaped not so much by their natural environment as by their determination to overcome it."); it is up-to-date; the first 50 of its 180 pages of text give as

good a summary of Iceland's early history as can be found; and the chapter on the "Cod War" is an admirably objective and informative discussion of a subject which has much broader implications than the dispute at issue. The book also has serious weaknesses. It relies too little on research and too heavily on conversations with informants like Laxness, Iceland's politically slippery, imaginative and publicity conscious Nobel Prize winner in literature; it is weak on modern political development; it virtually ignores Iceland's strategic importance and post war military developments (a particularly serious omission for American readers); it has at least a normal quota of factual errors; its spelling is annoyingly inconsistent with usual practice; and its bibliography (called a "Short Reading List") is dismally incomplete and unbalanced. Together, Mr. Griffiths' book and Donald Nuechterlein's "Iceland—Reluctant Ally" tell all the more than superficial tourist needs to know and all the newly assigned Embassy staff member can absorb in one dose, and are musts for both.

—J. K. PENFIELD

MODERN ICELAND, by John C. Griffiths. Praeger, \$6.00.



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MAUGHAM AND THE WIDOW

from page 43

dying Hawaiian language, although they can converse in English—should have this last island paradise for their sanctuary, where they can live contentedly, without being molested, or exploited in any form.

There are over a thousand roan, Durham and Shorthorn cattle and about 12,000 Merino sheep grazing peacefully over the sunlit, grassy slopes, descendants of the original stock brought from New Zealand by Eliza Sinclair. There are sudden whirring flights of protected plover, the gobble of 3,000 plump turkeys, almost tame pheasants, ptarmigans, and strutting peacocks, from whose plumage the Niihauans fashion the expensive hat-bands and *leis* (neck-wreaths) to supply the smart tourist shops of Waikiki, more than 100 miles away.

Today, as a hundred years ago, there are no harbor facilities for ships to dock or anchor off the island's six-by-twenty-mile coastline, no airfields for planes to land,

no passenger cars. Likewise, there are no phonographs, and only a few battery-operated radios; no telephones, electric lights, gas stoves, pianos, or brass-band instruments, no perfumes or lipsticks, tobacco, coffee, whiskey, gin, beer—or a popular soft drink!

There are no corner grocery supermarkets, drug stores or clothing shops, pawn shops, no post office, court-house or jail (crime is nonexistent on the island), no hospital or hotel, no pool halls, movie theaters, public buildings, sewers, public roads—and no orphan asylums or mental institutions.

There are no tax-collectors, policemen, labor union racketeers, politicians, profit-obsessed business men, do-gooders or pathological reformers, missionaries, swindlers, sleeping-pill dispensers or psychiatrists. And there is no newspaper.

The Niihauans have never evinced any interest in Russia or Red China or Vietnam, the Democratic or Republican parties of America, Richard Burton or Eliza-

beth Taylor, nuclear bombs, atomic submarines, guided missiles, and space-satellites exploring outer space or circling the moon. It doesn't mean that the Niihauans are primitive or ignorant: they just don't feel that, to them, a comprehension of such extraneous matter can benefit them in the slightest.

It is apparent that time has stood still on Niihau, and it's obvious, too, that the paramount concern of the Niihauans is to live simply and happily, unaffected by civilization's synthetic commercialized trappings. And they're genuinely convinced that not much is missed by their accepted self-imposed social quarantine, the lack of material luxuries or modern improvements. Babies are still delivered by Hawaiian midwives, with no infant-maternal mortality rate.

"It would seem," chuckled Maugham, when I imparted this status of the Hawaiians on Niihau to him, "that the Polynesians on that island subscribe to the old adage: 'Nothing in education is so

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astonishing as the amount of ignorance it accumulates in the form of inert facts.”

Boredom never affects the Niihauans. There is always something doing; a *luau*, or feast, can last an entire week. The girls and women comb the beaches for *pupu* shells for necklaces and costume jewelry for the Waikiki shops; from the rocks they scrape *opihi*, the highly esteemed limpet shell-fish (\$4.00 a pound shelled) for the markets of nearby Kauai; they weave the soft *makaloa* mats of island fibre which bring top prices in the tourist marts in Honolulu. When night falls the romantic-minded young men, the same as any normal, virile youth anywhere, set forth to serenade with guitar and *ukulele* a pretty Niihauan *wahine*.

As one Niihauan patriarch remarked: “I t’ink we have ebry’ting here dat make life hokay—so why we spoil it?”

Only once did someone try to spoil it for them, on December 7, 1941, at 1 p.m., when a single-seater fighter-plane, from one of



Benjamin Kahanalele, the hero of Niihau, receives the Medal of Honor from General Richardson, wartime commander of the armed forces in Hawaii.

the Japanese carriers that had launched the sneak-attack on Pearl Harbor, crashed on the island. The pilot dismantled the machine-gun from the plane and set out to massacre the entire village. But a stalwart, brave Hawaiian by the name of Benehakaka (Benjamin) Kahanalele and his handsome wife stalked down the would-be mass-murderer and killed him with their bare hands, even though Ben was wounded three times by the *ban-*

zai-crazed pilot.

Maugham's response to my latest news of Niihau was a repetition of his original regret at not exploring further the story of Eliza Sinclair.

“Yes, I really should have returned to Hawaii. I'm sure my friend of the Union Saloon would have arranged for me to visit Niihau and provided me with invaluable material on his grandmother. There were all the ingredients for a cracking good biography, or even a solid novel.

“However, I must placate myself with the thought that had I missed the old *Sonoma* for Pago Pago on December 4th 1916, I would have never have known about one of its young, notorious female passengers.”

This brazen, vulgar, garishly-painted trollop, an escapee from Honolulu's redlight district of Iwilei, was on the passenger-list—as *Miss Thompson!*⁴

⁴ The documentation on the real-life *Sadie Thompson* of Maugham's “Rain” is in the author's published book (1966) “The Two Worlds of Somerset Maugham.”

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RETURN TO MYKONOS, from page 36

When we reached the main street of the town we stopped in shocked surprise. Where before there had been one or two small *taverna*, now the whole street was one long series of outdoor cafes. In them sat every kind of tourist, most of them, alas, looking as if they had just been thrown out of Saint Tropez. Since our prospective hotel was at the opposite end of the quay, we had a chance to have a good long look at one another. Our conclusion was that the beard and the mini skirt are *de rigueur* for island hopping this season.

Settled at last in our "old" hotel with its iron bedsteads, its view of the fishing boats, and a black dressed grandmother mending linens in the lobby, I decided to go and find Vienoula. She more than anyone epitomized Mykonos to me. I found her house with difficulty as the street had changed so. "The children want to leave the island and see the world, I shall stay on the island and let the world come to me," she had said to me years ago. Well, the world had come. Would she still be here? I knew that most of her children had gone, following their hearts. I entered her dimly lit shop almost fearfully. The huge loom by the door was silent. I remembered Anniso, the eldest daughter, sitting behind it as she made the shuttle fly. A pretty blonde girl whom I didn't recognise, greeted me professionally.

"I want to see Vienoula please," I said. Feeling like a child who is about to be told that there is no Santa Claus.

A heavy-set woman came out of the shadows in the back of the store. She squinted against the light. It was Vienoula, grayer than I remembered her, but with the same smile.

"Take off your sunglasses, and let me look at you," she demanded. I took them off and was embraced in a warm bear hug. In minutes I was looking at pictures of her grandchildren, and of the youngest son Paniote now serving in the Greek army. We were laughing and telling "gossip," as she called it, and Mykonos felt like Mykonos to me again.

The next day we visited friends who live high on a hill in an ancient farmhouse with a view of Delos, quite an appropriate setting for two fervent phil-Hellenes. We talked about Mykonos and what it had meant to all of us. For Sally and Jack it was now home. To us it had been a glimpse of beauty and humanity and peace that was to stay with us as we walked through our industrialized and sometimes de-humanized world.

We talked too about the changes in the island. They agreed with what we hoped was true. That they were in some cases lamentable, but still superficial. The summer people came in phalanxes, but when they left, the island went back to its own ways, just as it had always done. "After all," said my friend Sally, "tourists have been coming here for a thousand years. The island people have seen them come and go. They do not condemn their ways, neither do they accept them for themselves. It is only the tourists who change—just as we all did. In one way or another even the most insensitive person feels it—the peace of these islands. And that is what they take home with them along with their hand-made dresses and sandals and souvenir plates of the Parthenon."

seemingly endless suffering on our planet has numbed us, not spurred us to action. This is not surprising. The poor countries of the world embrace a wide variety of particular situations; their collective needs are infinite, while the resources available to help them are limited. In these circumstances, global calculations of the need for capital are of little, if any, practical use. That these targets and calculations of need have not proved effective instruments for rallying public support merely reinforces my belief that development finance must be seen as a quality, not a quantity, business.

This is not to deny that on grounds of justice there should be a greater flow of capital resources from the rich to the poor countries. On the contrary, I would greatly favor, for example, an alteration in the rules of international trade to permit poor countries free and one-way access to the markets of the rich for their exports of manufac-

tured goods, even textiles. The refusal of the rich countries to allow the poor to earn more of their way in the world in this manner is, I believe, a profound injustice. Likewise, if there is need for greater liquidity in the international monetary system, as the rich countries now agree there is, the just way to introduce that new liquidity would be through making it available to poor countries in order to buy more in rich countries.

The channels of development finance, however, are concerned with much more than just transfers of capital. They are concerned with helping the poor countries prepare sound projects and programs, which promise a high return to society. It is not, in the first instance, the limited supply of capital that determines the usefulness of these channels of cooperation; it is the ability of the poor countries to come forward with specific projects and programs that can be financed. If quality standards are not put first, development finance loses its identity and purpose.

Alternative in Southeast Asia

These general remarks on the future of foreign aid have a particular importance for our future role in Southeast Asia. I have been posing an alternative to our present policy of over-involvement in the affairs of these nations. Briefly, the alternative envisions a resurrection of the ancient art of diplomacy and a substitution of cooperation in development for involvement in counterinsurgent warfare. The willingness of Americans to adjust and then reinforce our foreign aid programs is the most concrete means open to us to show that we have not lost confidence either in ourselves or in our friends in this part of the world. It is the concrete way of showing that when we talk about disengagement we are not merely being defeatist.

The Vietnam war has engendered grave doubts among Americans about their foreign policy. I hope I have shown that I believe we should seriously question some of our actions and attitudes in the recent past. But, if we succumb to

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these doubts, to a sort of national guilt feeling, we will, I fear, convert our unhappy experience in Vietnam into a catastrophe. It has never been more urgent that we act with confidence, resolution, and wisdom in Southeast Asia than it is today.

The mere invention of activities does not convey confidence, resolution, and wisdom. In fact, we will fail unless we learn how to curb our impulsive acts through the hard disciplines of diplomacy. Because vast forces of history are at work, the normal state of relations among nations can never be one of perfect cooperation. The normal state involves living with competing and conflicting tensions that inevitably prevent nations from adopting the same scale of moral values that individuals can. As a consequence, we have to be sure that our foreign policy ideals are always firmly rooted in real interests, that the moral dimension of policy does not become separated from a rational consideration of the possibilities

and limitations of our influence. Only in this kind of context can we give effective expression to our faith in the constructive power of action.

But neither in Southeast Asia nor in any other corner of the globe can US diplomacy look forward to a period of inactive recuperation. All over the world, and particularly in Southeast Asia, leaders are talking to one another as never before. In Southeast Asia, particularly, there is a common awareness of regional problems and opportunities that few would have dared believe possible even a decade ago. Whether one chooses to say that this new awareness is the result of the success or the failure of US diplomacy is really beside the point. What is undeniable is that the actions of the United States have been one of the most important reasons, if not the most important reason, for the great changes that have come about. We can no more run away from this fact than a man can run away from his parentage. Either we

come to terms with the impact of our heritage or we condemn ourselves to self-destruction.

I believe there is a salvation for nations, as for individuals, in work. I know there is a world of work to be done. The vision of a developed Mekong basin is a good example of the sort of work with which the United States ought to be identified. It is work that inhibits violence and chaos. It inculcates habits of cooperation. It provides a healthy outlet for American inventiveness. It brilliantly illustrates the infinite possibilities that lie hidden in the idea of development. Sobered by our experience in Vietnam, but neither ashamed nor frightened, most Americans today, whatever the generation gap and the stresses that divide us, will agree, I think, that it is important for us to engage a measure of our talent and resources in just such work. This is the good that can live on in the new era of foreign policy we are entering and not be buried with the past. ■



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Guide To Periodical Articles

"Death of a Treaty: a Diplomatic Obituary?" by Robert Ranger. *INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*, April 1969, p. 482-497. Opposition to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is summarized by country: the superpowers (United States, Russia), the second-rank nuclear powers (Britain, France, China), possible new nuclear powers (India, Japan, Israel, Switzerland, Sweden, West Germany), and the peaceful nuclear powers (Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Netherlands, Italy).

"Peking's Failure in Latin America," by John B. McKinney. *ARMY*, June, 1969, p. 48-54. Communist China has not been able to establish ideological dominance over Latin American communism because of distance, an opposing Soviet ideology, the death of Che Guevara in Bolivia, and lack of support for Communist cells during the Red Guard turmoil.

"The Communist Summit: a Little Something for Everyone," by Paul Wohl. *THE NATION*, July 14, 1969, p. 38-41. Looks into the reasons why Russia called the Moscow summit, some of the documents that came out of it, and the two focal points which emerged: Maoism and Czechoslovakia.

"Suharto's Search for a Political Format," by Herbert Keith. *INDONESIA*, October 6, 1968, p. 88-105. To help understand Indonesia's New Order since Sukarno, this article shows Suharto's use of the People's Consultative Congress (MPRS) in political remodeling, his relations with the Communist, Socialist, and Masjumi parties, and the need for coercion in dealing with civilian groups.

"When War Dollars Go, Japan's Ready with Yen." *ARLAS*, July 1969, p. 31-35. Japan is preparing to replace the United States in providing economic assistance to Thailand, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Singapore and South Vietnam when the Vietnamese War is over and American aid is reduced.

"The Great Powers—the Arabs and the Israelis," by Bernard Lewis. *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*, July 1969, p. 642-652. Assesses the Soviet posture in the Middle East and views the matter of the four-power talks and their outcome.

"Okinawa Question," by Helen B. Shaffer. *EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS*, June 25, 1969, p. 471-490. Considers the pressure for an early settlement of the Okinawa question, the sources of Japanese claims on the Ryukyus, and the effects of reversion on US bases in Okinawa.

"Peru: Conciliation with the US Again?" *LATIN AMERICA*, July 11, 1969, p. 217-218. The United States will restore military aid to Peru, cut off after seizure of United States fishing vessels in the interest of hemispheric security, and overlook the interests in Peru of the International Petroleum Company (recently nationalized) and International Telegraph and Telephones (soon to be nationalized).

"Detente: the Soviet View," by Elliot R. Goodman. *SURVEY*, Winter-Spring 1969, p. 121-148. Various factors involved in the Soviet theory of detente are given and case studies presented concerning detente and German reunification, the Middle East, the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean, and antiballistic missiles.

"Chinese Puzzle on Sinkiang Border," by Francis James. *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY*, June 26, 1969, p. 10. A motive in the Sino-Soviet clashes on the Sinkiang border could be Russia's interest in the Chinese oil fields and uranium ore in this area. The author finds that although many are of the same stock as the population of Russian Kazakhstan, the people of Sinkiang are standing behind China in this struggle.

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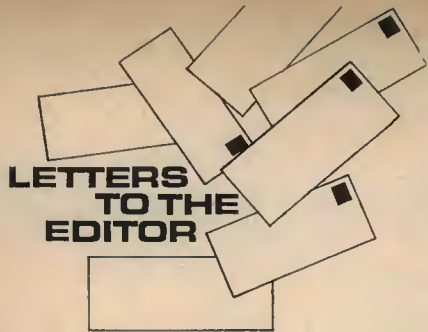
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Danger of High Places

THE JOURNAL's editorial, "Observations on a Predicament" in the July issue appears hardly helpful from the point of view of the Foreign Service, and it overlooks both the history of the Service and the basis of the career principle.

The concept of professional diplomacy necessarily includes the expectation that those who have been trained as professionals will be utilized in the top positions of their profession, not because it will gratify and reward the individuals but because it is considered to be in the best interests of the government which they serve. The idea that a position as Chief of Mission or equivalent should be regarded as the prize at the end of a Foreign Service career and that after getting it the officer should then be expected to take himself gracefully out of the way is directly contrary to the thinking of the authors of the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

Your editorial says that acceptance of Presidential appointments takes the officers concerned out of the career system. This is technically true, but it does not take into account the situation that existed prior to the passage of the Act of '46 and which the Act was designed to correct. There had been no provision for the reappointment of a former career officer to the Service when he finished his Chief of Mission assignment; if he did not receive another Presidential appointment immediately, he was automatically retired. The result was that many senior officers who were not ready for retirement were confronted with the decision of whether to accept a promotion to the top of their chosen profession and risk being out of a job in a year or two, or renounce the opportunity and continue to serve in a subordinate capacity for the sake of the security it offered. The Act of 1946 was hailed by the Service at the time of its enactment, because it assured the FSO that he did not take himself permanently into the world of political risks by accepting a Presiden-

tial appointment.

It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, to have the JOURNAL, the official organ of the American Foreign Service Association, suggesting that the FSO who wants to fill positions of major responsibility in his chosen career should be expected to place himself in the same position as the noncareer appointee who has a different profession, business or other occupation to which he intends to return when his excursion into diplomacy has ended. The career Foreign Service officer may not have an alternative means of livelihood, and if he is truly dedicated he usually does not want to leave the Service even if he has.

I wonder where the former FSO quoted by John Harr had served and with whom. In more than 30 years I can recall very few FSOs who were too concerned about being something or becoming something and not concerned enough with doing something. Almost all of my colleagues at home and abroad have been keenly interested in whatever they were doing and have put in extraordinarily long hours to get the job done.

With friends like the JOURNAL and John Harr's ex-FSO, the Service hardly needs enemies.

JOHN D. JERNEGAN

Norfolk

More Social Scientists?

IN the May issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL William N. Turpin discusses some of the more serious defects in the US approach to development assistance. He is, I think, especially right in saying that we have neither a sufficiently clear idea of how to go about attaining our long-term interests in the developing countries, nor enough basic information about them. It seems to me, nevertheless, that his proposal that the Foreign Service be reorganized around a corps of area specialists who would become, through training and extensive experience, highly knowledgeable about one particular country or limited area does not really answer the problem. We would be in a better position, certainly, to systematically collect data, but we would still be without a satisfactory "conceptual framework," and this we must have if we are to "predict the effects of our actions [and] coordinate them into a policy of sufficient depth and breadth to secure results we can approve."

Perhaps the "conceptual framework" requirement can be met by simply instructing Mr. Turpin's area experts in the methods of modern social science research. Behavioral

studies are finding increasingly these days generalizations about the manipulation of social environments which almost certainly deserve more attention from the Foreign Service than they are now getting. Perhaps, too, instead of restructuring the Foreign Service around area specialization, a new dimension could be added to the present system by giving a place comparable to that now enjoyed by Economics and the more traditional forms of political analysis to the new concepts, methods and techniques of Sociology, Social Psychology and behavioral Political Science. Of course, to do this properly we would have to readjust present relationships between the Foreign Service agencies.

Providing the Foreign Service with a basic understanding of, and ability to manipulate, the development process is necessary if we are to be able to devise meaningful development assistance programs. And, of course, we must not forget one other often encountered problem if these programs are ever to be attempted, much less succeed. As Mr. Turpin notes, it is becoming increasingly realized that development is an interrelated process and none of its various facets—economic, social or political—can safely be ignored. Yet objection to social and political development programs is common, usually by privileged minorities with a strong interest in things as they are. We cannot permit development assistance programs to fail because we are afraid of being charged with interference in someone's internal affairs. International powers always have and certainly continue today to interfere in other country's internal affairs to protect important interests, and we only present ourselves as blackmail targets if we pretend that we do not. If we openly state our purposes in offering development assistance and are honest about the conditions we attach, I think the large majority of the people of the developing countries would consider us generous and willingly accept our programs. Opposition from minorities with privileged positions to defend, even if the ruling party, could be met with a mixture of threat, bribery and intelligent attempts to find acceptable compromises.

In the short-term defense of our country we employ every available means and accept considerable costs to guarantee our safety. Why not put the same resources and enthusiasm to work creatively in what is really just the long-term defense of America?

ANDREW D. SENS

Bordeaux

Remedy for Dissatisfaction

A LETTER appeared in the June issue of the JOURNAL referring to the "gap" between government salaries and those paid by private employers.

If a poll were taken of all people on public payrolls everywhere, I am sure that over 90 percent would vote that most public servants (including themselves, of course) are grossly underpaid.

I suggest that the writers of that letter and any other FSOs who complain about the Foreign Service salary scale go to the External Placement Division of the Department and see just how quickly private employers snap up retired or selected-out FSOs at the bargain prices of existing salaries of FSOs.

I am not convinced by excuses that FSOs are trained in a different discipline and are therefore not so readily employable. A good exposure of FSOs sometime in their careers to the raw forces of the labor market, even at the stratospheric level of their discipline, would be the ideal corrective device, but a chat with Mr. Leatherman would be an excellent substitute.

FREDERICK L. ROYT, *FSO-ret.*
Bethesda

More Than Meets the Eye

DOES Mr. McCombs's painting on the cover of the September issue of the JOURNAL imply that our foreign policy sometimes misses the mark because we, too, often close the wrong eye?

DANIEL H. DANIELS

An Appreciation of Felix Cole

FELIX COLE who retired from the Foreign Service in 1952 died in July at his home in Montclair, New Jersey.

I would like to express a word of warm appreciation of Mr. Cole's contribution to the United States and to the Foreign Service. On entering the Service in 1915 he came equipped with an excellent formal education and a robust mentality balanced by ready wit and an ability to enjoy life. He was a member of the Bar in the District of Columbia. His area of service was varied but its emphasis was Eastern Europe and especially Russia. He began as a clerk in Petrograd in 1915 and in 1918 was acting Commercial Attache in Archangel. His exposure to the excitement of war torn Russia and the collapse and revolution of 1917 provided an indelible experience on which he drew in 1920 as Chief of the Russian Division in the Department. He became a leading expert in those days in the affairs of

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—well informed and a shrewd observer.

While we were in contact from time to time, it was in Algiers in 1940-1942 that I enjoyed a close working relationship with Felix Cole. I would simply like to testify to the skill and good judgment he demonstrated in a World War II ecology of intrigue, espionage, and the conglomerate of Arab influence, Nazi and Italian intervention, and French sensitivity arising from the debacle of 1940. The former Mrs. Cole having died early in that war, he and I shared his pleasant suburban home which provided a most useful and protective operating base when I was President Roosevelt's personal representative in North Africa leading to the arrival there of Allied Forces in November, 1942.

Mr. Cole deserves credit for a substantial contribution to the success of this preliminary work so necessary to a successful amphibious operation in risky circumstances and on a vast scale.

Mr. Cole subsequently went on to be Career Minister in Ethiopia and Chief of Mission in Ceylon.

His friends and close associates remain, as I do, a warm souvenir of a thoroughly dedicated professional, with a high standard of patriotism and loyalty which was as genuine as it was unobtrusive.

ROBERT MURPHY

New York

Omission of FSLs

TOWARD A MODERN DIPLOMACY was the result of tremendous effort and the officers who contributed to it deserve the warmest commendations of their colleagues. I found one glaring omission, however: the only mention of the tens of thousands of foreign national employees was a three-line item on page 38 that recommended expansion of training programs for them. In an exhaustive study that dwelt not only on the broad sweep of foreign affairs, but on such mundane items as Stateside quarters allowances, incentive savings programs, per diem increases, and simplified travel rules, I would have thought that some time might have been devoted to the problems and prospects of local employees. Perhaps the writers considered this and determined that it was not feasible, since local employees' conditions of employment are based to a large extent on the conditions of the country in which they are employed. If so, it would have been well to explain this.

ROMAN L. LOTSBERG

Tehran

The JOURNAL welcomes letters to the editor and will use pseudonyms or withhold names on request. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Letters over 250 words are subject to condensation by the editorial staff.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"And after what he told us in the security lecture!"

they don't want to be in it, it is just as hard a job as I thought it was going to be. Now, our policy is not pro-Communist China. It is different from theirs. We want them in. They want out. There is a conflict. Let's do the best we can."

Finally, in terms of domestic institutions, I would have the Secretary of State take a cue from the Atomic Energy Commission and use the Congress better. Of all the adversaries the State Department has around the world, there is probably none that is viewed as a more serious adversary than the Congress of the United States. That comes **first** in terms of general strategy. How do we avoid going to Congress; how do we get around Congress; how do we explain to Congress; and I would much rather explain to a foreign government than to Congress! I think this has led in part to the public attitude toward the State Department and part of Congress' attitude toward the State Department, if I can say

so. I referred to the Atomic Energy Commission. They have a Joint Committee on Atomic Energy which is one of the strongest lobbies on the Hill, a captive group which promotes atomic matters, frequently contrary to my views as to how they should be promoted. But at least it is a lobby within Congress for getting the Commission's views across. I think the State Department could make the Foreign Relations Committee or the House Foreign Affairs Committee a much more friendly and much more effective voice by making an effort to get them involved.

There has been a tendency not only to bypass Congress but also to connive with Congress in bypassing the American people. The government support, secret support, of the National Student Association is a typical case I regret, where Congress was privately agreeing that CIA could finance the Student Association in liberal activity as long as no Congressman had to tell his constituents he was in favor of doing these liberal things and could

continue to make cold war speeches. The CIA at that time had a far more liberal attitude than official public policy as far as foreign travel of students and other organizations was concerned. But for fifteen years the public was allowed to believe that Congress was being very tough and that the right attitude to take toward such radical movements was they were dastardly things! The American public is about fifteen years behind getting educated on how to carry on foreign affairs.

The State Department should regard its job as building in Congress and the American public a constituency which understands what is being done. The public is not as dumb nor as rigid as is thought. I believe that if brought in, if an effort is made to keep them involved, the public and the Congress will understand why we are trying to do things and what we are trying to do. But in order to have that happen we must have some purpose—something we are trying to do. ■

Application to James W. Barrett Company, Inc. for TRAVEL-PAK—Personal Effects and Liability Insurance underwritten by Lloyds of London
Mail application to: James W. Barrett Company, Inc., 1140 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Make checks payable to James W. Barrett Co., Inc. U.S. dollars only. Telephone: 202/296-6440

Mrs. _____
Miss _____
Name Mr. _____ Occupation _____
U.S. Address _____ Employer _____
Foreign Address _____ Country _____

To which of the above addresses should we address correspondence ☐ U.S. ☐ Foreign. Number of insured persons (family members) _____
Coverage to begin on (date) _____ Period of coverage ☐ One year ☐ Two years ☐ Three years

PREMIUM PAYMENT ☐ I have calculated my premium and determine it to be \$_____. My check in this amount is enclosed. OR ☐ I am enclosing the basic minimum annual Travel-Pak premium of \$43.00 and I understand that you will bill me for any increased premiums or refund any premium credits.

Please credit my initial premium for existing insurance:

Present company _____ Present broker _____

Policy number _____ Amount \$ _____ Inception date _____ Expiration date _____
Policy will be dated at 12:01 a.m. on the date following the postmark on the envelope containing this application and the initial premium or on the date requested above

Signed at (place) _____ (date) _____ Signature _____

DECLARATION OF PERSONAL EFFECTS

(A) FURNITURE:

Furniture \$ _____
Mirrors, pictures, paintings _____
Bric-a-brac _____
Rugs & carpets _____
TOTAL (A) \$ _____

(B) HOUSEWARES:

Silverware \$ _____
Glassware _____
Linen (bed & table) _____
Kitchen utensils _____
Chinaware _____
TOTAL (B) \$ _____

(C) ELECTRICAL & APPLIANCES:

Radios \$ _____
Televisions _____
Refrigerators and/or freezer _____
Hi-fi _____
Typewriter _____
Washer and/or dryer _____
Sewing machine _____
Tape recorder _____
Other _____
TOTAL (C) \$ _____

(D) MISCELLANEOUS:

Medical supplies \$ _____
Photographic equipment _____

(D) MISCELLANEOUS, cont'd.

Musical instruments _____
Pianos _____
Books _____
Luggage _____
Bicycles _____
Tools _____
Sports equip. _____

TOTAL (D) \$ _____

(E) TOTAL CLOTHING

\$ _____

(F) TOTAL JEWELRY & FURS \$ _____

TOTAL PERSONAL EFFECTS

TOTAL A \$ _____
TOTAL B \$ _____
TOTAL C \$ _____
TOTAL D \$ _____
TOTAL E \$ _____
TOTAL F \$ _____
(G) GRAND TOTAL \$ _____

Of the Grand Total (G) above what amount of personal effects are in storage in the U.S. \$ _____

LIABILITY INSURANCE APPLIED FOR

☐ 50,000 @ \$5.00

☐ 75,000 @ \$6.50

☐ 100,000 @ \$7.50

☐ No Increase from

\$25,000 in Basic Travel-Pak

The Travel-Pak policy will be prepared with Personal effects insurance written to the nearest \$100 of the Grand total (G) above and with the amount of liability insurance selected above.

TRAVEL-PAK

Your Best Foreign Insurance Buy

A modern package policy tailor-made for U. S. Government employees overseas which insures against the following:

"ALL RISK" PERSONAL EFFECTS INSURANCE

- Breakage
- Shipping losses (marine, air, rail, etc.)
- General average and salvage contributions
- War risks (while in transit)
- Marring, denting, chipping and scratching
- Theft
- Fire
- Typhoon
- Pilferage
- Lightning
- Explosion
- Vandalism
- Windstorm
- Flood
- Disappearance
- Hurricane
- Earthquake



COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PERSONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE

- Bodily injury liability
- Property damage liability
- Employer's liability (servants, etc.)
- Tenants' liability
- Sports liability
- Fire legal liability (liability to landlords)
- Pets' liability

Check these advantages:

① **COMPREHENSIVE COVERAGE.** Broad "All Risk" Personal effects coverage . . . with a \$50.00 deductible and the insurance to value requirement assures you of the maximum benefit.

The only property exclusions are losses of or from moth and vermin, gradual deterioration, cash, currency, bank notes, and war risks. . . . Plus a special international comprehensive personal liability insurance (excluding automobile liability) from \$25,000. to \$100,000. . . . all in one convenient package.

② **SAVINGS.** Special rates for those in Government Service plus the economies of the package insurance concept make TRAVEL-PAK your best foreign insurance buy. COMPARE! Annual rate on personal effects is 1.4%. Premium discounts reduce the effective rate to 1.225% for two-year policies and 1.167% for three-year policies. . . . Renewal premium credits for years in which there are no marine shipments produces still greater savings. Your maximum discount from the standard premium rate can be as much as 39%!

③ **ALLOWANCE FOR YOUR PRESENT INSURANCE.** There is no need for you to wait for your present insurance to expire to apply for this broader coverage. We'll give you a premium credit for any personal effects insurance you already have.

④ **CONFIDENCE.** Your policy will be underwritten by Lloyd's London Underwriters—world renowned for security.

⑤ **BREAKAGE INCLUDED.** Your valuable articles are insured against breakage in transit provided they have been professionally packed.

⑥ **WORLD-WIDE CLAIMS SERVICE.** We offer the promptest possible payment of claims, for TRAVEL-PAK operates through the world's largest personal insurance claims network with claims contact points in over 200 cities throughout the world . . . including Eastern Europe.

⑦ **CONVENIENCE.** TRAVEL-PAK is just one easy-to-understand policy that covers your property and liability needs. You deal with just one experienced firm.

⑧ **NON-CANCELLABLE PROTECTION.** The Underwriters cannot cancel your coverage during the normal term of the policy except in the case of fraudulent declaration or claim or for non-payment of premium.

We also have excellent facilities for your Life, Accident, Health, Home, Auto, and Marine insurance requirements—at home or abroad.

SPECIAL RATES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WORLDWIDE

(G) TOTAL VALUE PERSONAL EFFECTS	Annual Travel-Pak Premium	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	(F) TOTAL VALUE JEWELRY AND/ OR FURS	Annual Premium
\$ 2,500	\$ 43.00		\$ 300	Incl.
\$ 2,700	\$ 45.80		\$ 500	\$ 1.00
\$ 2,900	\$ 48.60		\$ 700	\$ 2.00
\$ 3,100	\$ 51.40		\$ 900	\$ 3.00
\$ 3,300	\$ 54.20		\$1,100	\$ 4.00
\$ 3,500	\$ 57.00		\$1,300	\$ 5.00
\$ 3,700	\$ 59.80		\$1,500	\$ 6.00
\$ 3,900	\$ 62.60		\$1,700	\$ 7.00
\$ 4,100	\$ 65.40		\$1,900	\$ 8.00
\$ 4,300	\$ 68.20	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	\$2,100	\$ 9.00
\$ 4,500	\$ 71.00		\$2,300	\$10.00
\$ 4,700	\$ 73.80		\$2,500	\$11.00
\$ 4,900	\$ 76.60		\$2,700	\$12.00
\$ 5,100	\$ 79.40		\$2,900	\$13.00
\$ 5,300	\$ 82.20		\$3,100	\$14.00
\$ 5,500	\$ 85.00		\$3,300	\$15.00
\$ 5,700	\$ 87.80		\$3,500	\$16.00
\$ 5,900	\$ 90.60		\$3,700	\$17.00
\$ 6,100	\$ 93.40		\$3,900	\$18.00
\$ 6,300	\$ 96.20	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	\$4,100	\$19.00
\$ 6,500	\$ 99.00		\$4,300	\$20.00
\$ 6,700	\$101.80		\$4,500	\$21.00
\$ 6,900	\$104.60		\$4,700	\$22.00
\$ 7,100	\$107.40		\$4,900	\$23.00
\$ 7,300	\$110.20		\$5,000	\$23.50
\$ 7,500	\$113.00		Each additional \$100 value, add 50¢	
\$ 7,700	\$115.80		(I) INCREASED AMOUNTS OF LIABILITY	
\$ 7,900	\$118.60		\$ 50,000	\$5.00
\$ 8,100	\$121.40			
\$ 8,300	\$124.20			
\$ 8,500	\$127.00			
\$ 8,700	\$129.80			
\$ 8,900	\$132.60	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	\$ 75,000	\$6.50
\$ 9,100	\$135.40			
\$ 9,300	\$138.20			
\$ 9,500	\$141.00			
\$ 9,700	\$143.80			
\$ 9,900	\$146.60	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	\$100,000	\$7.50
\$10,000	\$148.00			

Each additional \$100 value, add \$1.40.

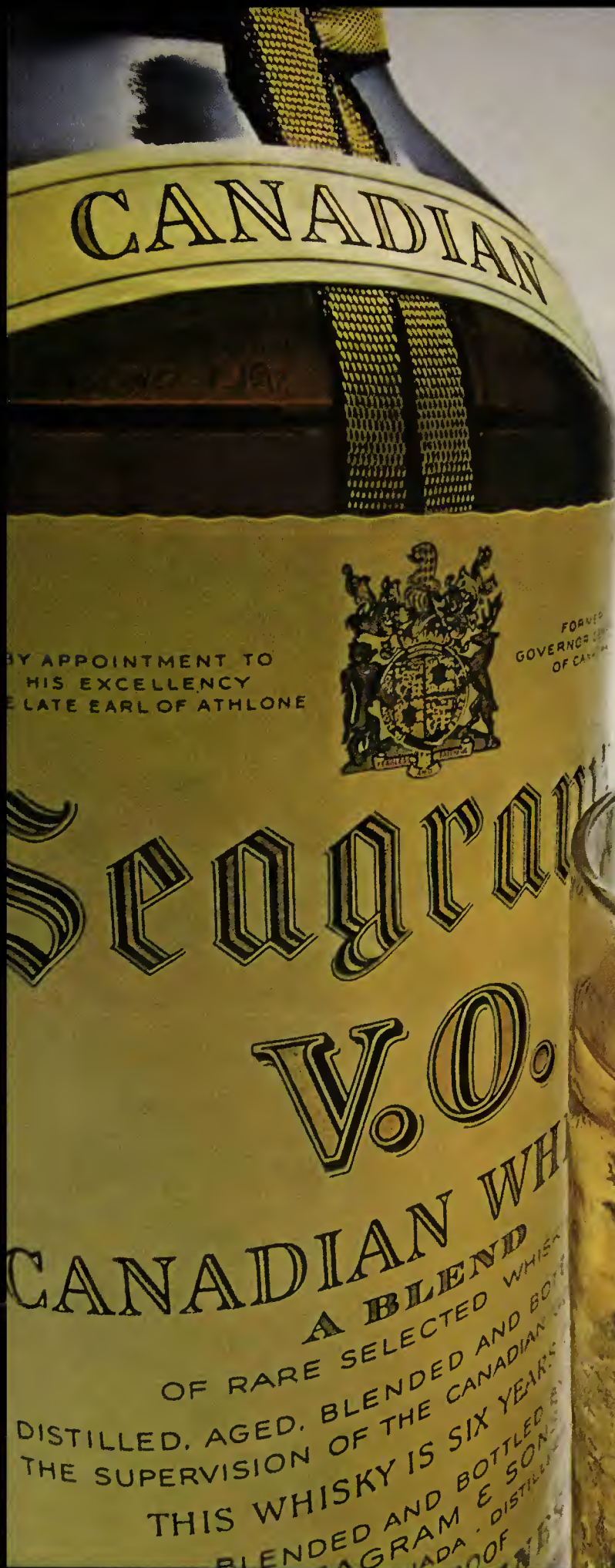
Use application opposite

or call or write:

James W. Barrett Co., Inc.
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036



202/296-6440



If you're having them in for a nightcap, you better have the Smooth Canadian, too.

Since Seagram's V.O. is the best liked brand of all imports, chances are it's their favorite, too. The one they've enjoyed earlier in the evening. Because it's smooth. And because it's light. For these very reasons, shouldn't you have V.O. in, as long as you're having them in?



Seagram's **V.O.** Canadian.
Known by the company it keeps.

CANADIAN WHISKY - A BLEND OF SELECTED WHISKIES - 6 YEARS OLD - 40% ALC/VOL (80 PROOF) - SEAGRAM & SONS, LTD. TORONTO, CANADA