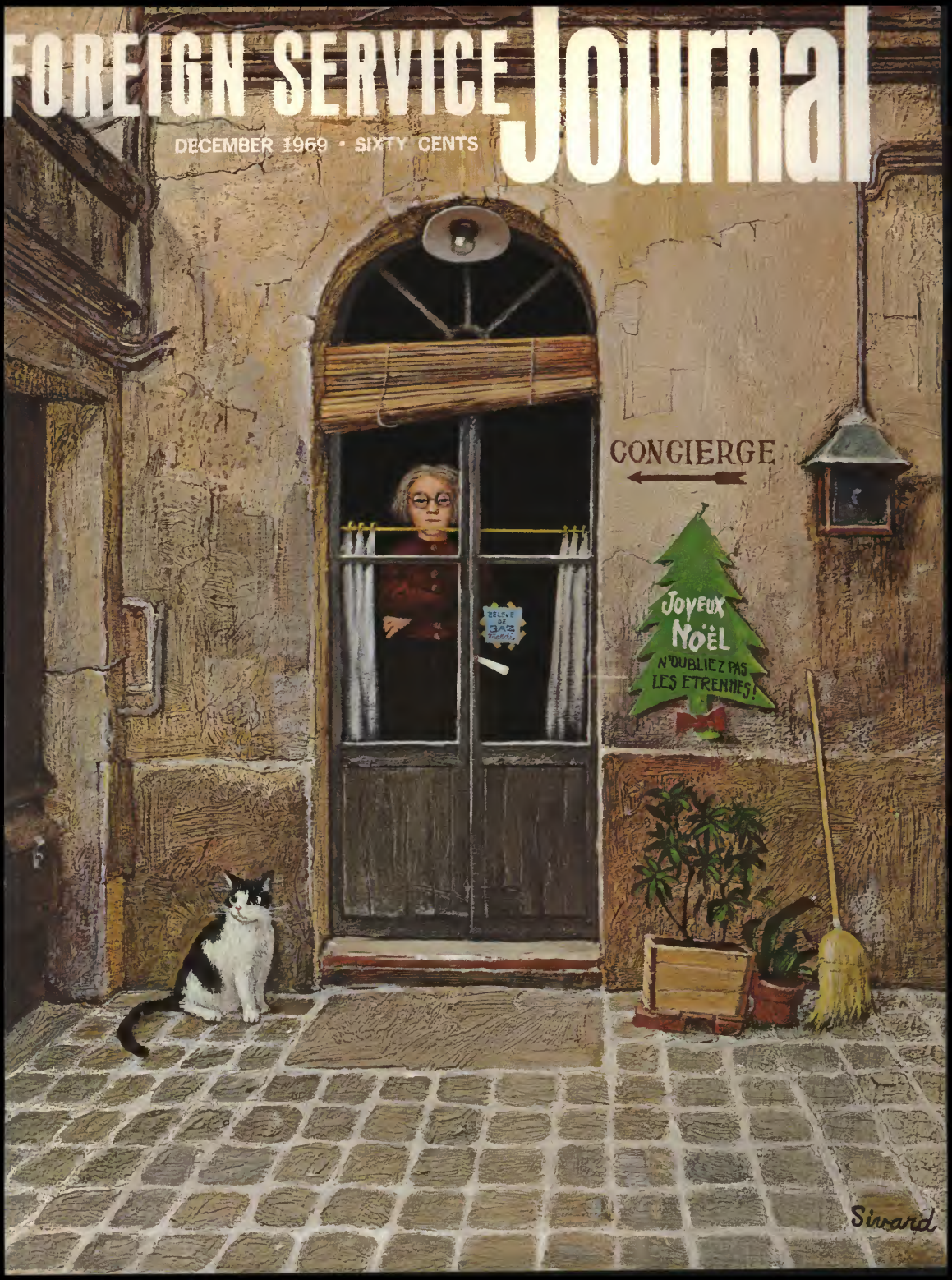
FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

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CONTENTS: DECEMBER 1969, VOLUME 46, NUMBER 13

16 One Hundred Times No!
Henry S. Villard

21 Advice to the Foreign Service
John Kenneth Galbraith

32 Travels of Saint Nicholas
Lansing Collins

36 Rabbits Bunnies
Henry B. Ryan

OTHER FEATURES: The Hijacking of TWA Flight 840, by Thomas D. Boyatt, page 4; A Communication on Communications, by Grant G. Hilliker, page 47; Periodical Articles, page 48.

DEPARTMENTS

10 Washington Letter
Ted Olson

25 By-Laws of the American Foreign Service Association As Amended

23 AFSA News

40 The Bookshelf

50 Letters to the Editor

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Robert Sivard, "Joyeux Noel," cover; Lansing Collins, photographs, pages 33 and 34; S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 51.

The 1970 Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards

THE Awards Committee of the American Foreign Service Association is pleased to anounce the Awards program for 1970. The intent of the awards is to recognize those qualities of intellectual and moral courage, dedication and service which were displayed in such abundance by Ambassadors Harriman and Rivkin and by Secretary Herter. The awards will be granted in recognition of extraordinary accomplishment involving creativity, intellectual courage and integrity, including disciplined dissent.

The Harriman, Rivkin and Herter Awards are open to State, AID, USIA and Peace Corps Foreign Service personnel, whether serving abroad or in the United States—and in the case of the Harriman Award, to Civil Service employees as well. Each award will carry a $1,000 prize.

The Judges Committee of the AFSA will consider nominations for the Harriman and Herter Awards. A separate committee has been established by the William R. Rivkin Fund to consider nominations for the Rivkin Award. The Awards Committee of AFSA will act as the secretariat for the two Committees of Judges.

Nominations for all three awards may be made by *any* officer in support of any other officer in any of the eligible categories. Because of the special nature of these awards, the Association points out that colleagues of a deserving individual, or even subordinates, may be in a favorable position to observe achievements of special merit.

Nominations are solicited for each of the following:

The W. Averell Harriman Award. (For junior officers—no higher than FSO-6 or equivalent. Civil Service employees are included).

The William R. Rivkin Award. (For mid-career officers—FSO-5, 0-4, 0-3 or equivalent).

The Christian A. Herter Award. (For senior officers—FSO/FSR-1 and 2 or equivalent, with the exception of officers now holding appointments as Chiefs of Mission.

To Submit Nomination

Please send two copies of each nomination, unbound on regular size paper, marking each page with the name of the nominee, and numbering each page. Please follow the suggested format as closely as possible.

PART I *Biographic Data*
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GRADE
AGENCY
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

PART II *Association with Candidate*
(Please limit to 350 words)

PART III *Justification for Nomination*
(Please limit to 750 words)
Summary of specific reason for nomination.

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(Print name of nominator)

VOTE!

WE are heartened by the response of the active membership of the American Foreign Service Association to the call for the 1969 election of the Board of Directors for the Association. There are three slates of active members offered to the electorate, as well as some forty individual candidates.

The unprecedented interest expressed by the formation of slates, the publication of platforms, and the offering by individual members of AFSA for election to the Board must to some degree, we think, be credited to the "activist" orientation of the present Board, and to its accomplishments over the past two years.

We urge every active member of AFSA to join in the democratic electoral process, and to choose carefully among the slates or individual candidates those whom you believe will best represent you on the next Board. This election, we believe, comes at a critically important time in the life of our Association.

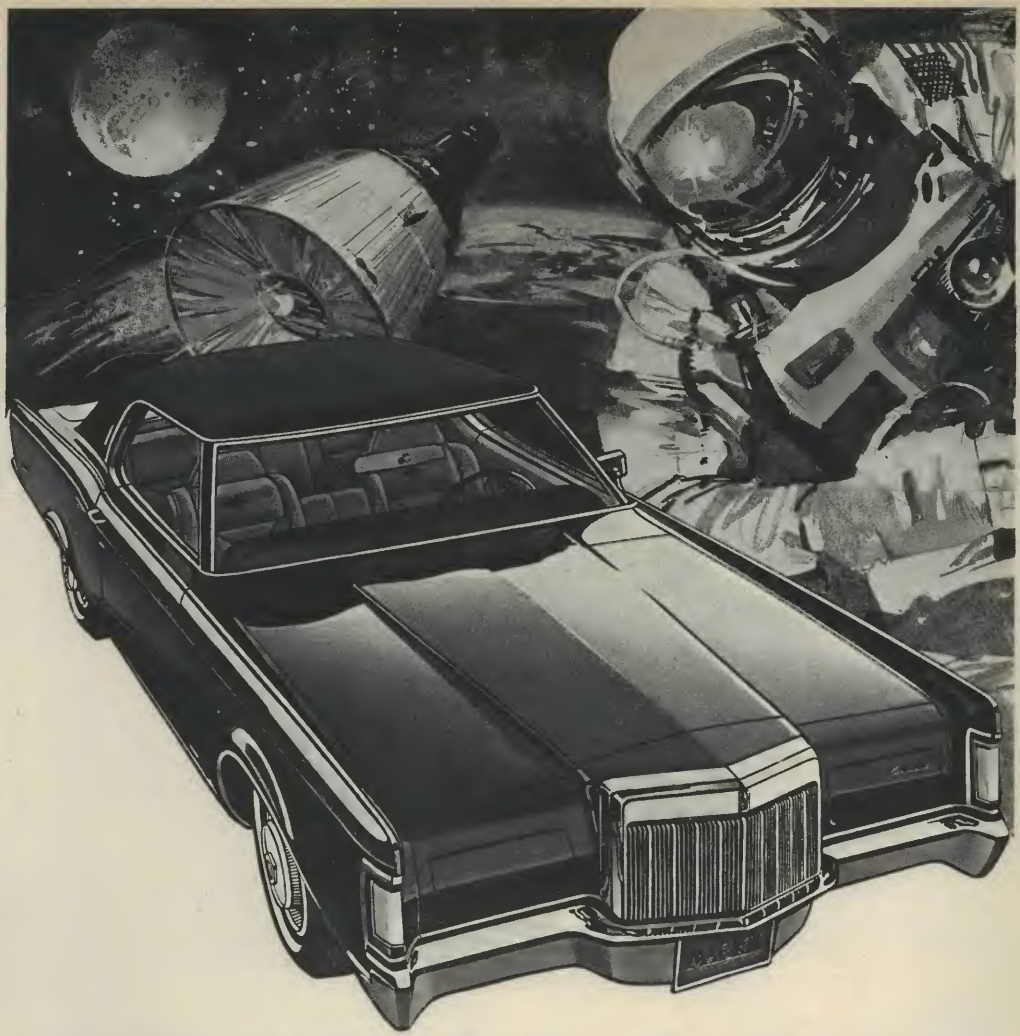
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An Eyewitness Account

The Hijacking of TWA Flight 840

Foreign Service officer Thomas D. Boyatt was a passenger on TWA Flight 840 which was hijacked on August 29 by two members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The following is his eyewitness account cabled from Athens on August 31, after his evacuation from Damascus. No attempt has been made to be exact with specific times or names. The purpose is simply to "tell it like it was" from the view point of a single participant. Mr. Boyatt is currently assigned to the United States Embassy in Nicosia as supervisory political officer.

Seizure of Aircraft—The first hint of trouble occurred when TWA flight 840 was over Brindisi. The hostess came rushing down the aisle to the rear of the plane with a very worried expression and held a flustered conversation with the senior cabin crew. Several minutes later when the plane was overflying the Corinth Canal, the Captain broke in on the intercom to state that there was an emergency but "no need to worry." The female commando (the second was a young male and both were armed with grenades and pistols) next came on the loudspeaker to announce the plane had been seized by the "Che Guevera Brigade of the Palestinian Liberation Movement" because a Zionist assassin was on board. Passengers were told to fasten their seat belts and put their hands on their heads. For the next several minutes as we headed east, the female and male commandos took turns on the loudspeaker assuring us that we were in no danger, that their enemies were only the Israeli aggressors, Zionists, and Imperialists and that our "demands" would be "heard" when we got on the ground.

After crossing land, the plane made a pass over a city (later identified as Tel Aviv) and circled the airport there. At this point we picked up at least two fighter escorts with Star of David markings. The plane left its landing pattern over Tel Aviv, regained altitude and headed north over the desert. We soon lost our fighter escort. The woman commando instructed the air hostesses to run through emergency landing procedures with passengers twice which they did. The woman then announced that we were about to land under emergency conditions and that the plane would explode shortly thereafter.

Meanwhile, the pilot seemed to be coming down over the desert. After maneuvering, we spotted a landing strip which looked much too small. Passengers all took emergency seat positions and the pilot brought the ship in for a beautifully smooth landing on a concrete airstrip which appeared to be in the middle of nowhere. (Actually. we landed at the newly completed Damascus International Airport.) The impact of the landing did not cause the plane to explode.

Evacuation of Plane—As soon as the plane stopped, the cabin crew popped open doors and emergency chutes. Those at the front and rear of the aircraft began evacuating in an orderly manner through normal doors and using chutes. Other passengers in the middle of the aircraft opened emergency doors and went out over the wings. I evacuated through the rear port door. The young lady in front of me froze at the door but a swift blow to

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the middle of her anatomy sent her rapidly down the chute.

In loose group formation we started across an open field to put as much distance between ourselves and the plane as possible. Unfortunately, the ground was covered by a thick growth of thorns and prickly pears which made it rough going since we had taken off our shoes in accordance with emergency landing procedures. When we were about half way across the field, I noticed that one or two passengers, who had left via the center emergency exits, and slid off the port wing, had crumpled to the ground. Some got up but two did not. I started back across "Prickly Pear Alley" to help an American soldier carry an injured woman back across the field. Another male passenger had also hurt himself but was able to hobble along with us pretty much under his own steam. We continued away from the aircraft as fast as possible but because of the thorns, all were hobbling. Other passengers and crew came out to meet us and we dived into a sandbagged slit trench (apparently a part of the Syrian Airport defense setup) to rest.

As we moved away from the aircraft we heard the popping of small arms fire and a small explosion. At one point I noticed a thin young man running around the aircraft firing at it with a pistol. Apparently he was trying to hit the gasoline supply in order to blow up the plane. Had he been successful he would have been blown up himself, I think. This was a prospect which many of us viewed with less than normal concern. Shortly after we got into the slit trench, the front end of the airplane disintegrated in a puff of smoke followed by a loud explosion. The amount of damage and the force of the explosion make me think the commandos had some sort of nitrogen plastic with them.

After the debris settled (and none of it got too close to our slit trench), our small group continued hobbling over thorns to join the rest of the passengers who had evacuated on the portside of the aircraft and were now strung out over a quarter mile area. With the help of crew members, I assembled these people in a small depression in the ground and we sat there while troops with World War II vintage Bren Guns ran up and stood around eyeing us. At the same time airport personnel began to arrive with trucks and buses and we were driven to the airport—the injured and ladies going first.

Roundup and Interrogation—We were taken to an airport waiting room and after all groups of passengers had straggled in, the crew began the slow process of a head count. After several false starts, we were called over to the control point and asked to identify ourselves by name and nationality. Within a very short time the only two male Israelis in the group were led off for questioning.

Shortly thereafter, all families with children were taken into Damascus by bus. The rest of us sat around for several more hours and during this period the four Israeli women were kept in a special corner. The crew members were led off for questioning and some 30 of us were left. About midnight a bus came for us and as we left we picked up the four Israeli women. We were all taken to a school which had been set up as an interrogation center. As soon as we got to the school, Syrian authorities tried to take the Israeli women into a separate room. I protested and insisted that an American passen-

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ger be with them at all times. My position was that the Israelis had been flying in good faith toward a destination other than Damascus in an American flag carrier.

Syrian officials agreed that I and an American school teacher, Miss Perry, could be present.

The Syrians gave us plenty of food and then began their interrogation around 2 a.m. The Israeli ladies were taken first. Questioning was quiet and neither force nor intimidation was employed. As soon as the Syrians were through with the Israeli women, I sent them off to bed in Miss Perry's company.

For the next few hours the Syrians continued to interrogate everyone else in our group and agreed that I could be present during all questioning. I was particularly worried about the fate of some American Jews but the Syrians made no move against anyone with a claim to any nationality other than Israeli. Questioning continued until 5 a.m. After everyone was bedded down, I was allowed to draft one cable (a brief summary to Ambassador Popper in Nicosia) but I don't know whether it was actually sent. When my cable was finished, the Syrians took me to a hotel where I was kept in a single room all night with a guard outside the door.

Return to Airport and Departure—Next morning (August 30), the guards allowed me to circulate throughout the hotel and I found the entire crew there. We had breakfast and lunch in the hotel.

Shortly after noon we again boarded a bus which went around Damascus collecting various groups of passengers. TWA officials from Beirut (who had arrived earlier that morning) and I attempted to persuade the Syrian officials to send the Israeli women with us, but we were unable to see the ranking officer. Meanwhile some Americans in my group had decided not to move unless the Israeli women were permitted to stay with us. Outside of the bus a large crowd of Syrians had gathered and the noise level was soon in the mega-decibel range. Although emotionally inclined to a sitdown strike, I decided the Syrians simply would not be impressed by student activist tactics and that such action would only worsen the situation. Everyone in our group decided we should go along. The bus slowly began to move through the crowd and we continued on to the airport. But we all felt very defeated, having been forced in the end to leave the Israeli women behind. We spent the rest of the afternoon at the airport collecting belongings from the damaged plane and waiting around for an Alitalia relief flight which finally came.

Final Comment—Throughout the entire experience, including the emergency landing, evacuation of aircraft, interrogation and futile effort to obtain release of the Israelis, crew and passengers conducted themselves in unbelievably good fashion. There was no panic at any time and almost no hysteria. The description which I think, best fits this group—which was basically an American group—is that currently in use by the younger generation. People on TWA 840 were "very beautiful people" indeed.

EDITORIAL NOTE: *The four Israeli women were released by the Syrian Government on September 1 when they were flown to Athens. The two male Israeli passengers are still detained in Damascus where, according to the Syrian authorities, their case is "under investigation."*

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From Ted Olson

Washington Letter

For the man or woman on your list who has practically everything the ad pages at this season teem with enticements. At a price, of course. Altman's has mink coats, for men, yet; the tag on the sports model is $1200. There's no good reason, come to think of it, why women should be the only fur-bearing members of the species. The male used to be satisfied, though, with raccoon.

There was a time, too, when he recoiled from the effeminacy of perfume, and sternly enjoined his barber against scented hair tonics. No longer. Now men are expected to smell nice, too—and not only with woodsy, tweedy, tobacco-y aromas but with more exotic fragrances. Fabergé offers a lotion called "Aphrodisia," and advertises laconically: "It works."

The trend in gifts continues to be toward utter uselessness. Merchants appear to assume that to give something practical is implicitly insulting; people can buy hosiery and handkerchiefs for themselves. Last year half the guests at any holiday-season party could be found bouncing a suspended steel ball against two others to see how they recoiled. This year there's something called "Poetic Pendulum." Same general notion, except that there are only two balls, and they are suspended by springs from another spring, attached horizontally. When you pull one down, the other jounces too, but with a different rhythm. Will it duplicate the sucess of its progenitor? Seems unlikely.

As always, Hammacher Schlemmer is a treasure-house of zany inventiveness and conspicuous consumption. It offers nothing quite as seductive, though, as last year's electric waste basket ($99)—"Shreds your papers silently into ⅛-inch strips of unreadable waste." We've been wondering for twelve months whether it would satisfy SY's rigorous standards for destruction of classified matter. This year there's a gold-plated collapsible putter and two gold balls for surreptitious practice while your secretary tells callers you're in conference; a push-button gadget to dial phone numbers if you haven't got a secretary; a "dilemma dispenser"—program your dilemmas and the computer solves them; a walking jigger, one-ounce measure. And, the ultimate in uselessness, the Nothing Box. "It just blinks its eight eyes in no detectable pattern for nearly a year—then it's dead. To stop it before then, use an axe."

You can compose your own homily. Our Christmas wish is that none of you finds that no-thing blinking at you when you unwrap your packages—perhaps after a couple mugs of eggnog or glögg.

Bigger FS Annuities Later—Maybe

Perhaps a few others besides the FS widow who phoned to ask may be confused about the scope of the Daniels-McGee Act: Does it apply to the Foreign Service as well as the Civil Service? It doesn't. This legislation, as you probably know, increases retirement benefits by basing the annuity on the highest three years of salary, instead of five, as in the past—with a five per cent bonus for those who separated themselves from the payroll by October 31. (One more gentle nudge toward earlier retirement, of course.) There's a similar proposal, the Hays bill, applying to the Foreign Service, but it's mired down in committee and the prospect for passage this year isn't bright.

Mike Causey of the Post's Federal Diary points out that among those who do benefit substantially by the Daniels-McGee Act are Congressmen. A 32-year veteran will be entitled to eighty per cent of his base salary, $42,500. That figures out at $34,000 a year; one should, with reasonable frugality, be able to live on that.

Transportation: Monthly Bulletin

Work on the Three Sisters bridge started six weeks ago, but not without a flurry of excitement. First a handful of young people paddled out to the rocks and pitched camp, a Lilliputian Verdun determined that the foe should not pass. When excavation for the piers began they swarmed ashore and sat down, until forcibly removed. Next day there were more of them.

The future President of his country is open to suggestions

If he's a student in one of the developing nations, he's getting powerful persuasion. In "little red books," colorful propaganda magazines, and floods of free publications from governments who know the impact of the printed word on the world's book-hungry countries.

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.

Maybe this isn't a disadvantage. Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan, writes: "Most people abroad are not interested in the 'American story' as such. They are interested in themselves and in what America may mean to them and their future . . . In developing knowledge and understanding between peoples, private citizens are probably more effective than governments."

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Scuffles occurred, cudgels were swung, and more than 100 of the protesters were arrested. They were a mixed lot—students from George Washington and other universities, banded in the D.C. Student Committee on the Transportation Crisis; representatives of the "inner city," where they know by experience that any new traffic artery is likely to evict black people from their homes; housewives from Georgetown and Foxhall Village, and others concerned with the area's ecology.

The bridge will be built, no doubt; Congress has so decreed. The engineers and bulldozer crews are simply carrying out orders. As so often happens in confrontation tactics, the adversary confronted is not the decision-maker but the underling. Still, the Three Sisters skirmish may have prompted a few more Washingtonians to ask: Is this bridge really necessary? And how can anybody be sure, until the planning authorities decide where to put the roads leading into and out of it?

Another venture in participatory democracy, if that's what it is, got further. When suburban authorities were preparing to run a sewer through the backyards of a Bethesda residential area, the householders invited county officials to a cookout to talk things over. Charmed and half-persuaded, the guests agreed to take a second look; maybe the sewer could just as well be routed along the street.

Once more we have to report that bus fares have gone up. D. C. Transit wanted a flat 35-cent fare, but was awarded 32 cents, with no reduction for tokens. An awkward sum to keep handy. And many of the stores that used to sell tokens have discontinued the service.

How to Succeed in Government . . .

A government worker complained to the POST some time ago that one of her colleagues went Avon-calling during office hours, to the great indignation of those who wanted to get on with the job. Her letter brought a spate of correspondence, recounting similar incidents and alleging that such practices were not limited to the lower echelons. What about the officers who tie up the outside lines giving their brokers buy and sell orders? What about the man who runs a law practice from his desk, using government telephones, including long distance direct-dialing? What about those two-hour three-martini luncheons from which the lunchers return in a euphoric but hardly productive glow?

Well, in a community as large as ours there are bound to be a few goldbrickers. On the basis of our own experience, we continue to believe that the great majority of workers, in public and private service, give the employer his money's worth and often a good deal more. Still, we did know an ambassador once whose secretary, her sense of outrage momentarily overriding her loyalty, confided that eighty per cent of his dictation dealt with his business interests, which were multiple. And a PAO of our acquaintance used to have a flourishing vegetable garden, whose produce his young sons peddled to members of his staff, American and local. Few were rash enough to rebuff the lads.

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Why, we have often wondered, do North Americans mostly ignore the variety of football that sends Europeans, Latin Americans and for all we know Africans and Asiatics into deliriums of rapture, partisanship and occasionally carnage? Soccer is a much faster game than either American football or baseball, easier for the layman to follow, far more rigorous in its demands on the players' stamina. Maybe some sociologist could explain.

Washington has a professional basketball team again, too. They're called the Caps, they used to be the Oakland Oaks, they won the American Basketball Association championship last year, and they play at the Coliseum.

Most Implausible Item of the Month

It seems, according to one of the society columnists, there was this fellow to whom the White House offered an ambassadorship, rather a good one. He replied "Fine," and began to pack. Came a phone call: sorry, the State Department had earmarked Country X——for a career diplomat; would he consider Y——? He said he would. His wife pouted, but continued her preparations. A few days later the phone rang again. State didn't think he was quite the right man for Y——; would he be interested in Z——? He sputtered, asked time to think it over, but finally agreed. A week passed. The prospective chief of mission was just about to sublet his apartment when the bad news came: State had nixed him again.

He said the heck with it, and unpacked.

Concert Halls, Theaters, Galleries

National Symphony: As the JOURNAL goes to press the National Symphony strike ended and the season got off to a belated start. If the original schedule is picked up, the programs for the next month are: Dec. 9-10—Philippe Entremont., in Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto; Paul Paray, guest conductor. Jan. 6-7: William Kroll, in Mozart's Violin Concerto in G; Amerigo Marino, guest conductor.

Performing Arts Society: Dec. 6, Jerome Lowenthal, pianist, at Lisner. Dec. 14—Young Uck Kim, violinist. Jan. 4—Arthur Rubinstein. Jan. 11—Sviatoslav Richter.

Arena: Dec. 4-Jan. 11—"You Can't Take It With You."

Ford's Theatre: Through Jan. 11—"Orestes."

Corcoran: Through Dec. 21—Robert Morris: "The first major museum exhibition for this important contributor to the non-referential art movement of the 1960s." ("Non-referential" isn't in either the New Collegiate dictionary or the American Heritage. Could it be just a flossy way of saying "abstract?") Through Dec. 28: Joseph Shannon, Washington painter.

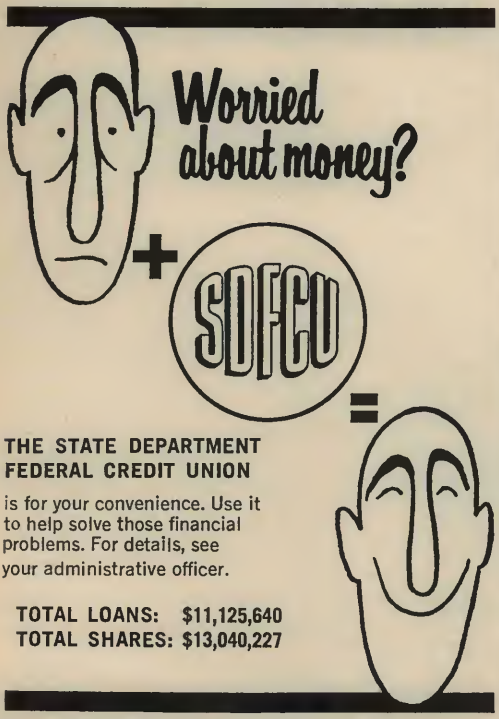
Oddments

• As the JOURNAL's unofficial chronicler of the hippie society, we feel obliged to pass on to you the allegation of a Denver barber that a lot of those luxuriant tresses aren't for real. He has subjected a sizable sampling of young males to expert scrutiny and will take his oath that some of those mattress effects, particularly the blondes, are actually wigs. What's more, women's wigs.

• Still another chancery building going up on Massachusetts—Brazil's, just northwest of the Rock Creek Park bridge.

• Penn-Central is increasing Metroliner service, Washington-New York, to nine trains a day each way. They're usually booked to capacity, or almost.

• Shucks! They've scrubbed our favorite graffito from the trash container at the bus stop in front of the Alban Towers: "Lonliness (sic) erodes the mind."



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According to the Russians, the use of the veto in the United Nations Security Council "is a powerful political tool." To prove this they have consistently exercised the privilege.

One Hundred Times NO!

HENRY S. VILLARD

Retired Ambassador Henry S. Villard was a political and liaison officer with the United States Delegation at the San Francisco Conference on International Organization in 1945. Subsequently he served in a similar capacity at several sessions of the UN General Assembly, including that held in Paris in 1948. From 1958 to 1960 he was the United States Representative at the European Office of the United Nations and other International Organizations in Geneva. At present he is engaged in writing at the chalet he built in Gstaad, Switzerland.

On August 22, 1968, Soviet Russia disposed of an embarrassing draft resolution in the United Nations Security Council which condemned "the armed intervention of the USSR and other members of the Warsaw Pact in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia" by the simple expedient of casting a vote against it. It was not the first—or even the one hundredth—time that the Soviets had killed a Western-sponsored resolution; it was the 105th. And it pointed up the fact that while the Security Council veto has been generously employed on behalf of Communist objectives ever since the United Nations was founded, the United States has leaned over backwards in forgoing the same parliamentary privilege—a privilege to which it is fully entitled as one of the five permanent, or "big power," members of the Council.

It also prompts the question whether the time has not arrived when the United States should—as the Soviets obviously have done—adopt the veto as an instrument of national policy, in order to protect its own interests or those of its friends in this troubled world.

Many Americans, disappointed in the UN, have pinned the failure of the organization to work as they had expected on the use—or abuse—of the veto by the USSR. The Soviets have, indeed, used the veto variously in what has sometimes appeared to be a frivolous, reckless, or even vengeful manner. In the first fifteen years of the UN's existence, the headlines reported one "nyet" after another to thwart the will of a Western majority. Public frustration has been understandable. At the San Francisco Conference in 1945, the sponsoring powers, including the Soviet Union, solemnly asserted that their right to the veto would be exercised only sparingly, in defense of their vital national interests. "It is not to be assumed," they said in a joint clarifying statement," . . . that the permanent members . . . would use their veto wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council." Wilfully or not, the operation of the Council has been marked by a long series of negative votes on the part of the Soviet Union.

But what people tend to forget is that the veto principle was incorporated into the United Nations Charter at the express instance of the United States. It is a matter of no little irony that this government has still to cast its first veto.

Hardly was the ink dry on the Charter when the first of all vetoes was rung up by the Russians, who succeeded it with a volley of others in the adolescent years of the UN and the coinciding period of the Cold War. As Andrei Y. Vishinsky, the fiery, voluble, and in this instance candid, Soviet delegate was to declare at New York on October 10, 1950, "The veto is a powerful political tool. There are no such simpletons here as would let it drop. Perhaps we use it more [than others], but that is because we are in the minority and the veto balances power. If we were in the majority we could make such grandiloquent gestures as offering to waive the veto on this or that." In the circumstances then obtaining, Moscow and its satellites were consistently outvoted by the United States-led "democratic" majority. To compensate for their minority position, the Communists did not hesitate to make the most of the veto. As Vishinsky declared, it was "a means of self defense" for the Soviet side.

But circumstances are known to alter cases, and circumstances have palpably changed. The political and geographical groupings in the UN are now very different from those of an earlier day. No one at San Francisco could have foretold that in twenty years the number of member nations would more than double; that the rapid emergence into statehood of former colonial territories would create not only a shift in the balance of Western strength in the General Assembly but a shift in regional representation on the Security Council as well. The appearance of many more sovereign political entities from the Asian and African scene—each with a vote in the Assembly and proportionately represented on

the Council—most of whom are not notably oriented towards the United States and with whom the Soviet bloc usually sides on such important issues as those linked to colonialism, makes it unlikely that we shall ever again command the unfailing support of the majority. On the contrary, the United States may as often as not find itself in a minority. With the tables turned numerically, chances are that we too on occasion may find it necessary to "balance power" by use of the all-powerful veto.

What exactly is this potent political instrument which can be used so effectively to nullify a resolution agreed upon by a majority in the Security Council? Nowhere in the lexicon of the United Nations can the word "veto" be found—nor its euphemism, the "unanimity principle." But embedded in Article 27 of the Charter, setting forth the rules on voting in the Security Council, is the requirement that all decisions which are not "procedural"—in other words, all those which are "substantive" in character—must have the affirmative vote of nine of the fifteen members, including the concurring votes of all five permanent, or great power, members—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, and China. Procedural questions do not involve the right of veto, but require the affirmative vote of nine members. (During the period 1945-1965, when the Council had 11 members, seven affirmative votes were required; the size of the Council was increased in 1966 to take care of the expansion in UN membership.) Any one of the permanent Council members may veto a decision of substance by voting against it. To date, a total of 113 vetoes have been recorded. Besides the Soviets' box score of 105, the French have employed the veto four times, the British three, China once, the United States never.

How did it happen that the country which has shown such scrupulous restraint in use of the blackball was primarily responsible for writing it into the rules? The answer lies in what were considered to be the overwhelming political realities of the time. To appreciate this fact, it may be useful to go back to the genesis of the idea that a collective security organization would be set up after World War II to take the place of the ill-starred League of Nations.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull were convinced early in World War II that a policy of international cooperation among the major anti-Axis powers would have to be followed after hostilities ceased. The first stages in their thinking were reflected in the Atlantic Charter (1941) and the Declaration by United Nations (1942). A study group was set up in the State Department under the chairmanship of Under-Secretary Sumner Welles to explore the concept of a world organization based on the continued collaboration of the Allied coalition — to keep the wartime United Nations working together, as Hull said in a memorandum of August 9, 1943, "on a broad basis of dealing jointly and cooperatively with postwar tasks." At the Moscow conference later that year Hull emphasized that such collaboration was in the selfish interest of each country: Paragraph 4 of the Moscow Declaration, shortly afterwards to be reaffirmed by the Big Three at Tehran, further spelled out the goal by recognizing "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The heart of such an organization, as originally conceived in the State Department, was a ten nation Security Council with the four-principal world powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, the USSR and China—as permanent members. (France was not included until after the invasion of Europe in 1944). The Council of the League of Nations had required unanimity in all of its decisions on the enforcement of peace and security—an unhappy provision which had served chiefly to stymie effective action. Instead, Roosevelt made up his mind in February 1944 that in substantive (though not procedural) matters it should be the *permanent* members of the new Council whose unanimous concurrence would be required as the basic voting rule. Like Roosevelt, Secretary Hull was persuaded that "there was no possible way to initiate this organization except by each of the large nations on the Council retaining the veto power . . ." As a former Senator, Hull felt strongly that Congressional reaction would be adverse to any world organization that gave the Council the right to take substantive action without the consent of the United States: ". . . our Government would not remain there a day without retaining its veto power," he underlined in his memoirs. The major powers, Hull thought, could be counted on to "behave themselves" and settle their disputes peacefully—or the organization wouldn't work in any case.

Both Roosevelt and Hull were motivated by past history. As Ruth B. Russell has pointed out in "A History of the United Nations Charter," they "were determined to avoid the fate of Woodrow Wilson, who had failed to obtain Senate acceptance of the Covenant [of the League] that he had done so much to write. . . . Although public support was essential to the success of their long-term policy of postwar international collaboration, Senate support was of greater immediate importance." The key to Senate support was considered to be an assurance that no international body would have the right to require the presence of American troops overseas. Secretary Hull warned that what sent "support of the League to utter destruction in 1920" was the argument that it might be able to give orders to United States military forces in preserving the peace. As Senator Arthur B. Vandenberg, astute Republican member of the United States delegation at San Francisco, was to note in his diary at the time, ". . . the greater the extent of the 'veto,' the more impossible it becomes for the new League to involve America in anything against our will. Therefore, the greater the 'veto' the easier it becomes to fight off our critics in Congress, in the country and in the press when the new Treaty faces its ratification battle."

The Roosevelt administration

was at pains to sound out both Congressional and public opinion preliminary to talks with our principal wartime allies. While officials in the State Department did not unanimously support the idea of the veto, Hull continued to argue that without such a safeguard for the United States "there was not a chance . . . to make any advance with a large number of leading members of both houses of Congress and with many influential groups and persons in the country." Only Senator Guy M. Gillette balked at the unanimity principle, on the grounds that it discriminated against the smaller states and would allow one of the permanent members to void a proposal that might well be a worthy one. But much more was to be heard along this line at San Francisco.

The unanimity principle took further root under American auspices in the fall of 1944. Draft proposals for establishment of a general international organization were hammered out by representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, the USSR, and China at Dumbarton Oaks, the magnificent Georgetown estate donated to Harvard University in 1940 by Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss. Part of the original Dumbarton land tract, which traced its origin to a grant made by Queen Anne in 1702, was the "Rock of Dumbarton" a short distance away. In these idyllic surroundings teams of technicians pondered the problems of a lasting peace—including that of how best to handle the voting procedure in the proposed Security Council. Despite misgivings as to Soviet postwar intentions, the assumption was perforce made that the Russians would go along on all the great decisions to come and that the unanimity principle would be the hard foundation on which the new peace edifice was to be built. But the details of the veto question seemed almost as formidable an obstacle as the solid Rock of Dumbarton itself. It proved impossible to agree upon this fundamental problem; the knot was left, to be untied at the summit meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Yalta in February 1945.

The "Yalta formula" as it quickly came to be known, embodied what Secretary of State Stettinius termed the "unqualified unanimity" of all the permanent members of the Council on all major decisions relative to the preservation of peace; it distinguished between "procedural" and "all other matters" in the Council's voting procedure; and it became the essence of the Charter's Article 27. It was, to all intents, an American formula, although the Russians, needless to add, were wholly in accord on the right of veto. Britain and China, too, acquiesced. On only one significant point was there a serious difference of opinion. Stalin wanted an absolute veto on all types of questions, procedural as well as substantive; from the standpoint of Russia, the Security Council was a mechanism to carry out the decisions of the Big Five, not a forum for debate. But Roosevelt insisted on the right of "full and free discussion in the Council" on the part of all member states, pointing out that in any event there was no method of preventing such discussion in the Assembly, and claiming that it "would in no sense promote disunity but on the contrary, serve to demonstrate the confidence which the Great Powers had in each other and in their own policies." The stage was set for the meeting at San Francisco in April 1945.



Political and liaison officers for the Near East and Africa, members of the United States delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, 1945, shown in their office quarters at the Fairmount Hotel. Left to right, Paul H. Alling, Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs; Foy D. Kohler, Assistant Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs; and Henry S. Villard, Chief, Division of African Affairs.

Under the leadership of Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs of Australia, a sharp-tongued master orator, the smaller nations vigorously attacked the exclusive right of the Big Five to the veto. Backed by other able statesmen—Prime Minister Peter Fraser of New Zealand, for example—opponents of the veto threatened to throw a monkey wrench into the workings of the Conference on International Organization. Political and liaison officers of the United States delegation were forced into a hard sell on the unanimity principle; their arguments ranged from an assurance that the privilege would be exercised only in the most exceptional cases to the somewhat specious explanation that the very existence of such a right would virtually guarantee its not being used in a way to obstruct the work of the UN.

The so-called Yalta formula encountered rough passage from another, totally unexpected quarter: an interpretation by the adamant

Russian delegate, Andrei A. Gromyko, that reverted to the original Soviet stance of making the veto absolute—applicable, that is, even to such procedural questions as bringing up a subject for discussion. This was tantamount to a denial of "frec speech," to which the United States, of course, could never agree; it brought the conference to the verge of being called, as one cynical journalist put it, "San Fiasco." The crisis was resolved only at the highest level—after it had been made clear to Stalin by Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and by Harry Hopkins (then in Moscow to discuss the Polish question) that the other powers represented at Dumbarton Oaks would under no circumstances give their assent to the restriction proposed by the Soviet delegation at San Francisco. On June 6 Stalin agreed that the Russian demand should be dropped, and "unity" was restored.

The dispute among the Big Five had overshadowed the dispute between the greater and lesser nations. As James Reston wrote in the NEW YORK TIMES on June 8, ". . . Every indication now . . . is that . . . after some complaining" the small nations would accept whatever the Big Five agreed upon "and forget about the rest." This prediction proved true, but a great deal of complaining nevertheless took place before the criticisms of small countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway were stilled. The Big Five doggedly defended their position, reiterating that they would not abuse the veto; as the British delegate had rather plaintively said, early on, ". . . I don't see why . . . a permanent member should exercise the right of veto . . . any more recklessly or disgracefully under the Charter than he could do under the Covenant of the League." The United States appealed for acceptance by stressing its firm belief that "when a dispute was brought before the Security Council . . . a solution would have to be found by the united action of the major powers . . . the problem of peace must be worked out by a united and not divided world." But the delegation's attitude was expressed a great deal more dramatically by Senator Tom Connolly of Texas. In his autobiography, Connolly relates how he told off the opposition in a committee meeting: "You may go home from San Francisco—if you wish . . . and report that you have defeated the veto. . . . But you can also say, *'We tore up the Charter.'* At that point, I sweepingly ripped the Charter draft in my hands to shreds and flung the scraps upon the table."

In the face of such an awesome ultimatum, there was little choice. The delegate of New Zealand spoke for the majority of the opposition in his final remarks: ". . . it was not, in the last degree, a question of the rule of unanimity . . . it was a question of . . . a new world organization or no world organization. . . . And that organization . . . is more important than any condition." Arguments over the veto had dominated much of the proceedings and were the very nub of the conference and the issue of its success. . . . But in the end the United States had its way; the veto would have to be swallowed or all the work would have gone for naught.

Despite the general euphoria that following the signing of the Charter on June 26, 1945—hailed as the dawn of a new day for mankind—doubts shortly arose as to how restrained the great powers would be in their application of the veto. At the 21st meeting of the Security Council in London on February 16, 1946, Vishinsky vetoed a resolution (introduced by the United States) calling on the British and French to withdraw their troops from Syria and Lebanon. It was not that the Russian delegate was opposed to the resolution *per se*: his objective rather was to condemn in more forceful language the lingering Western military presence in the two Arab countries which had recently been a theatre of war. When he failed to obtain a phraseology that suited Communist purposes, he cast the Council's historic first negative vote.

In the first four years of Security Council sessions, that is from 1946 through 1949, the Soviets made use of the veto 43 times, on topics that varied from the Spanish Question—the Franco regime was naturally anathema to Communism—to the admission of new members like Ireland or Portugal. During the same period, France used the veto twice: once joining with the USSR in opposing a resolution on the Spanish question (1946) and once vetoing a minor amendment to a resolution calling upon the Netherlands and Indonesia to cease hostilities (1947). In the former instance, the postwar political attitude of France toward the Franco government was more or less the same as Russia's; in the latter, French motives can only be guessed at, since a permanent member of the Security Council is not required to say why it has used the veto and no explanation of this vote was ever forthcoming.

It is worthy of note that by far the largest number of vetoes—almost half—have been used to block the admission of new members, the Soviet Union having exercised its right in this respect 51 times. When Russia's 100th veto was cast on June 22, 1962, the Soviets had blackballed a total of 17 nations, some of them several times; in 1955 there were 17 Soviet vetoes on membership alone. In every case, however, with the exception of South Korea and South Vietnam, the candidate eventually won admission to the club. The countries were (with the number of vetoes against them) as follows: Austria (3), Cambodia (2), Ceylon (4), Finland (3), Ireland (4), Italy (6), Japan (4), Jordan (4), Republic of Korea (4), Kuwait (1), Laos (2), Libya (2), Mongolia (1), Mauritania (1), Nepal (2), Portugal (4), Spain (1), Republic of Vietnam (3). All but one of these vetoes were Russian.

Outside of those dealing with admission to the UN, it is not a simple matter to categorize or classify the different types of veto so far cast in the Security Council; moreover, some draft resolutions have been voted on in parts, or voted on in parts and then as a whole, while others have been put to the vote and voted in identical or similar form. One kind of veto has been directed at proposals for the establishment of committees or commissions to investigate and report on the facts in a complaint brought before the Council. In 1946 and 1947, for example, Moscow vetoed resolutions introduced by the United States to investigate

the situation on the northern frontier of Greece, where communist-supported guerrillas were attempting to overthrow the established Greek government. Again in 1948, the Soviet Union voted against the appointment of an investigative committee of three "in order to prevent the United States or the Security Council . . . from interfering in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia"; and in 1954 a request of Thailand for a sub-commission of observers on attempted infiltration from Indochina was subject to a Soviet veto.

The Soviets have been nothing if not versatile in their vetoes: they have used the veto to forestall the investigation of charges laid before the Security Council by the Soviet Union itself. In 1950, Moscow accused the United States Air Force of bombing Communist controlled areas of China: a Soviet veto barred the appointment of a committee to investigate. In 1952 the Soviet representative brought charges that the United States and United Nations were employing germ warfare in Korea, then vetoed a proposal for an impartial investigation. And in 1958, when the Soviet Union expressed concern about United States flights over the Arctic Circle, the United States proposed an Arctic Inspection Zone. That, too, was vetoed.

A variety of other efforts associated with the peaceful settlement of disputes have met with a veto: in the case of the Berlin blockade in 1948; twice in regard to Lebanon in 1958; five times in regard to the Congo, beginning in 1960; in the case of India's seizure of Goa in 1961. The Soviet version of some of these vetoes runs as follows, according to a Russian memorandum on UN operations for maintaining peace and security: "The right of veto in the hands of the Soviet Union is an important guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of smaller States. The Arab and other independent States know from their own experience how, in the Security Council, the Soviet Union opposes attacks by the imperialist States on newly independent States. . . . It is also a fact that the existence of the principle of unanimity in the Security Council prevented United Nations support being given to Portuguese colonizers who had been thrown out of Goa. Similarly, the existence of this principle prevented the Security Council from taking a decision directed against Indonesia."

Another type of Soviet rejection in the past has had to do with proposals for the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces: two French resolutions on this subject and a United States resolution on the second report of the Conventional Armaments Commission were vetoed in 1949. Previously, in 1948, the Russians refused by their veto to accept a United States draft resolution by which the Security Council would approve the first, second and third reports of the Atomic Energy Commission. Space limitations make it impractical to analyze here the complex background of these or other vetoes or to discuss the fine distinctions drawn in some of the debates on the different subjects.

At the end of 1961, when the number of Soviet vetoes stood at 99, the record showed that Moscow had used its power to nullify decisions about once in every ten Security Council meetings. But if the veto was overdone in early phases of the Cold War, it must also be said that the number has noticeably tapered off of late; in 1962 there was only one (on Kashmir); in 1963 there was one (the Israel-Syria dispute); in 1964, there were two (the Malaysian case and the Israel-Syria dispute); in 1965, there was none; in 1966, there was one (again the Israel-Syria dispute); in 1967, there was none; and in 1968, there was one—the case of Czechoslovakia.

The closest the United States has come to chalking up a veto was in 1946, when the Soviet Union proposed the admission of its "client states," Outer Mongolia and Albania. Great Britain joined with the United States in casting a ballot against the Russian resolution, but owing to the number of abstentions in the Security Council the measure failed to carry the required seven affirmative votes (it would now be nine) and no veto was recorded.

On the question of Chinese representation, United States veto policy has veered considerably. In January 1950 the United States announced specifically that even if a proposal to seat the representative of Communist China should obtain a majority in the Security Council, the United States would *not* exercise its right of veto. Then on July 29, 1953, the NEW YORK TIMES reported that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had "implied but would not say categorically that the United States would use its veto power to block Communist China's admission"; that, although the United States in the past had taken the position that admission should not be subject to the veto, the United States would be free to invoke the veto because other countries had not agreed to limit its use in this respect. By 1959, however, Washington's position was the opposite of what it had been in 1950; the Department of State BULLETIN carried an unequivocal statement by Dulles that, if necessary, the United States would use the veto to prevent the seating of Peking in the Security Council.

On one or two other occasions the United States has brandished the veto without actually hurling the bolt. In October 1950 Senator Warren Austin, the United States representative, threatened use of the veto in order to retain Trygve Lie as Secretary General. And in July 1961 Secretary of State Dean Rusk served notice that the United States would wield the veto, if necessary, to defeat the Russian "troika" concept (three Secretarys-General)) of running the UN. A veto was not necessary; the suggestion got no further and fell of its own weight.

The other permanent members of the Council have exercised the veto rarely. In addition to its vetoes on Spain in 1946 and Indonesia in 1947, France cast a third and fourth veto on October 30, 1956, along with simultaneous vetoes by the United Kingdom, defeating two resolutions which urged those nations to refrain from force in the Suez Canal crisis. A third veto by Britain came on September 13, 1963. when Ghana, Morocco and the Philippines offered a joint resolution calling for a halt to the proposed transfer of governmental powers and armed forces to South-

(*Continued on page* 44)

"I have never wavered . . . in my belief that the Department of State embraces the most talented and devoted servants of this Republic."

Advice to the Foreign Service

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

The author, who entered government service from academe during World War II, served in the Department of State from 1946 to 1948, then as economics professor at Harvard before his appointment as Ambassador to India in 1961. Dr. Galbraith's latest book, "Ambassador's Journal," is an account of his years in India. The book will be reviewed in an early issue.

ONLY an extraordinary liberality of spirit could allow you to invite me here today. In the last few years I have offended deeply against the more conventional standards of behavior expected of an alumnus of this great department. In rising order of magnitude, let me detail my sins. I have, of course, been a tedious critic of our Far Eastern policy. I count this the least of my derelictions for, quite clearly, time is treating this aberration well. More serious, I have written a novel about the State Department. Or perhaps I should say I have written what the more esteemed of my critics have called a novel. And most grievous of all, I have published the diary that I kept as an ambassador early in this extraordinarily complex decade. I was not surprised last week when my friends in the speakers office told me that few things recently have been so hard to arrange. But perhaps you will believe that these have been the transgressions of a friend. I have never wavered, even after a long session with Ambassador Pethwick, in my belief that the Department of State embraces the most talented and devoted servants of this Republic. That indeed is the beginning of wisdom about the Department. As I have said many times, it is a mathematical curiosity; it is less than the sum of its parts.

That the Department of State is less than the sum of its parts is the burden of my talk today. What can the Foreign Service Association, not as a gentlemanly club but as a determined force for change, do to correct this arithmetical oddity? I just cited my own crimes in rising order of iniquity. Let me, as a friendly outsider, list the tasks to which I would like to see a new and vigorous and even militant Foreign Service Association address itself to in rising order of urgency.

There are many reforms in the Foreign Service to which I would give my automatic assent. It goes without saying that the Service should be handsomely compensated. If one has to worry about foreign policy, in this world, he certainly shouldn't have to worry about the grocer—or college bills. I see no reason why those who administer and guide our foreign policy should be one homogeneous group. It will always be to the taste of some people to serve in Washington and to the taste of others to serve abroad. Organization—a home service and a foreign service—can surely reflect this preference. Nor do I think that extended service in Washington reacquaints a man with the United States. Maybe it misleads him. The Wriston Report was an unwise concession to unnecessary bureaucratic symmetry.

The Foreign Service should be a young man's service. This is not because it is physically demanding. It is because most of us do not change our minds on any important subject after forty. Accordingly it is only by being young that a bureaucracy keeps itself abreast of change. And that is essential. You should urge, I believe, that a successful man become an ambassador at forty or before and, unless there are the most compelling reasons to the contrary, he should retire by fifty. That retirement should be neither financially disadvantageous nor socially pejorative. As a college professor, I react slightly to the belief that everyone, however infirm, is automatically qualified to teach. But the educational establishment of the United States is large and absorptive, other job opportunities abound, and there is also gardening and even politics.

But I would hope that the Foreign Service Association in its new posture of concern and activity would not stop with these rather obvious and mundane questions. Reform will be a poor and partial thing unless it looks at some of the most cherished traditions of the Service. That is because a cherished tradition is usually something that protects a peculiarly entrenched interest. And real reform cannot be separated from the substance of

Speech by John Kenneth Galbraith before the American Foreign Service Association on October 24, 1969.

foreign policy itself.

No word is more important in the lexicon of the Foreign Service than discipline. And rightly so. Those who make foreign policy are members of an organization; people who serve an organization must serve the goals of the organization. But they have a right and duty to challenge and seek to reshape goals. And a narrow line divides discipline from obedience and obedience from obeisance. It is the most grievous fault of the State Department and of the Foreign Service that it confuses these three. This is true both at home and abroad. The ambassador must be in charge of all the subordinate branches of his mission. But an American ambassador, if we have pride in our democratic faith, should never be more than the first among equals for all purposes unrelated to function. He is a captain, not a monarch. He should be a leader on duty, a neighbor off. He should command no special ceremonies from his staff; the point should be emphasized by avoiding titles, employing ordinary forms of address including first names. Obeisance is demeaning. It also tempts the susceptible chief of mission to substitute not only the manners but the methods of an oriental despot for those of a leader. And these inhibit severely the interplay of ideas by which goals are changed and modernized. For if the ambassador is an oriental figure in the embassy, it is inevitable that he will suppress ideas or insure that they are never offered.

The habit of intellectual obeisance carries over to Washington. A recent issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL notes the almost total absence within the Service of *expressed* dissent on Vietnam. This, when one stops to think of it, is appalling. Everyone knows that the disagreement exists—has existed for a long while. My own most influential tutoring on the dangers we were risking in this quagmire was from a young Foreign Service officer in Saigon in 1961. Deeply held convictions have remained unexpressed because discipline has become deference. And deference has come to embrace not only behavior but ideas. This is no way for Americans to behave. Your Association must expect that a man will obey orders. But it must strongly affirm his right to state his views. Anybody who shows fear or even undue humility in the presence of a superior officer must be regarded, as you love to say, with reserve. Let there be a clear distinction between a man who accepts discipline and the man who is a bootlicker.

I would urge your organization to look with concern on any administrative device that encourages obeisance and bootlicking rather than independent expression and behavior. I have especially in mind the efficiency report. This device, it seems to me, accords to the superior in an organization far too much power over both the manners and the thoughts of his subordinates. Faced with a despotic mission head, only a very bold or very foolhardy man will speak his mind and risk an adverse report. I suppose there is no way of avoiding efficiency reports from superiors. But it would seem to me elementary that these reports should come with equal import from colleagues and subordinates. Co-workers and subordinates are often in a far better position to judge a man's competence and his capacity for leadership than his boss. And such judgments would effectively lessen the temptation to sycophancy and better insure that the sycophant would be typed as such.

I would urge that the Foreign Service Association greatly strengthen its defenses against the political ambassador. As I have been one of the latter, I assume I can speak without being accused of excessive bias. There is a place, no doubt, in the system for political ambassadors. But they should be confined to the positions of empty grandeur, to those where someone is needed to serve as a political lightning rod and to those where some exceptional qualification is required. Everyone knows that, as regards London, the important matters are discussed between the President and the Prime Minister, the unimportant matters between the Secretary of State and the Foreign Secretary, and the technical matters between the two Departments of Agriculture. The ambassador does the rest, which is to say that he makes appointments. No Englishman of any consequence forms his view of the United States from the ambassador. Accordingly, even a strictly comic figure at the Court of Saint James probably does no real damage. It is right that a political ambassador should accept the risks of getting out of Vietnam and the onus which, inevitably, will attach to any sensible solution. But elsewhere a sharp line needs to be drawn between the civilian specialist drawn into service for a particular task in a particular country and the man who is purely a political pay-off. I suggest that a committee of your organization, including young officers as well as old, look at all political appointees somewhat in the manner of the Bar Association. And if a man is obviously unqualified, I suggest that it so advise the President and the Senate, with courtesy but without reticence. If this is done in defensive and parochial fashion it will, of course, be without influence. But if it is a careful and fair and large-minded exercise of judgment designed to screen out political nonentities and oddities, it would be influential. Presidents would soon come to reckon with the adverse publicity and its effects. And on reflection I am not sure that the major European capitals should be excluded from this scrutiny. All this is to urge that you assert yourselves. Well, why not.

If the Foreign Service is to limit and regulate political intrusion, it must, needless to say, hold political patronage to a minimum within its own ranks. In India I often heard mention of a cozy circle within the Service that posted and promoted its members to the comfortable and prestigious posts in London, Paris, Rome and Madrid. Of the substance back of this conversation I have no knowledge. I do know that in those years I was petitioned to accept unemployed and unemployable ambassadors in posts as consul general—most notably in Bombay where the climate is not too disagrecable. This kind of patronage, as an alternative to retirement, seems to me indefensible. Because Naples or Palermo have a pleasant climate and not much work is no reason for using them as pasture for older officers. They belong to young men on the way up.

One protection against the political ambassador, more than parenthetically, is the deglamorization of the job. The political contributor or even the politically ambitious college professor, is far less likely to be attracted to

(*Continued on page* 31)

AFSA NEWS

published by the

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

December, 1969

What AFSA Has Done for You Lately

The following report from the Board of Directors of AFSA describes how a valuable Foreign Service employee benefit was almost lost and how your Association helped save you some money. We refer to the announced increases in the Foreign Service Benefit Plan insurance rates which were revised and reduced just before the "open season" commenced on November 10. We would point out that as a result of the rate revisions, the annual savings for a family plan enrollee will be $89.70—enough to pay your AFSA dues for several years.

Background

When the Foreign Service Benefit Plan—which is open only to persons serving under the Foreign Service personnel system—was implemented in July 1960 its rates were considerably lower than rates of other employee organization plans. This was because the State Department, in accordance with the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, provides medical care—except for pregnancies and out-patient treatment—to all Foreign Service employees and their dependents when assigned overseas. Under the agreement negotiated with the Civil Service Commission, the Benefit Plan covers only the two named exceptions when the employee is overseas, but pays for all stipulated expenses when the employee is assigned to the United States. The rates are less than those of other plans because they reflect the low overseas costs to the insurer.

Some employees do not carry medical insurance when assigned overseas. The great majority do have such insurance because they desire coverage while on home leave, for their children attending schools away from post, or for their families while living in the United States while the employee is on an overseas assignment.

General Accounting Office Report

On May 23, 1968, the GAO submitted to the Congress a report entitled "Opportunity to Reduce the Federal Government's Cost of Medical Benefits Furnished Foreign Service Employees Overseas." The report was circulated in draft to the Civil Service Commission and the Department of State for comment early in 1967. The gist of the report was:

(a) The Government is paying part of the premium cost for health insurance for Foreign Service employees stationed overseas, while at the same time the State Department appropriation is being charged with the cost of providing medical care to these same employees.

(b) The Government's cost could be reduced substantially each year if the Department and the Civil Service Commission could devise a formula to eliminate the duplicate payments from the Government.

The report suggested the possibility of a two-rate system—one for Foreign Service Benefit Plan enrollees located in the United States, and one for enrollees located overseas. With respect to this suggestion, the report stated that the American Foreign Service Protective Association expressed doubt regarding the feasibility of utilizing a two-rate system because of the frequent changes of station of its members. *The report did not propose the elimination of State Department provided medical benefits for Foreign Service employees when assigned overseas.*

Response to GAO Report

When commenting on the draft report in April of 1967, the Chairman of the CSC said in a letter to the GAO ". . . the report makes it clear that the State Department is the agency with action interest in the matter. . . . While the Commission has no responsibility for administering the Foreign Service Medical Program, we do have a concern for minimizing Government expenditures whenever we can help do so and we will be glad to cooperate with the Department of State to this end. . . ."

In June 1967 the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration sent a letter to the GAO in which he stated ". . . the matters about which you are primarily concerned are questions which should properly be directed to the Civil Service Commission. . . . Should the Civil Service Commission wish to revise the health plans as proposed in your report, we will, of course, be happy to furnish any information from our experience that may be helpful to them in that task."

This is one of the finest examples of buck passing we have ever seen!

In November 1968 the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission sent a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives in which he stated the following with respect to the GAO report: ". . . The American Foreign Service Protective Association has advised us that for the contract term beginning January 1, 1970, its benefit structure will be changed so as to provide benefits for covered services outside the United States on the same basis as services in the United States, i.e., eliminating the differentials in deductibles *and extending such benefits to services and expenses now covered by the Department of State's Medical Program.* (*Italics* supplied) . . . It is our feeling that with the extension of benefits to overseas personnel as above set forth, the objective of the General Accounting Office report will have been achieved."

The Department of State sent an identical letter to the GAO at that time.

In order to clarify a misunderstanding on the part of some of our members, we wish to point out that the Protective Association is not a part of AFSA. It is a completely independent organization with its own charter, by-

laws and Board of Directors.

AFSA Board Comment

We were not a party to the discussions of the GAO report which we understand took place among representatives of the Department, Civil Service Commission, and the Protective Association. We are unable to provide you with the rationale for the decision communicated in the November 1968 letters. However, the effect of the decision was to eliminate medical care at State Department expense overseas except for those relatively few persons who did not carry insurance, or who were insured under other plans.

We are dismayed that neither the employees who would be affected nor the association representing them were informed of the decision at the time it was taken.

October 1969

Shortly before our Board meeting on Friday, October 10, 1969, we learned for the first time from a newspaper article of the proposed increases in the Foreign Service Benefit Plan insurance rates to be effective January 1, 1970; specifically that the family rate would increase by $7.82 a pay period or $203.32 a year, and the self-only rate increase would be $2.64 a pay period or $68.64 on an annual basis. We also became aware at that time that the "open season" for the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program would be held from November 10-28; that the brochures for each plan had been printed; and that the brochures would be mailed overseas within a few days.

AFSA Swings Into Action

Following our Board meeting, we asked the new Deputy Under Secretary for Administration to provide us with an explanation. We found that he, too, was unaware of the decision made by the previous administration in this important matter. He shared our dismay and promised to do all in his power to bring about a favorable resolution of the problem. Heartened by his positive attitude, we were optimistic that even at such a late hour it might be possible to preserve the overseas medical benefits for our members and all Foreign Service employees as well.

We met with the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration and knowledgeable members of his staff to be briefed and to discuss how the problem might be resolved. He told us that if a workable solution could be found he would urge the Civil Service Commission, the Budget Bureau, and the General Accounting Office to accept it.

Complying with the Deputy Under Secretary's request, the Board of Directors of the Protective Association met to consider how best the Association could be responsive to the problem. The Executive Director of AFSA was present at the meeting. He pointed out that the GAO report spoke only of eliminating the duplicate payment from the Goverment for overseas medical benefits—not that the medical benefits provided by the Department should be abolished—and asked whether the Protective Association could establish a rate structure which would permit it to reimburse the Government periodically for duplicate payments for overseas medical insurance. The answer was in the affirmative.

In a letter to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, the Protective Association stated it could prepare a plan which would modify the rates to all members in amounts sufficient to reimburse the Government for its overpayment to the Foreign Service Benefit Plan. This proposal was accepted by all concerned agencies and the new rates were cabled to overseas posts. A Department Notice regarding the Foreign Service Benefit Plan which was issued on November 11 stated in part: "Overseas benefits and services will continue to be borne by the Department of State Medical Program as authorized by law as heretofore and will *not* be paid by the Foreign Service Benefit Plan. This is the primary reason for the *new* reduced premium rates approved by the Civil Service Commission."

New Rates

The new rates provide for the following pay period increases over existing rates: $4.37 for a self and family enrollment and $1.64 for a self only enrollment, rather than $7.82 and $2.64 as earlier proposed. This means that effective January 1, 1970, the biweekly cost for the two categories of enrollment will be $9.99 and $3.60 respectively. Included in the increased cost is an amount which will be used to reimburse the Government annually for a portion of its insurance premium payments on behalf of insured members assigned overseas. We have been informed that the remainder of the increased cost is necessary because hospital and medical costs have risen sharply in the United States. Also that additional benefits will be provided, i.e., elimination of the $35 deductible charge in connection with overseas hospitalization; maternity benefits, which were formerly limited to $350, will be paid on the same basis as any other illness or injury; and the maximum benefit for each person for any one accident or illness resulting from a single cause will be increased from $20,000 to $40,000.

It is our understanding that the rate structure will be reviewed at the end of 1970. If, by then, the increased premium payments have brought in more money than is needed to pay costs incurred, the benefits can be increased or the rates can be reduced.

Conclusion

We thought you should have this detailed report as we are justifiably proud of the role AFSA played on your behalf. We wish also to express our great appreciation to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. His prompt, strong, and constant support brought about the favorable resolution of the problem. Finally, we wish to give full credit to our Executive Director for proposing the plan which will permit many of you to save some money—$89.70 annually for a family plan enrollment and $26 annually for a self-only enrollment.

We are ever concerned about your pocketbook!

Foreign Service Retirement Legislation

On November 13, 1969, Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio introduced H.R. 14789—a new Bill to amend the Foreign Service Retirement System. This Bill combines and replaces H.R. 77 and H.R. 13876, which Representative Hays had introduced earlier in the year.

The principal provisions of H.R. 14789 as they affect those on active duty are:

(a) Increase the employee's contribution to the Retirement Fund from 6½ to 7 percent.

(b) Use the high three year average salary to compute annuity.

(c) The addition of accumulated sick leave to years of service at time of retirement.

With respect to (b) and (c) above, the Bill specifies that the effective date shall be October 20, 1969 (the effective date of the Bill amending the Civil Service Retirement System).

The Bill also provides for cost-of-living adjustments to annuities of retired employees using the same formula as in the recently enacted Civil Service Retirement Bill.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

as amended

ARTICLE I

OFFICE AND PLACE OF BUSINESS

The principal office and place of business of this Association shall be in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.

ARTICLE II

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal of this Association shall have inscribed thereon the name of the Association, the year of its creation, and the words "District of Columbia." An impression thereof shall be affixed to these By-Laws.

ARTICLE III

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

In addition to the general purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation the following are declared to be the primary purposes and objectives of this Association:

1. To further the interests and well being of the members of the Association.

2. To take over the property, assets, obligations, and contracts of the voluntary unincorporated Association heretofore in existence and known as the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, and to continue under the name of the present Association the purposes, objectives, and affairs of that predecessor Association;

3. To acquire real and personal property by purchase or lease, whether in whole or in part, to be used for this Association and its members;

4. To accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds from such other voluntary associations as may be created by Foreign Service personnel, or to accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds as otherwise donated to this Association by any person or persons, group or groups, and to utilize or dispose of the same for the purposes of this Association, or, as directed by said other associations or said other donors;

5. To publish the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and AFSA NEWS as the official organ of this Association in order to disseminate information respecting the work of the agencies principally engaged in foreign affairs and Foreign Service among interested persons, including business and professional men and others in the United States and abroad, and persons who may be considering the American Foreign Service as a career; to serve as a medium of exchange for personal and other news and for unofficial information respecting the agencies principally engaged in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service and their personnel; and to keep them in touch with developments which are of interest or concern to them;

6. To create, maintain and operate a Scholarship Fund or Funds or such other funds for such purposes as are commensurate with the purposes and objectives of this Association described in the Certificate of Incorporation or in these By-Laws;

7. To sponsor, through the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., a group insurance plan for payment of life, sick, and accident benefits to members of this Association entitled thereto under the Certificate of Incorporation and By-Laws of the said American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., as are now written or as hereafter may be written;

8. To carry on such other activities as the Association may deem practicable in pursuance of the purposes and objectives set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation of this Association and in these By-Laws, in order to serve the interests of the Association and its members.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION A

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Board of Directors of eleven members, who shall be elected every two years in the manner and for the term provided in ARTICLE VI.

2. No person shall be elected as a Director unless such person is an Active Member of this Association and is either on duty in Washington, D. C. or is residing in the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C. The term of duty of each Director shall be two years; however, a Director may be reelected as provided for in ARTICLE VI.

3. If a vacancy should occur in the membership of the Board of Directors, or in the office of President, First Vice President. or Second Vice President, not covered by ARTICLE V, Section B, the Board, in its discretion, may appoint an Active Member to fill such vacancy.

SECTION B

POWERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The powers of the Board of Directors shall be those vested in the Board by the Certificate of Incorporation, by these By-Laws, by powers given them pursuant to the laws of the District of Columbia, and, by the general powers normally vested in the Board of Directors by virtue of their office.

2. In addition, the following specific powers are hereby expressly conferred upon the Board of Directors:

a. To appoint a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among the members of the Board of Directors;

b. To appoint a Secretary-Treasurer and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the Association;

3. To appoint members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board of Directors, and who, under the general direction of the Board of Directors, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL;

d. To appoint, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc., and subject to the By-Laws of said Association, the Directors of that Association who shall serve until replaced in accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, Inc.;

e. To authorize and approve the employment, compensation, conditions of employment and the duties of the General Manager and other salaried employees of the Association, as may, in the consideration of the Board of Directors, be necessary;

f. To invest any surplus funds of this Association in recognized banking institutions, securities, real property, building and loan associations, and in the State Department Federal Credit Union;

g. To authorize disbursements of Association funds to carry out the purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation and these By-Laws; provided, however, that no disbursement exceeding one-third of the Association's general funds shall be made for a specific purpose unless authorized by a majority present at a general business meeting held in accordance with the provisions of ARTICLE X of these By-Laws;

h. To select such person or persons, firm or firms as desired from without the membership of this Association to audit and examine the accounts of this Association annually, or more often if deemed necessary by the Board of Directors, and to authorize the payment of fees and expenses in connection therewith;

i. To perform, or authorize the performance of, whatever is necessary to carry out the purposes and objectives of this Association as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation and in these By-Laws.

SECTION C

Meetings of the Board of Directors

1. The Board of Directors shall meet at least once each month on a date determined by the Chairman, and at such other times as the Chairman may determine.

2. The Board also shall meet at the written request of five Directors made to the Chairman of the Board at least five days prior to the date of the meeting, or by notice in writing mailed by the Chairman of the Board or by the President of the Association to each member of the Board at least 5 days before the date on which the meeting is to be held.

3. A meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held only with a quorum present. Six members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum.

4. Decisions taken at meetings of the Board of Directors shall be by a majority of the quorum present at the meeting.

5. The President, and the Vice Presidents are privileged to attend all meetings of the Board. The Chairman of the Board at his discretion may invite others to attend meetings of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

SECTION A

Officers of the Association

1. The Association shall have as Officers a President, a First Vice President and a Second Vice President, who shall be elected as provided for in ARTICLE VI. The Association shall also have as Officers a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, all of whom shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

2. The Association may also have Honorary Officers who shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

SECTION B

Powers of Officers

1. The President shall preside at all general meetings of the Association. In his absence, the First Vice President, the Second Vice President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors, in that order, shall preside. The President shall be a non-voting member of the Board of Directors. He may call upon the Board of Directors for information and data relating to the affairs of the Association. He shall have such other powers and duties and discretions as may be delegated to him, subject to his acceptance, by the Board of Directors of the Association.

2. The First Vice President shall be vested with all of the powers and shall perform all the duties of the President during the absence of the latter, and in case of a vacancy arising in the office of the President, he shall succeed to that office for the remainder of the President's unexpired term and, in turn, the Second Vice President shall become the First Vice President for the remainder of the First Vice President's unexpired term. The First Vice President and the Second Vice President shall be non-voting members of the Board of Directors.

3. Under the general responsibility of the Board of Directors, the Secretary-Treasurer, or in his absence, the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer or the General Manager shall have charge of all the moneys, funds, and assets of the Association, of the Foreign Service Journal and of the Scholarship and other Funds; shall be responsible for the maintenance of the accounts, collection of dues, receipt of contributions and any other funds which may be due from the members; collect and receive any moneys and other personal property to which the Association may be entitled whether because of gift, grant, bequest or otherwise; make payments out of any moneys and assets in his charge for ordinary operating expenses. All such moneys and funds shall be placed upon deposit in recognized banking institutions or, in the case of surplus funds, invested with the authorization of the Board of Directors as authorized in Article IV, Section B(2) (f). With the approval of the Board of Directors, he may delegate to the General Manager responsibility for maintaining accounts and payment of ordinary expenses within a monthly total amount as may be fixed by the Board of Directors from time to time. All extraordinary expenses and investments shall be made by the Secretary-Treasurer or his assistant upon recommendation to and approval by the Board of Directors within the limitations of Article IV, Section B(2) (g).

The Secretary-Treascrer, or in his absence the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, shall render a statement of accounts and a balanc esheet of his books at each annual meeting of the Association and at such other times as a statement and balance sheet may be requested in writing by the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

Elections

1. On or before August 1 of each election year, i.e., every even-numbered fiscal year (July 1-Jure 30), the Board of Directors of the Association shall appoint an Elections Committee of at least five individuals from among Active Members of the Association residing in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. Members of the Board of Directors or Officers of the Association shall not be members of the Elections Committee.

2. On or before September 1 of the election year, the Elections Committee shall issue an election call by general mailing to all Active Members. The election call shall solicit candidates for election to the eleven positions constituting the Board of Directors of the Association. Nominations must be received by the Elections Committee on or before October 15 of each election year. Candidates may be presented either individually or as members of slates.

3. The Elections Committee shall ascertain whether each candidate on October 15 fulfills eligibility requirements, i.e., current residence in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., Active Membership, current in dues payment. Members of the Elections Committee shall not themselves be eligible as candidates nor may they accept appointment as Officers 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.

4. After eligibility of all candidates has been determined, the Elections Committee shall ascertain whether there are at least 22 candidates. If fewer than 22 candidates have qualified, the Elections Committee shall select qualified candidates, with their consent, in sufficient number to assure at least 22 candidates. In selecting such additional candidates, the Elections Committee should bear in mind the desirability of reflecting the structure of the Active Membership of the Association.

5. The official ballot bearing the names of all qualified individuals and slates shall be mailed to the Active Membership not later than November 15 of the election year. In order to facilitate informed voting by the Membership, the Elections Committee shall encourage and accept brief platform statements in support of candidacies, both individual and slate, and shall include a copy of each such statement with each ballot. The Association shall also address envelopes provided by candidates who wish to send additional platform material to the Membership at their own expense.

6. The Elections Committee shall instruct the Active Members to vote for not more than eleven candidates as Members of the Board of Directors. These eleven names may be voted from among those appearing as individuals or as members of any slate. Slates may be voted as units, in which case each person on the slate will be recorded as having received one vote. Votes may be cast for write-in candidates, provided they fulfill the eligibility requirements on December 31 of the election year. Votes must be received by the Elections Committee no later than December 31 of the election year.

7. Within five working days from January 1 in the election year, the Elections Committee shall tally the election results. The eleven candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be declared as elected to the Board of Directors; the Elections Committee, by majority vote, shall decide ties.

8. The new Board of Directors shall take office on January 15 and shall itself elect the President, the First Vice President, and the Second Vice President of the Association. The Board of Directors shall elect from its number a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

ARTICLE VII

Committees

The Board of Directors may create such Committees as it deems necessary. The chairmen and members of Committees shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. The number on each Committee shall be within the discretion of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

Membership

1. The Association shall be composed of Active Members, Associate Members, Honorary Members, and Fellows in Diplomacy.

2. Persons eligible for Active Membership are those American citizens serving under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, or Public Law 90-494, and any amendments thereto, or who have retired from service under these laws. Those eligible shall be admitted to Active Membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues. Only Active Members shall have voting rights in the conduct of the affairs of the Association. Any Active Member or person eligible for Active Membership shall be admitted to Active Membership for life upon request, acceptance and payment of the prescribed dues.

3. Persons eligible for Associate Membership are those American citizens who are: (a) employees of the Department of State, AID, or USIA who hold officer level positions; (b) employees of other Departments and Agencies of the Government who hold career status and who are serving or have served abroad in connection therewith; (c) in the opinion of the Board of Directors, closely associated with or actively interested in the foreign affairs of the United States. Associate Members shall be admitted to membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues.

4. The Board of Directors may invite to become Honorary Members for specified periods such representative American citizens as they deem proper. Honorary Officers of the Association shall be Honorary Members during the time they hold office. Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

5. The Board of Directors is authorized to elect each year not more than five distinguished American citizens as Fellows in Diplomacy. Those elected should have made outstanding contributions to the field of international relations and at the time of their election should not be officials of the Government of the United States. Fellows in Diplomacy shall be exempt from the payment of dues, and election shall be for life.

6. The Board of Directors may expel a member from the Association for cause after notice to and due hearing of the member concerned.

ARTICLE IX

Dues

1. The dues of Members shall be specified by the Board of Directors. The yearly dues include a payment of $5.00 for a subscription to the Foreign Service Journal and AFSA News.

ARTICLE X

Meetings of the Association

1. A general business meeting of the Active Members of the Association shall be held in Washington, D.C., in the spring of each fiscal year and shall also be held whenever requested by 50 or more of the Active Members of the Association who are within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. General business meetings also may be held at the request of the President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall have a notice of the hour and place of any general business meeting sent to each Active Member who is within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C.

2. A majority of Active Members present and voting is required for the transaction of business at a general business meeting, except in the case of amendments of the Certificate of Incorporation or of these BY-Laws, where ARTICLE XI applies. Procedure in meetings shall be in accordance with *Robert's Rules of Order*, except for quorum requirements, and provided also that these By-Laws shall take precedence over *Robert's Rules of Order* in the event of conflict.

ARTICLE XI

Amendments

1. Ten or more Active Members may submit a proposal to amend the Certificate of Incorporation or these By-Laws. A proposed amendment shall be reviewed by the next general business meeting, provided it is submitted to the Board of Directors at least 20 days before the next general business meeting. The Board shall send the text of each proposed amendment to each Active Member of the Association in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., at least ten days prior to the general business meeting.

2. The general business meeting may by majority vote modify the proposal, but only to clarify it, or to compromise between the existing document and the proposal, and, if the proposal is voted, may bring other portions of the existing document into conformity with the proposal. A proposed amendment shall be referred to the entire Active Membership for ratification if it is approved by majority vote at a business meeting. However, if a proposed amendment was submitted by 100 Active Members, the proposal without modification shall be referred to the entire Active Membership for ratification regardless of the result of the business meeting's vote, which shall only be advisory.

3. An Amendments Committee, appointed by the Board of Directors, shall submit any amendment qualifying for referral pursuant to paragraph 2 to the entire Active Membership for ratification by mail between 30 and 45 days after it was voted on by the business meeting. In order to facilitate informed voting by the Membership, the Amendments Committee shall encourage and accept a brief statement by proponents of an amendment and a statement of approximately equal length by its opponents, and shall include a copy of each such statement with each ballot. The Association shall also address envelopes provided by proponents or opponents who wish to send additional statements to the Active Membership at their own expense. Forty-five days after submitting an amendment to the membership for ratification, the Amendments Committee shall tally the votes. If two-thirds of the members voting approve a proposed amendment, it shall take effect.

Certificate of Incorporation
of
American Foreign Service Association

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that we do hereby associate ourselves to establish a corporation, not organized for profit and in which no capital stock is required or is to be issued, under and by virtue of Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, for the purposes and under the corporate name hereinafter mentioned; and to that end we do by this, our Certificate, set forth as follows:

I

The name of the Association is to be AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

II

The principal office of the Association is to be located in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.

III

The term of existence of the Association shall be perpetual.

IV

The objectives and purposes for which the Association is organized as a corporation are, as follows:

(a) To promote in all lawful, legitimate and appropriate ways the advancement of the welfare of the members of the Foreign Service of the United States Government, or as otherwise designated, in the American Foreign Service who shall become members of this Association including the welfare of their dependents or their designated beneficiaries; to foster among them an esprit de corps; to advance in every possible way the intelligent, efficient and skillful discharge of the duties of their occupation; to advance and safeguard their economic interests; and generally to encourage and promote better and more satisfactory employment conditions for them;

(b) To acquire such real and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of the Association, and such other real and personal property, the income of which shall be applied to the purposes of the Association;

(c) To accept, administer, apply, and use any property acquired by gift, grant, devise, bequest, or otherwise, in accordance with any of the purposes of the Association that may be specified by the donor thereof subject, however, to the qualification and condition to be understood and accepted in all such cases that, if in the judgment and discretion of the Board of Directors of this Association, the purposes or objectives so specified become unattainable or are obsolete or are not reasonably susceptible of attainment, then the property involved in any such case shall be subject to other objectives and purposes of this Association;

(d) To do all and everything necessary, suitable, convenient, usual or proper for the accomplishment of the purposes herein expressed or incidental thereto and, generally, to exercise and enjoy all rights, powers and privileges now or hereafter granted by Chapter 6 of Title 29 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia, and Acts amendatory thereof, and any other rights, powers, and privileges now or hereafter granted by law; provided, however, that no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall inure to the individual benefit of any donor, grantor, or testator, or his or her heirs, representatives, or assigns, or of any member of the Association or of any private shareholder or individual other than through payments of life, sick, accident, or other benefits which may be provided for the members of the Association, and no part of the net earnings or of the principal or assets of this Association shall be diverted to carrying on propaganda or in otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

V

The management and administration of the affairs of the Association for the first year of its existence shall be by a Board of Directors of five persons. For the next ensuing years of its existence, the management and administration of the affairs of the Association shall be in a Board of Directors of not less than five and no more than eleven members, as the By-Laws of the Association from time to time prescribe.

The Board of Directors as originally constituted shall have the power to make By-Laws; which By-Laws may be altered and changed thereafter as provided in said By-Laws.

GIVEN under our hands and seals this 29th day of November A. D., 1951.

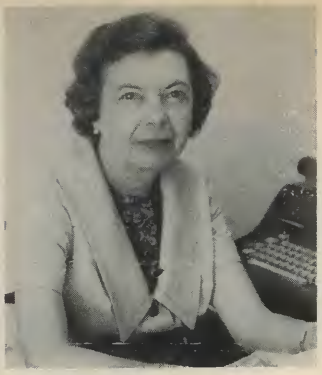
Herve J. L'Heureux (Seal)

Philip H. Burris (Seal)

Stephen Winship (Seal)

Rogers B. Horgan (Seal)

V. Lansing Collins, Jr. (Seal)



Were you the first diplomat in Dacca to get a copy of "Portnoy's Complaint?" Or have you just ordered "Present at the Creation" with a nice discount? If so, you probably utilized the enthusiastic and efficient services of AFSA's Louise Howard Feissner, who runs AFSA's Personal Purchases department and keeps up with the best-seller list for the benefit of the Association's book clubbers.

Mrs. Feissner served in the Foreign Service in such posts as Athens, Tehran, Palermo, Canberra, Bogota, Stockholm, and Naples. She left the Service herself in 1966, but is the wife of FSO John E. Feissner, Jr., who is now serving in the Department. Mrs. Feissner is a native of Meriden, Mississippi and attended the University of Mississippi at Oxford.

Though an inveterate reader with a real interest in books, Mrs. Feissner does wish that her expertise were not so often strained by incomplete requests for books. A few remarks about the plot are not always enough to insure a prompt filling of your order! Please try to include author, title, and, less important, publisher and date.

The Feissners' live in a charming home in Foggy Bottom, where Mrs. Feissner, a gardening devotee, has a small patio garden.

Births

McCOWN. A son, Henry Garth Julio, born to FSO and Mrs. Henry McCown, Jr., on September 15, in Washington, D.C.

PEALE. A son, Samuel Randolph II, born to FSO and Mrs. Samuel R. Peale, on October 17, in Washington, D.C.

Deaths

HILL. Daniel A. Hill, who served with the Department of State in Korea, died on May 30, in Cleveland Heights, Ohio. Mr. Hill also served as a consultant for the Chinese government on the reestablishment of power plants on Formosa. He is survived by his wife of 1663 Compton Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118.

KEELER. Mrs. Annie Beth Keeler, wife of FSO-retired Erwin P. Keeler, died on November 3, in Enterprise, Alabama. Mrs. Keeler is survived by her husband, 201 Daleville Street, Enterprise, Alabama, two daughters, Mrs. Betty K. Bond of Mobile and Mrs. Sophia K. Porson of the State Department in Washington, and one sister, Mrs. C. O. Stokes of Ozark, Alabama.

MAGEE. Mrs. Ann Magee, wife of Charles M. Magee, and daughter Stacy, died on August 18 in Hurricane Camille in Mississippi. Mr. Magee is at US Pavilion Expo 70, United States Consulate General, Osaka, APO San Francisco 96338.

OWEN. Mrs. Lena Owen, mother of FSO William M. Owen, died in London on October 19. Mrs. Owen, a widow, had made her home with her son during his assignments in the Department, Paris, Stockholm, Manila and London. Mrs. Owen leaves two other sons, Dr. John E., Professor of Sociology, Arizona State University, and Lincoln, of the Washington POST.

STEWART. James B. Stewart, retired Ambassador, died on October 22, in Denver. Mr. Stewart entered the Foreign Service in 1915 and served at Pernambuco, Chihuahua, Tampico, Ceiba, Monterrey, Budapest, Mexico City, Zurich, Liechtenstein and as Ambassador to Nicaragua. He was perhaps best known to members of the Foreign Service for his term as Director of the Foreign Service Officers Training School, from 1928 to 1933. He retired in 1945. Until 1967 Mr. Stewart wrote the Twenty-Five years Ago column in the JOURNAL. He is survived by his wife, who is seriously ill, two daughters, Mrs. Stephen Kallay, 1092 Garrisons Street, Lakewood, Colorado 80215 and Mrs. Mary Kleinfeld, 400 Carr Street, Denver, Colorado 80226. Contributions in memory of Mr. Stewart may be made to DACOR.

TEWELL. Mrs. Harold S. Tewell, wife of FSO-retired Harold S. Tewell, died recently in Dallas, Texas. She is survived by her husband of 8350 Santa Clara Drive, Dallas, Texas, one son and three daughters.

New Club Manager

The new manager of the Foreign Service Club is Michael Brandli, who comes to the position with a wide knowledge of the hotel and restaurant business. Mr. Brandli, born in Zurich 34 years ago, was trained at the hotel and restaurant school in that city. He came to this country in 1962 and worked in New York at the New York Hilton, at the Caribe Hilton in San Juan, then came to Washington for the opening of the Washington Hilton in 1965.

Mr. Brandli went through an additional food and beverage management school with the American Hotel and Motel Association before joining ARA in 1968.

Club News

The Foreign Service Club will no longer be open during the evenings. The Club will close after the lunch hour—around 3:00 p.m. Happy Hour is thus ended. Members have not heavily patronized the club in the evenings, and this action will result in financial savings. However, the Club *will be* available during the evenings and on weekends for private parties: receptions, cocktails, and dinners. Members are encouraged to take advantage of the Club and make use of its facilities. Arrangements should be made through the Club manager Michael Brandli, who, by the way, has a *new price list* for cocktail parties and a wide selection (both food and price-wise) of dinners.

Schedule your office Christmas parties at the club or why not consider the Club in making plans for your personal holiday entertaining? Let you—and your family—relax for a change—give "mom" a day off and a night out! Remember, after 5:30 p.m. you can park in the basement of the Department on presentation of your State Department ID Card.

Club phone number is 338-5730.

Entertaining at the Club

Among those who reserved space for luncheons or cocktail parties at the Foreign Service Club in recent weeks were: Miss Ethel Askerooth, Robert Blackburn, Miss Lucy Briggs, Donald Kidston, Richard F. Boyce, Miss Irene B. Walker, Miss Idris Rossell, Ambassador Theodore C. Achilles, Mrs. Margaret H. Williams, T. D. McKiernan and Emory C. Swank.

Parties of 20 or more may reserve the Library for lunch or cocktails. For large cocktail parties, any or all of the Club's public rooms may be reserved.

Club Questionaire

A questionnaire has gone out on the Foreign Service Club with the following questions:

1. Would you attend a stag (men only) poker night?
   Yes ..... No ..... Weekly .....
   Biweekly ..... Monthly ..... Day of week you prefer ..... Hours preferred ..... p.m. to ..... p.m.
2. Would you (and your wife-/husband .....) attend a bridge night?
   Yes ..... No ..... Weekly .....
   Biweekly ..... Monthly ..... Day of week you prefer ..... Hours preferred ..... p.m. to ..... p.m.

ERRATUM

The JOURNAL regrets that erroneous information led to the publication of an obituary for Francis B. Stevens in the November AFSA NEWS. Mr. Stevens, who was seriously injured last summer in a street assault, is in Ward 3, Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital. Visits and cards are much appreciated by Mr. Stevens.

Foreign Service Day

Foreign Service Day returned this year to the original pattern—briefings and discussions conducted by Department officials, and addressed primarily to retired officers. Sponsored jointly by AFSA, DACOR, and the Department of State the program November 13 introduced one innovation. Each speaker confined his statement to a brief survey of the situation, and then submitted to questioning, with a panel of three designated to lead off.

The speakers were Assistant Secretaries Marshall Green, EA; Joseph J. Sisco, NEA; David D. Newsom, AF; and Charles A. Meyer, ARA; Deputy Assistant Secretary Margaret Joy Tibbetts, EUR; and Director General John H. Burns. Ambassador George V. Allen, president of DACOR, was moderator. Charles W. Bray III extended greetings on behalf of AFSA, and Deputy Under Secretary William B. Macomber, Jr., welcomed the group for the Department.

Secretary and Mrs. Rogers gave a reception after the sessions, and—as forecast by Under Secretary U. Alexis Johnson in his remarks at the luncheon—the Secretary's participation in the DACOR lecture made front page news.

The program ended with the first DACOR lecture of the season, delivered jointly by Secretary Rogers and Ambassador Charles W. Yost.

About 300 of our retired colleagues participated in and enjoyed Foreign Service Day.

Depending on your reaction, members attending bridge or poker nights could purchase drinks at Happy Hour prices.

3. If the Club were to schedule luncheons at which speakers from the Department and private sectors would discuss current affairs (sort of a small version of AFSA's monthly luncheons), would you attend? The Library would be used and the luncheon fare would consist of the buffet lunch. Price: $3.00 for lunch, drink, and gratuity.
   Yes ..... No ..... Biweekly .....
   Monthly ..... Day of week you prefer ..... Prefer 12 noon ..... 12:30 ..... 1:00 .....
4. Your suggestions for other activities are welcome.

It is hoped that Club members will respond to this questionnaire to help guide the future of the Club.

Book Fair Breaks Records

The AAFSW Book Fair ended on October 29 with a sales record surpassing all previous years. Mrs. Edward Dobyns, co-chairman with Mrs. Garland Routt, estimates that over 300 persons helped during the sale and in the preceding months. "We have help at every level in the Department," said Mrs. Dobyns, "from willing friends who usually do more than they are asked to make the Book Fair run smoothly. I wish to thank them all, as well as the AAFSW members and their families, who worked so hard to make the Fair a success."

The number of volumes collected by the eighteen-woman collection committee and the twenty-nine-man auxiliary was estimated at over 45,000 volumes, or twenty tons of books. After collecting, a committee of nineteen women took turns spending three mornings a week at the Department sorting and pricing the books.

In addition to books, thousands of stamps and hundreds of posters were sold. The art corner proved a great attraction and the silent auction drew many bids. The JOURNAL staff noted with pleasure that many JOURNAL cover artists were represented.

The Encyclopedia Britannica donated by former Assistant Secretary William Benton and raffled at the Book Fair was won by Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Rogers.

The Children's Art Show on Family Night also proved popular and profitable. Family Night was enlivened by music by the New Establishment.

John Henderson, author of "The United States Information Agency," and Wendell W. Blancke, author of "The Foreign Service of the United States," patiently autographed copies of their books. The publisher, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., and the authors contributed the entire profit on the volumes sold to the Book Fair.



Family night at the Book Fair finds Secretary and Mrs. Rogers being shown posters in the Poster Corner by Mrs. John Hamilton, right, and her helper. Ambassador James K. Penfield is behind Mrs. Rogers.

from page 22

a job if the occupant is regarded as just another working stiff. One does not have great competition among political contributors to be, say, head of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

These are important reforms. They do not, however, strike at fundamentals. The most important reform of the Foreign Service will require a new view of policy itself. More precisely, it will require acceptance of a change in policy that has occurred but has not been acknowledged. And to this change organization must be accommodated.

From the end of World War II until fairly recent times, American foreign policy was deeply influenced by the idiom of the superpower. This was a magnificent exercise in illusion—one at which we will be marveling for many years to come. It assumed a massive capacity to affect the destinies of other countries and a desperately urgent need to do so. For a long while on both scores we were pleasantly free even of doubt. Organization was profoundly affected. If it is supposed that we have a powerful influence over events in Burma or Brazil or Sumatra, then it follows that we must be meticulously informed on all that goes on in these countries. And we must have the necessary numbers of men who are prepared to act on that information. We must know the latest developments in the Shan states, and the subversive influences operating among the tribal Indians on the upper Amazon, and the designs of saboteurs against the oil pipelines in Indonesia. And we must have men who can defend against these disasters. The Foreign Service of a superpower must, in short, be a vast and highly specialized bureaucracy. And it must work in intimate conjunction with the agencies that express that power—with those providing aid, collecting information, conducting clandestine activities, providing clandestine intelligence, or conducting military operations.

A superpower, I may say parenthetically, will even attempt to exercise power when it has none. During my years in India telegrams regularly arrived telling me to persuade the Indian government to action on matters on which we had not the slightest influence. Those who dispatched these telegrams were officers of some grandeur in the service of a superpower. They felt, naturally that they had to perform in accordance with their billing.

In these last years, we have been having a quiet but massive reevaluation of our role as a superpower. Vietnam has, of course, been the magic lesson in this regard. Hundreds of billions of dollars and a half a million men will not in the end have much affected the course of history in that unhappy land. We now have the power of a superpower only within mortar range, and the Saigon government shows some genius in showing us how limited is our authority even there. We have learned that our ability to influence events in countries dissimilar both geographically and culturally from our own is far less than we imagined ten or fifteen years ago.

We have also discovered that the need to influence these countries is far less than we imagined. Fifteen or twenty years ago there was a vision of very rapid development in Asia and Africa. And therewith went a great sense of urgency that this development be under non-communist auspices. Now we know that the development will be very slow. And meantime, as I have said elsewhere, the difference between a communist jungle and a capitalist jungle will not be readily evident to anybody walking through. We have some reason to believe that the Soviets have made the same discovery.

All this leads me to the final reform on which I trust you will insist. We must bring the foreign operations of the United States including the Foreign Service, the intelligence operations and, above all, the military operations back into accord with the modern reality. The need is much greater for military and intelligence operations than it is for the Foreign Service. We all know that our military missions abroad, many of them, are a terrible boondoggle. Their absence of function is an insult to the men who man them—and so waste their lives. The same is true of intelligence operations. Detection and prevention of communism, in countries where we can do nothing about it—and where it wouldn't matter greatly if we could—may well be the greatest make-work activity since WPA. Our military and intelligence operations are most in need of accommodation to the new reality. It must be done.

But the State Department has also increased greatly in size in response to the superpower idiom. You must work to accommodate yourself to this new reality. It is not enough to get rid of men. That is the wrong place to begin. You must get rid of function. For unless you do, you will be part of a bloated, unnecessary, and redundant bureaucracy. You will belong to one that employs itself only in the wrong things. Such a bureaucracy will not be a pleasant place in which to work; it will not recruit the best talent. Only as we scale our organization down to our new view not only of our world responsibilities but of our world possibilities will the Foreign Service and its associated agencies be a proud place in which to serve.

It is a great joy for me to be here at a time when, one senses, a new and fresh wind is blowing through your organization. But I hope you will not minimize the strength and the vigor of the wind that must blow. It involves modification in detail, of that there is no doubt. But it also involves changes in the structure itself. Many years ago when I was teaching elementary economics at Harvard, we used to reorganize the course every year. In the spring we could stand it no longer, and accordingly, where one year we taught microeconomics first and macroeconomics second, the following year we would change the succession and also alter the text. The teaching each year was always as bad as the year before. That, of course, was because we didn't do anything about the substance of our discontent. The students were indifferent, the instructors not good, and the subject intrinsically dull. These things we didn't touch. They involved our traditions. They went to matters of substance. Your situation will be the same unless you are open-minded and even critical as to tradition, unless you move to accommodate the Service to the realities of foreign policy. For otherwise, you will be evading the real questions, avoiding real reform. And you will continue to be less contented than you should be in your task. ■

An account of the wanderings through history of St. Nicholas before his "elimination" by the Vatican on May 9, 1969

The Travels of Santa Claus

LANSING COLLINS

The JOURNAL'S *frequent contributor, Lansing Collins, has had many historical articles printed over the past years. He served in the Foreign Service from 1939 to 1968, with assignments at Marseille, Batavia, Melbourne, Panama, Habana, Rome, Ankara and as consul general at Istanbul. Now retired, he lives in Rome.*

On May 9, 1969 the Vatican announced that a number of Saints were being dropped from the *Calendarum Romanum*, the official calendar of the Church listing approved Holy Days. In all thirty-three saints were thus banned from being officially considered subjects of Church-wide devotion because their existence was a question of historical doubt. Among those dropped were three whose fame and reverence has always been and is widespread: Saint Christopher, patron saint of travelers and in this day of automotive mayhem very beloved by his myriad followers; Saint George, slayer of the dragon and patron saint of Great Britain; and —this is the unkindest cut of all— Saint Nicholas, patron saint of children, students, seamen, pawnbrokers, and even thieves and pirates, more commonly known to the Anglo-Saxon world as Santa Claus.

Cancellation from the *Calendarum* means that no further masses on the "eliminated" Saint's Day may be sung; though churches bearing the name of the saint in question may continue to use the saint's name, no new ones will be so named. Despite one small escape clause in the ruling—"eliminated" saints may still be revered locally—the concern caused by the announcement was even greater than expected and the official news organs of the Vatican immediately began to beat a diplomatic but hasty retreat. It was pointed out that no saints had actually been abolished, that there had been no spiritual demotion—no halos had been removed—as all the "eliminated" saints could be venerated at a local level.

But it was this slight tampering with Santa Claus that caused the major furor. Even the Vatican cannot treat Santa Claus that way! If the savants allege that, as a saint, Nicholas never existed, then they must admit that the Western World has been sadly mistaken for the past 1650 years or so. Has not Saint Nicholas been the patron saint of Russia for over a thousand years? Is he not revered in Britain as much, now even more, than in Russia? Do not the good citizens of Bari, Italy, proudly guard his bones in the crypt of their cathedral, named for him and consecrated by the great Pope Urban in 1089?

It is not the purpose of this account of Santa Claus's travels to dispute the historical or theological accuracy of the Vatican ruling. But if Saint Nicholas did not really exist as a saint performing the miracles attributed to him even the scholars must hesitate a bit before asserting that there was never a Bishop of Myra named Nicholas. The myth of Saint Nicholas, if it be one, gains plausibility by its very endurance. Within two hundred years of Nicholas's death churches dedicated to him as a saint began to appear. Santa Claus is a fixture; any too exact or scholarly search into his early days is doomed to failure. It is not only unworthy of the Vatican but also unwise.

Our Santa Claus is historically identifiable as a person and a bishop and mythologically acceptable as a saint, even if some of his deeds do stretch the imagination a bit. He has traveled as far and as wide through history as he does every Christmas Eve with Donner and Dancer and the rest of his red-nosed reindeer.

It is all supposed to have begun in Patara, a city in ancient Lycia on the southern coast of modern Turkey, about 280 A.D. when a boy was born and named Nicholas. He had to live in nearby Myra (now Demre), become a saint and spend several centuries in Constantinople, and then by way of Russia, Europe, and England, make his way disguised to New Amsterdam to be revealed some 160 years ago by Washington Irving. Since then he would appear to have taken out American papers. Santa Claus is certainly here to stay.

Nicholas was born during a period in history when great changes were taking place. The Roman Empire, then the Western World, was in decay. The Augustan concept of a commonwealth of self-governing cities soon was to become the absolutism of Diocletian with the division of the Empire into



Church of St. Nicholas at Patara

eastern and western parts to be followed by the collapse of Rome and Constantine's establishment of the capital at Byzantium. Another change, the full effect of which cannot be assessed even today, was the rise of Christianity and the adoption of that new faith by Constantine as the state religion.

The city where Nicholas was born had been an important one for nearly a thousand years. It was one of the principal Lycian towns when it was captured by the Persians in the sixth century B.C.; it bowed to Alexander in 334 B.C.; in the century before Christ it withstood a siege by Mithradates; and it was captured by Brutus in the course of the Roman civil war. Thereafter it began to prosper again, becoming famous for the manufacture of gilded sandals and rich because it was the port and main outlet for the fertile Zanthus river valley.

St. Paul passed through Patara in 60 A.D. en route from Ephesus to Jerusalem; Acts XXI, 1 and 2 records:

> *And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from them and had launched, we came with a straight course into Coos (Kos) and the day following into Rhodes, and from thence into Patara. And finding a ship sailing over unto Phoenicia, we went aboard and set forth.*

Reminders of Patara's Roman greatness are evident today; a monumental city gate, a magnificent theater, a large granary ordered built by Hadrian in 129 A.D., and a number of other buildings lie half-covered by the advancing sand dunes. The harbor is now completely sanded in and is nothing more than a marsh. It is hard to imagine it a thriving bustling port with ships from all parts of the then civilized world. Yet as a small boy Nicholas must have wondered at all the strange ships with their exotic cargoes; he must have strolled the streets; and he probably sat in the theater, at the eastern end of which may still be deciphered the inscription recording that the theater was built by one Q. Velius Titanus and dedicated to his daughter Velia Procla in the fourth Consulate of Antoninus Pius, that is to say sometime between 140 and 150 A.D. It is highly unlikely, however, that Nicholas, who was a very pious boy, ever paid heed to the Lycian Apollo supposedly located on the top of the hill behind the theater. In a pit some thirty feet deep and about as wide a queer column still stands, at the top of which may have once been located the statue of the deity.

Patara was greatly influenced by Christianity, probably as a result of Saint Paul's visit and preaching, and Nicholas was a devout Christian during a time when it was hazardous to espouse the new religion. For Christianity was then only just beginning, two centuries after His death, to take hold in the Empire and to become suspect, especially to those Emperors of military background who liked to see everything in proper order under firm control. Consequently under



Gateway to City of Patara

He was chubby and plump—a right jolly old elf;
And I laughed when I saw him in spite of myself.
A wink of his eye, and a twist of his head,
Soon gave me to know I had nothing to dread.

He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work,
And filled all the stockings; then turned with a jerk,
And laid his finger aside of his nose,
And giving a nod up the chimney he rose.

He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle,
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle,
But I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight,
"A Happy Christmas to all and to all a good night!"

—CLEMENT CLARK MOORE

Decius, Valerian, Diocletian, and Galerius the persecution of Christians took place almost continuously, the seventy-five years before Constantine being possibly the worst of all. It is believed that Nicholas, by then in his mid-twenties, was imprisoned and tortured during the persecutions of Diocletian in 303, 304, and 305.

It is not known exactly when Nicholas moved from Patara to Myra, some twenty-five miles to the east, but it was probably just before or just after his imprisonment. Myra had also been an old and important Lycian city and, located as it was between the Myrus and Andriacus rivers, it formed, with its port of Andriace (now Andraki), an important farming trading and shipping complex.

The story is that Nicholas became Bishop of Myra when the elders of the Church, upon the death of their previous Bishop, decided to appoint the first person to enter the church the next day. Nicholas was the first and duly became Bishop. In 325 Constantine called the Council of Nicaea to settle the Arian dispute that was dividing the Church; it seems fairly certain that Nicholas was Bishop of Myra at that moment. The confusion arises over the fact that Athanasius, then the secretary of the Bishop of Alexandria, the leader of the anti-Arian faction and the principal "rapporteur" of the Council, makes no mention of Nicholas's presence. Nicholas was an Arian in belief and he was quite outspoken. Though Athanasius is supposed to have known all the Bishops present, he may have omitted Nicholas because of the latter's views or, on the other hand, Nicholas may not in fact have attended the Council.

Be that as it may, our later Santa Claus built a church in Myra before he left for his travels through history. Today the Orthodox Church one sees at Myra dates from later Byzantine days but it is the place where Nicholas's remains were placed. According to a tablet nearby the Emperor Constantine Monomachus and his wife Zoe repaired the Church in 1042. In recent years, however, flooring and other construction has been discovered some fifteen feet below and excavations have uncovered clear Roman-Byzantine work of Nicholas's time. This was surely the Church built for the Bishop of Myra. A British traveler of the last century, D. E. Colnachi, describing the scene in 1854 makes reference specifically to other "Roman" construction. He wrote:

We took up our lodgings at the Monastery of St. Nicholas . . . It is situated in the center of a large square formed of walls composed of large cushioned blocks of stone of the Roman period, each wall is about 300 feet in length.



Early Byzantine foundations of Church at Myra

Mr. Colnachi goes on to describe these "Roman" walls as being about ten feet tall with gates on two sides. He noted that the "monastery" was even then some six to eight feet below the surface of the ground for the floods of the river had deposited silt all over ancient Myra. Today even the "Roman" walls are hard to find but the excavations around the Church show the earlier construction quite clearly.

Nicholas's status and fame as a saint began with his gift or loan of dowries to the three daughters of an impoverished citizen of Patara, thus saving the girls from a "life of shame." On different nights, so goes the story, he threw small bags of gold over the walls of the house. Maybe he even dropped one down the chimney. Another one of his early "miracles" was the resuscitation of three young men who had been murdered by an innkeeper of Myra, cut into little pieces, and hidden in barrels of brine. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has two panels by Bicci di Lorenzo painted in the Monastery of San Niccolo in Florence in 1433 depicting these two "miracles."

Soon Nicholas became recognized as the patron saint of children and the custom developed of hanging up stockings by the fireplace in the hope of receiving a gift from the Saint on his day, December 6. He also became responsible for the welfare of students, seamen, pawn brokers, and even pirates. The three gold balls of the pawnbroker are not, as is so often thought, the emblem of the Medici family; they are the sign, started many years ago, of those Lombard merchants who, during the confused history of pawnbrokering, operated as authorized money-lenders in England and many places on the Continent. The three gold balls indictated the presence of someone who could make "loans" as Nicholas had dowried the three girls.

Nicholas died December 6, 343 and within a very short time his cult had spread to Constantinople. Procopius, scribe of the glories of Justinian's buildings, mentions in *De Aedificus* the Church of Saint Priscus and Saint Nicholas as already

in existence when Justinian's reign began in 518. In Constantinople there are records of more than twenty-five churches and chapels named for Saint Nicholas ranging all the way from the first in Justinian's day to a Church of Saint Nicholas in Galata, across the Golden Horn from the old city, described in 1895 as a "sort of Seaman's Bethel, highly colored and brilliant, thronged at all hours by sailors, who seek the intercession of the kindly Saint." This American observer stressed the point that Saint Nicholas's fame as protector of seamen had persisted to that day.

Unfortunately none of the ancient Churches dedicated to Saint Nicholas in Constantinople exist today. Possibly one of the strangest there and in all the world was the Church of Saint Nicholas and Saint Augustine, the Church of those British who fled England after the Battle of Hastings and took service with the Emperor. They soon became a part of and later controlled the Varangian Guards, recruited in the 10th Century from Nordic mercenaries who had been in Russia. When the British took over the Guards became the personal protectors of the Emperor, and Gibbon, who rarely had anything good to say of the Byzantine Empire, noted that they served the Emperor with "the inheritance of spotless loyalty." Their first British leader was one Siward, probably the son or nephew of one of King Canute's Earls who died in York in 1055. Siward got to Constantinople in 1070, married extremely well, and built the Church on his property. Saint Nicholas was honored on the left and Saint Augustine on the right and for nearly 400 years British Varangians worshipped there.

Many were the miracles attributed to Saint Nicholas during the Byzantine era. The carpet of the Saint hung in Santa Sophia and with other relics had great healing powers. Several churches were built and dedicated to Saint Nicholas because of some particular "miracle" or favor. One of the more famous events is described by B. de Khitrowo, recorder of many of the memoirs of Russian priests who visited the city:

A bit to the east of the Basilicon is the Church of Saint Nicholas. It is covered with frescoes as if they were living. A Christian who had been shipwrecked came to pray and the hand of Saint Nicholas detached itself from the painting and gave him a small sack with 100 large Frank pieces of pure gold.

No wonder his fame as Patron Saint of seamen endured!

During the days of the Byzantine Empire Nicholas did some wide traveling. By the ninth century his cult had reached Russia where he was known as Nikolai, Nikola, and even Nikita. Many churches were dedicated to him and two Czars of Russia and countless members of the Royal family also bore his name. Then he went west. There five Popes, one Anti-Pope, and a King of Montenegro were named after him. Nowhere, however, did he achieve the fame he did in England. Though Saint George has always been the patron saint of Great Britain, there are but 200 or so churches named for him while there are more than twice that number dedicated to the former Bishop of Myra.

In the Middle Ages it became the custom to celebrate Saint Nicholas's Day, December 6. In many places a Boy Bishop was elected on that day by the choir boys. This Boy Bishop held sway over the choir boys until Innocents' Day, December 28. This ceremony, the *Episcopus Puerorum* or *Innocentium,* took place all over Europe but in England the Boy Bishop performed some of the functions of the Bishop, even saying Mass. Abolished by Henry VIII in 1542, the ceremony then revived ten years later only to be finally abolished by Queen Elizabeth. Significantly, this Boy Bishop and his entourage were always referred to as "Nicholas and his Clerks."

Another British custom having its origin in Saint Nicholas's protection of students was Eton Montem. Until 1847 every third year the scholarship boys of Eton went on Whit-Tuesday to a small hill near the Bath road and exacted from passers-by "money for salt." The Captain or senior scholar was given the proceeds to defray their expenses at Eton.

The connection between Nicholas and Italy was forged by the good citizens of Bari, the ancient Barium of Horace—rich in fish (*Bari piscoso moenia*). In 1087 during the early Norman days some Bari traders en route to Antioch stopped at Myra where they found the Church of Saint Nicholas practically deserted.

The Bari merchants decided to abduct the remains of Saint Nicholas on their way back. They may have talked a bit too much of this project in Antioch because a group of Venetian traders announced they were planning to do the same thing. Nonetheless the men from Bari got to Myra first, persuaded the few priests there that they were authorized to take the relics away, and set off for Bari. The Venetians arrived somewhat later and also took away some relics which they first tried to pass off as those of St. Nicholas but were later constrained to identify as the bones of Saint Theodore, Nicholas's uncle, a pronouncement of quite dim historical validity. During the Greek war of Independence in the 1820s a Russian warship removed all the remaining relics from the Church and in due course sent an ikon to replace them.

The Bari group got home May 9, 1087 and a great celebration took place. A cathedral was immediately begun and the crypt where the relics were placed was consecrated by Pope Urban in 1089 and the church itself finished in 1139. Located in the oldest part of the city, the cathedral consists, in basilica style, of a nave and aisles with flat ceilings borne by double rows of columns. The Saint's bones are in a vault in the crypt and from this vault, situated as it is at about sea level, exudes a miraculous fluid known for ages past as the *manna di Bari* highly prized by the faithful followers of Saint Nicholas. The miraculous powers of this *manna* probably stem from the fact that the merchants of Bari also brought back with them from Myra a marble urn partly filled with oil and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries this oil was believed to have great

(*Continued on page 52*)

The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley;
An' lea'e us nought but grief and pain,
For promis'd joy.—Robert Burns



HENRY B. RYAN

Our author writes, "I joined USIA more than seven years ago to see the world and so far have seen Brazil, where I served in Rio, Brasilia and Belem in various capacities, the last being that of Press Attaché. In a crash program to broaden my horizons, the Agency has scheduled me to go to Vietnam early next year as one of its elite corps of puce berets working in the hearts-and-minds field.

Before entering the Government, I worked in Chicago in the publishing and printing industries, and, among other positions served as an Assistant Editor for World Book Encyclopedia and Managing Editor for the INLAND PRINTER, *a business magazine for the graphic arts.*

SHERWIN ROYCE, our ambassador to a major Latin American country, held a staff meeting once a week, and each time it came the turn of his agricultural attaché to talk, Royce could feel his toes curling in his shoes. There was something about the man that always made the ambassador sort of itch, and when he talked in his evenly spaced twangy syllables Royce inevitably thought of a player piano that was going to clank on and on until they all were swaying stupefied in their chairs to a mechanical polka of fertilizer experiments and hog statistics.

"Have anything today, Bill?" he asked.

"Yes, I have," the attaché said, maintaining a perfect record of disappointing his chief. "I was down in Catumiri yesterday. That's out in the middle of the interior, about 100 or so miles from Itumbara, which is the major city around there. . . "

To summarize Bill's remarks, it seems that in Catumiri he heard that townspeople in nearby Santa Maria were just about overrun with rabbits. In fact, it was being referred to as a plague.

"Overrun with what?" asked the ambassador.

"Rabbits."

"I see. Go on," the ambassador said and absentmindedly wrote on a small pad "rabbits." Then he said, "You did say 'rabbits'?"

"Yes, sir, rabbits. You know, bunnies."

"Bunnies," the ambassador wrote under the word "rabbits." Then he asked, "Well, how serious can a bunny plague be?"

"Quite serious, sir. You see, they're eating up just about everything in sight, at least, that's what I was told."

"Well, that's too bad. I hope it all works out. Anything else, Bill?"

"No, sir, except I think you ought to know a couple of Peace Corps kids started this rabbit thing. It was a project to help provide food for those people and particularly protein because you see. . . "

The ambassador suddenly interrupted with, "Our Peace Corps?"

"Is there another?" Bill asked back.

"Do you think it's really bad?"

"They say it is, sir."

"How long does it take to get there?"

"About two days. You can fly commercial to Catumiri. Then take a bus to Itumbara and the next day go on to Santa Maria. Or if you like you could. . . "

"I'm not going, you are. I think it better be sometime this week. Take a look around and see how serious it is, and let me know."

A week later the ambassador opened the same kind of meeting with the rabbit problem. The little piece of paper that said "Rabbits Bunnies" was now clipped to a letter from the Mayor of Santa Maria who said rabbits were running wild in his town and eating everything in sight. If he couldn't control the situation, he would lose the next election. He did not blame the Peace Corps Volunteers, for whom he had the highest esteem. The idea, as a way to help a poverty-plagued community, was an excellent one. It might have been all right, the mayor explained, if his constituents had been more adept at raising rabbits but nearly all of them got out of the simple enclosures provided, not only got out but prospered and multiplied. "My God, how they multiplied," he wrote. The Peace Corps couple, he continued, would probably have known how to cope with the situation, but they had left. Therefore, could the ambassador provide some sort of specialists to help deal with the problem before the next election?

Then Bill reported. "God, it's wild. I mean, they're everywhere you look. I even saw one on a bus. There isn't a garden of any kind left in town. I'll tell you, fellas, you just can't imagine. . . ."

"Ideas anyone?" the ambassador cut in.

Poison was rejected as too dangerous. Well, O.K., someone said, how about just moving everyone out temporarily while a platoon or so of US riflemen cleaned up the situation?

"I'm afraid I'd have to draft the words for a unit

citation," Royce answered.

"If there were only some way we could get them to stop. . . to stop. . . well, you know," said the economic counsellor.

"Hell," Royce replied, "we can't even manage that with our own high school kids."

The following week there were important new developments. The mayor of Santa Maria had written Royce another letter, this one with a more hopeful tone than the last, indicating, in fact, that the townspeople possibly were on the way to solving their problem without massive US intervention.

Today, Royce had in his hand a folder made up by his secretary who noticed pieces of paper accumulating on the problem. She put them in chronological order, with the ambassador's handwritten notes on top. The folder had to be titled, so she took her clue from one of those notes and in capital letters on the top wrote RABBITS BUNNIES, figuring loads of times government titles don't make any sense anyway. Look at that one she was just reading about, "Operation Overlord," which meant we planned to try to clobber the be-Jesus out of the Germans in Normandy. The title made the ambassador wince, but there was not time to change it.

He opened the folder and read the second letter from the mayor, who with his top counsellors had outlined a plan of action containing the following points:

1. A massive effort to catch all stray rabbits was to be made by local authorities and deputized citizens. But they would need equipment and hoped the ambassador could prevail upon his country's aid administrators to provide a large quantity of long-handled nets.

2. Once the rabbits were caught, they would be put into great pens made with gnaw-proof metal staves. Could the ambassador send some?

3. The rabbits were to be segregated by sex in separate pens. But who can tell a rabbit's sex? Preliminary experiments, the mayor said, had shown that no one in Santa Maria could with any reliability. So what was also needed was at least one specialist, a rabbit sexer.

4. Rabbit raising would be carried out exclusively by the municipality, the rabbits to be sold at reasonable rates. But each time a rabbit was sold, the citizen buying it would get a certificate showing whether it were male or female. To buy more, he had to present the certificate, and naturally, he would damn well be given the same sex on subsequent rounds (presuming, as someone pointed out, local authorities learned to tell the mamas from the papas, or the US specialist stayed there forever).

"The whole thing is pretty socialistic," the political counsellor said.

The ambassador answered, "The way we're going to look at it is this. The greatest source of energy in our country, nuclear fission, is developed and controlled by the government through the Atomic Energy Commission. The greatest source of energy in Santa Maria, rabbits, is also going to be developed and controlled by the government through the new rabbit administration. I don't see how we can complain." Then he asked the agricultural attaché what he thought of the mayor's solution. It sounded all right, Bill said, certainly worth a try.

"Then I want you to find out the quickest way to get gnaw-proof staves, long-handled nets, and a rabbit sexer. And let's not go into too much detail about all this with Washington."

To understand fully that last remark, it should be realized that Ambassador Royce had specialized in foreign affairs at Georgetown University and graduated with honors. From there he went on to do work at Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he had been considered an outstanding student. This was followed by a brilliant career in the Foreign Service during which he had been involved in many highly important and extremely delicate negotiations. He had already served as an assistant secretary of state and now was ending his career at an important post, after which he planned to do a book he had already decided to title "The Challenge to American Diplomacy of a Changing World." Obviously, he did not want to finish his service overly identified with rabbits. Unfortunately, however, this being a dull news period, a US correspondent sent back to his paper a little feature story saying, in short, rumors were going around that Flopsy, Mopsy and Cottontail had our diplomats in a dither in that part of the world.

A few days later Royce received a letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. It said simply, "What the hell is this? Regards, Sam," and enclosed the story. A long, explanatory, confidential telegram was sent back. The ambassador's secretary titled it "Subject: RB Situation."

Soon the file was growing, as things like this went back and forth - "Subject: RB. Send estimate dollar cost for outlined US aid." "Subject: RB. What percent expense can be defrayed with US-held local currency?" "Subject: RB. How soon can mission expect delivery nets?" "Subject: RB. Send any press comment RB development and control projects."

The ambassador, incidentally, got to be very fond of this RB designation because it kept him from having "rabbits" scattered all over his communications. But one day the military attaché began wiring Washington about some reconnaissance-bombing planes the host country planned to buy in Europe. The attaché's secretary headed his telegrams "Subject: RB," and pretty soon things like this were happening: (From Washington) "Subject: RB. What are possibilities of interesting government there in buying comparable American RB?"

(From post) "Subject: RB. Post does not repeat not understand Department's thinking, but possibility of government buying RBs out of question. Problem is to eliminate existing surplus."

(From Washington) "Subject: RB. Press comment received here says available hardware your area unable to bag fast European RB. Appreciate your evaluation and that of local officials."

(From post) "Subject: RB. Post not aware RB of European extraction. Local authorities believe they can be snagged effectively with long handled nets. Post concurs."

(From Washington) "Subject: RB. Assistant Secretary to visit post next week to discuss RB matter. Please discontinue communication this subject until then."

But before the assistant secretary arrived, someone in the administrative section, responsible for receiving and

distributing telegrams, nudged the man next to him and with a handful of the RB wires said, "Hey, Smitty, I got a sneaking suspicion we been screwing up in spades."

"That's what we get paid for, isn't it?" Smitty said.

"No, seriously, look. Divide these telegrams this way, and it seems like there are really two RBs, and they're completely different. I think one is an airplane, but I'll be damned if I can figure out what the other one is."

"Let me see," said Smitty. He studied the thing for a while and then said, "You know, I believe you're right. Now what?"

"Well, we could quit."

"First, let's see what Max thinks." Max, head of the administrative section, decided there was nothing to do but show the whole mess to the ambassador.

"You see, sir, in some cases RB seems to refer to some kind of an airplane, and in other cases, well, I just don't know." But what really puzzled Max was the ambassador's reaction. After all, this had the smell of being one of the biggest communications foul-ups he had seen in fifteen years of service and all Royce said was, "Well, Max, suppose you just let me study these for a while, and don't you worry about it." Really, he wanted to give an award to Max, who had just shown him how to prevent the assistant secretary from making his trip. Of course, he would have to disobey the order about suspending communications on the subject, but under the circumstances that seemed eminently warranted. So he began to draft a telegram.

"Subject: RB. Post believes there has been a communications mixup both here and in Department. (Put them on the hook, too; they were just as much at fault, after all.) Has come to our attention that telegrams titled RB probably refer to two subjects. Believe in following wires (here, he listed the numbers) RB refers to Reconnaissance-Bomber, whercas in following (more numbers) RB stands for. . . "

What the hell did RB stand for exactly? He called Max, but Max hadn't the faintest idea. He didn't even know who put that designation on. The ambassador called in his secretary and asked if she knew who put it on.

Why, yeah, sure, she knew. He put it on there himself.

"I did not, damn it. I don't even know what it stands for," he said.

"Honestly, I got it from. . . ," she started to say "you," but the look on his face warned her that something else would be better for everyone. "Well, I took it right off that folder of yours, the one that's all about this subject."

"Get the folder, Doris." There was a fatalistic quality in his voice. It was as though he said, "Pull the trigger, Doris." She did.

"Oh, this damn folder. I wish you'd take that silly title off it."

"Me. But it's your folder and your title."

"Doris, I am not a typist. I did not put that title on there."

Again, she saw it was time to level off. "No, sir, of course not. I did. But I took it straight off the piece of paper which you put on top of all the correspondence on the subject, obviously the title for the operation."

"Operation!" he thought. "Damn it, Doris has been stealing books from the Marine Guards again. I'll probably get another complaint from the sergeant." Then he asked, "What slip of paper?"

She flipped open the folder, and there it was, his little note made on the day the subject first came up—"RABBITS BUNNIES."

"And so from this slip of paper you took the title for the folder," he was speaking in slow, even tones almost like the player piano style of the agricultural attaché, "and from the folder you took the subject title for the telegrams, and so RB on all our telegrams to the Department stands for 'Rabbits Bunnies'."

She began sort of dithering until he said, "That's all right, Doris. Don't worry about it. It's nobody's fault really. That will be all, thanks." Then, back to the draft of the telegram. "RB stands for. . . ." Now how in hell was he going to end that sentence. He had two days to figure it out.

By the following afternoon he had it. "RB stands for Rabbit Blight." How was that? Tremendous.

But, alas, telegrams, even in this age of electronic marvels, are tricky things, plagued with a recurring ailment known as the garble. What causes it? - sometimes the elements, sometimes temperamental machinery, sometimes a daydreaming operator.

So that last sentence, sentence of toil, agony, but of final inspiration and triumph, arrived in Washington, "RB stands for Rabbit Bite."

Officially the Department took it at face value, but before long, letters from Washington colleagues lashed the Ambassador's ego with quips like, "Incidentally, is whiskey good for rabbit bite?" "Do they attack or just bite when cornered?" "Are you biting them, or are they biting you?"

Meanwhile, the serious business of cleaning up the Rabbit Blight in Santa Maria began to move forward. First, two agricultural specialists arrived from the United States. One was tall, thin, with crew-cut blond hair; the other, tall, thin, with crew-cut blond hair and slightly crossed eyes. "He's the one," everybody said. "He's the sex fella." He was, too.

The staves arrived, and pens were built. Domestic rabbits were confiscated and put into them, their owners receiving promissory notes from the city to be redeemed as soon as the first sales were made. The nets came also, so posses were formed, and the great chase was on. It was a ball for everyone at the beginning, and a few rabbits came into the city's pens as a result of people charging down streets behind flying bunnies. Frequently, streaking villagers crashed into each other at corners of buildings while two rabbits dashed off to freedom. Often they went creeping, stalking, slowly, softly, and then WHAM, and usually missed.

So for the first few days it was sheer fun and sometimes profit, since the government paid a bounty. But after that, it became apparent that nets were not going to solve the problem, so rather elaborate traps were built under the supervision of the two imported specialists and put all over the town. These did do the job, and twice a day bewildered-looking dogs, cats, chickens, mice, rats, armadillos, lizards, and a good number of rabbits were emptied out of them.



number of rabbits were emptied out of them.

The blight was coming to an end. Already the city was selling rabbits back to its own citizens and to nearby communities. It was paying off its promissory notes and had employed a supervisor for the pens, plus an apprentice sexer. Another employee was responsible for bookkeeping, sex documents and inventory. Santa Maria, in fact, was entering a period of moderate prosperity, something it had never dreamt of. The town hall got painted, a new coffee set was ordered for the grammar school, a rain shelter was built at the bus stop, and a man was hired to sweep out the park with a palm frond every day.

When reports of all these good times came back to the embassy, the agricultural attaché was shot off to Santa Maria again "to hunker around," as he put it, and see if it was all true. He came back ecstatic. Santa Maria was blossoming. Well, budding, anyway, which was truly refreshing after its centuries-long wilt.

That was all the ambassador needed to hear to give birth to another message in the RB series. He drafted it himself, a perfectly straightforward, deftly cast, thoughtful report on "pioneering economic development measures for small, rural communities." Sometimes, however, as he worked on it, his imagination would drift off into a brief little news story. "After a long and distinguished career of political analysis and negotiations in the world's major capitals, Ambassador Sherwin Royce has astounded diplomatic and academic circles by entering the economic field. He has just produced what may well be a definitive work on development of small, backward, rural communities. His paper on the matter, recently released by the State Department, is based on his own imaginative work in such areas."

His "paper," when finished, very solemnly explained what great gains had been made with small, inexpensive, but highly productive units. His embassy's work, he said, was an example to developers to seek a simple item, not too complicated for villagers to understand, but which yielded high return for minimal input. Then he gave the history of the model project in his country, explaining how he and his aides planned out the project and put it into execution. He related how, as might be expected, it hit a few snags, but went on to show how he, assisted by his staff and at all times working closely with local officials (always an essential in this kind of work, he pointed out), overcame the initial difficulties. Finally, he sketched the successful fruition of the whole project, very much as planned when, with his Peace Corps colleagues, he determined to try the rabbit experiment in Santa Maria, perhaps even a little better than planned.

But there was to be yet another snag in the Royce development project. It seems that the couple who boarded the two Peace Corps Volunteers during their stay in Santa Maria still had the original pair of rabbits brought to the town, and for sentimental reasons refused to give them up.

The city government regarded this situation as a potential disaster. Those two rabbits, plus, it must be admitted, others brought in subsequently, had nearly destroyed the village once, and they could do it again. The law could not be defied.

The rabbits must be surrendered. But how could the mayor make the offenders see that? Worst of all, since he had started pressuring them, they had stopped turning over the offspring, and now they no longer could because it had become impossible to distinguish them from the originals, and the old couple would not risk making a mistake. So now they already had five rabbits.

All this was brought to Royce's attention by the agricultural attaché whom he had sent out to the village with an information specialist and a photographer. The idea was to get some good photos to send to Washington illustrating the Royce Plan for Rural Development as well as to work up some hard-hitting copy which, when combined with the pictures, would make a snappy press kit. This was to be handed out at a conference the ambassador planned to call for local newsmen.

When he learned that the project was again in jeopardy, an endless series of new RB messages began floating through his imagination, feeble messages, whimpering messages, all of them backtracking, explaining, rationalizing, blaming incompetent officials and unwilling citizens, showing how the plan was sound but the execution fumbling, a result of local ineptitude.

The upshot was that the agricultural attaché was dispatched again, and finally, through long, hard, skillful, and at times seemingly hopeless, bargaining, hammered out the following agreement directly with the rabbits' owners.

A. The rabbits would be surrendered in return for one of those Western-type spotted ponies the couple had once seen in a movie. Their children would like it almost as well, and it might be more useful.

B. No harm was to be done to the original rabbits. They were to be returned to the Volunteers or maintained throughout the rest of their natural lives by the United States Government. (The attaché wondered how the Smithsonian Institution was going to like a matched pair of bunnies.) Nothing was specified about the three progeny. (But then, who could tell which they were. Maybe the Smithsonian wouldn't mind five.)

C. The pony was to be selected by the volunteers and presented by the ambassador. (This presentation item made the attaché squirm, but the couple wouldn't give in on it.)

When it was all worked out, the attaché told the couple he would present the proposals to his government for approval and report back to them as soon as he could. The ambassador, he knew, would scream about the whole thing, but still, it was a good package and a damned hard one to get.

Royce, in fact, was fairly pleased. An experienced diplomat, he recognized a victory snatched out of what seemed an impossible negotiating position. Now, there was more communication in the RB series, and these messages may well have been Royce's greatest coup in the whole affair. There was not the faintest hint that the United States of America had been backed into a corner by an illiterate, bull-headed old farm couple out in the middle of Purgatory. Instead, they rang like a grand and fitting finale to a great international experiment.

The plan was this. The whole project was to receive formal recognition. There was to be a great celebration. The rabbits were going to America to live in the same

(Continued on page 45)



Special JOURNAL Book Essay

"AUSTRIA HUNGARY—THE STORY THAT WILL NOT DIE"

by Carl Charlick

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY as a state within the international family of nations had its constitutional birth in 1867. After a rickety and tumultuous existence of 51 years it was effectively laid in its grave in 1918. Today, after a lapse of further 51 years, its memory stalks like a lusty ghost through the precincts of scholars, historians, editors and publishers. During its life, almost entirely presided over by the aged Emperor Francis Joseph, it was known by many names—the Dual Monarchy, the Danube Monarchy, or simply the Habsburg realm. To its contemporaries, our fathers and grandfathers, it was a political anomaly and the constitutional jigsaw puzzle *par excellence*.

This month, the tables of book stores are displaying, at the lavish price of $14.95, a brand-new scholarly commentary, "The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918" by the British historian C. A. Macartney (Macmillan, 1969). It is the seventh learned work having in its title the name "Habsburg" and the seventeenth dealing with Austria-Hungary that has been published in the last 20 years. To this must be added, since Austria-Hungary is historically associated with the origins of World War I, the numerous recent output of writing on the subject. While it is difficult to place an exact measure on any specific literary line of production, it is safe to say that the present flood of writing about Austria-Hungary dwarfs anything, in weight and wordage, that was produced during its existence or immediately after its demise. Let it be said at once that this modern resurgence of Austro-Hungarica is of the highest scholarship, without exception, impeccably documented, impartial in approach, and conceived in a broad framework that does not neglect any of the historical, political and cultural implications of the subject. Englishmen, Americans, Germans, Swiss, Austrians and even a Yugoslav have contributed to this literary flood-tide which has made mincemeat of the effort of a Hungarian historian in 1934 to publish a definitive "Bibliography of Habsburg Literature, 1218-1934." As for us, we are left with the obvious question: What might be the cause of the current wave of interest in Austria-Hungary, nearly two generations after the fact? What message are these highly competent and distinguished writers, historians and researchers trying to get through to us?

As a purely historical subject, the Habsburg Empire cuts an oversize figure by virtue of its long ancestry, the Empire of Austria that shared in the overthrow of Napoleon and in organizing the subsequent European political system, and the venerable Holy Roman Empire which claimed descent, through Charlemagne, from the classical empire. These predecessors had served European civilization as buffers against onslaughts from the East by Avar, Mongol and Turk. However, today's generation of scholars rather shun this ancestral period and focus instead on Austria-Hungary of the 19th and early 20th century. This latter-day Habsburg Empire was weak and ineffectual in diplomatic and international terms, even though it was still a useful "make-weight" between the conflicting interests of West and East (now chiefly Russian) in the Balkan arena; it was a place to "change trains" from West to East, in a literal and figurative sense, and a bewildering quarantine station of troublesome nationalist aspirations. The enemies of Austria-Hungary, many of whom lived within its borders, contemptuously dubbed it the "*Völkerkerker*" or dungeon of nationalities. To these protagonists of a cultural nationalism of the narrow 19th-century kind, the Habsburg realm was the chief enemy because, built on supranational theories of dynastic allegiance, it stood athwart their immediate aspirations of autonomy in language, schools or cultural life that blinded them to the empire's ingredient of supranational economic and social dynamics, such as we understand better today. Enfeebled by these dissensions at home, Austria-Hungary during most of its legal life could not play the part of a Great Power, except by a certain momentum of tradition. Still, it was an important extension of the West, a cultural "glacis" that reached as far as the Carpathians. How comfortably would such a Western forefront compare with today's East-West line of demarcation!

After 1918 this strategic advance zone was fractured, willfully or heedlessly, and soon allowed to drift into anarchy and tension. World War Two finished what was left, and from 1945 to 1955 the Iron Curtain cut squarely across what were once the hereditary Habsburg lands. Only after years of diplomatic effort was this frontier moved slightly eastward, to the Hungarian border. However, 1968 once more confirmed the reality of the West's retreat from what was in former times Austria-Hungary.

The armies that marched and countermarched in this "glacis," the fiery nationalists that spread their causes in word and print, the dreamers of social fulfillment and tolerance and of Christian unity in this vital region have left a rich heritage that is now being explored by a new crop of scholars and historians. Sources and archives have opened to them from Vienna to Washington. The new research is objective, because it has been done by persons who have grown up long after the event. This is to be welcomed. Too often, the post-Habsburg literature has been devoted to special pleading to justify the political viewpoints of the Western Allies of 1918, of Germany, or of the so-called succession states. Other writing of this era was tinged with subjective bitterness over a world lost beyond recall, or with nostalgia. It produced stereotypes of hand-kissing officers waltzing in their brilliant uniforms with bustled and crinolined ladies, of scapegrace archdukes and headstrong ladies-in-waiting. This sort of imagery, happily, is gone from today's books about the old Austria-Hungary. Instead, we are likely to learn a great deal about the positive legacy of this unique chapter of history, its secret of political accommodation and compromise, and the unifying forces of economic and social evolution in which we today pin our faith for the future.

A wag among historians, noting that the meteoric rise of the House of Austria was accomplished more by strategic marriages than feats of arms, penned the aphorism,

Bella gerant alii, to felix Austria, nube!

As things stand today, the present Habsburg revival is based on letters. A

sampling of recent writings on Austria-Hungary follows:

A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918* (London, 1948, 1949)
R. A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire*, 2 v. (New York, 1950, 1957)
Gordon Shepherd, *Austrian Odyssey* (London, 1957)
Robert Asprey, *The Panther's Feast* (New York, 1959)
Johann Remak, *Sarajevo, the Story of a Political Murder* (New York & London, 1959)
Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Break-up of the Habsburg Empire* (London 1959)
Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (Dusseldorf, 1961)
Edward Crankshaw, *The Fall of the House of Habsburg* (New York, 1963)
Edmond Taylor, *The Fall of the Dynasties* (New York, 1963)
Roland v. Nidda, *Der Weg nach Sarajevo* (Zurich, 1964)
W. A. Jenks, *Austria under the Iron Ring* (New York, 1965)
Arthur J. May, *The Habsburg Monarchy* (New York, 1965)
————, *The Passing of the Habsburg Monarchy* (New York, 1966)
Hertha Pauli, *The Secret of Sarajevo* (New York, 1966)
Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York, 1966)
Gordon Shepherd, *The Last Hapsburg* (London, 1968)
C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (New York, 1969)

Bamboo Reality

"The things Japan has borrowed from the West are changed by the Japanese — the borrowed items change the Japanese far less."

The theme that the "Westernization" of Japan is superficial, and that an understanding of the Japanese only can be gained by a careful peeling away of the outer layers of contemporary Japanese culture, is developed in a thoroughly competent book written by Richard Halloran, a thoughtful journalist who has spent several recent years in Japan (after study at Michigan and Columbia), and who is now diplomatic correspondent for the NEW YORK TIMES in Washington.

Halloran sees Japan as "a bamboo pole, sheathed in steel, and wrapped in plastic." The Westerner, he notes, "can see the tinselly, imitative veneer of Japan. He can see through the plastic to the steel of modern, industrial Japan. Both look like the West. But inside, and often obscured, is the bamboo reality of the enduring Japan."

It is this bamboo reality that Halloran shows us in his book "Japan: Images and Realities." He is most convincing in presenting his view that it is a misconception to think of Japan as truly "Westernized."

The first part of the book is devoted to a highly condensed history of Japan over the past one hundred years. The Meiji restoration, the building of Japan as a modern nation state, and her opening to the West are well covered. Part Two concerns the powerful Japanese Establishment, including an analysis of the financial cliques, or *Zaibatsu*, such as Mitsubishi (heavy industry), *Mitsui* (trade and commerce), *Sumimoto* (exploration of natural resources), and Yasuda (banking and finance). Also discussed are politics and the dominating influence of the elitist political clubs (*Habatsu*), the press, which Halloran sees as Establishment-dominated through "press clubs," and foreign affairs.

The most interesting part of the book is the final section which concerns the Japanese people and their future. A chapter, "We Japanese," written as though by a young Japanese economist, is more insightful than a book full of statistics. Tokyo and Nara, the latter a smaller Japanese city rich in history, are evoked in an effective way in the concluding chapters.

Aside from its obvious interest to Foreign Service professionals who specialize in Asian affairs, this book also could be read with profit and pleasure by the non-specialist, for whom, as Halloran notes, it was in any case intended.

—*C. E. S.*

JAPAN: IMAGES AND REALITIES, *by Richard Halloran. Alfred A. Knopf, $6.95.*

Kaleidoscope

ODEN MEEKER'S "Israel: Ancient Land, Young Nation" is a very personal book, the sometimes awkward result of an ambitious design and an unpretentious approach. It covers everything: people and places, fauna and flora, history, philosophy, religion. It aims to portray the Israel Meeker came to know through three years in the country (with CARE), on shorter subsequent visits, and through fairly wide reading on Israel and the area.

Israel is a country that creates strong impressions, and Meeker is at his best when describing the people, places and events he knew at first hand. The first three chapters are especially vivid; Meeker lets glimpses of the land and its people—and of his own reactions to them—speak for themselves, and the result is a rare glance at the "kaleidoscope," as Meeker puts it, that is modern Israel.

The fragments that make up the "kaleidoscope," as Meeker is all too well aware, also include the Bible, politics, religion, and more recent history. Their impact comes through his pages with less force—perhaps because he knew them only at second hand; perhaps, too, because his attempt to spread them throughout the book, presenting a little piece with each region of the country in turn, succeeds only in diffusing them. The weak organization of the book and the attempt to cover too much mar what would otherwise be a vivid personal account. There are also a number of factual errors (Israel does not, for instance, have a Constitution).

—TERESITA CURRIE

ISRAEL: ANCIENT LAND, YOUNG NATION, *by Oden Meeker. Scribners, $7.95.*

On the USSR's Uneven Record In Foreign Affairs

LOUIS FISCHER, a pre-war journalist turned historian with long service in the pre-war Moscow foreign press corps, gives us here a reworking and updating of his path-breaking and still valuable "The Soviets in World Affairs." Readers seeking a judicious account of the ins and outs of pre-war Soviet foreign policy will find this new work a most useful reconstruction of the foreign relations aspects of the first 24 years of Soviet rule. Mr. Fischer's orthodox if rather undifferentiated conclusion is that the many mistakes made by the Soviet Union in these years were mostly "the supreme responsibility" of Stalin. The author is equally hard on western statesmen, however, possibly even to the extent of some imbalance in the weight of his researches on particular episodes in the history of the period. His overlong discussion of the Czech Legion in Siberia, for example, has more new to say on pulling and hauling among western policymakers than it does on Soviet views of the affair.

Professor Adma Ulam's longer work on the same general subject is an altogether subtler and more profound piece of historical analysis and synthesis. Its study of the oscillation between the USSR's two conflicting goals of expansion and coexistence will surely make it an indispensable guide to an understanding of the modern history of half, at least, of the world we live in. The author's concluding observation is that

> If the history of the Soviet Union's first fifty years proved anything, it proved that Communism, because it puts such emphasis on political power, enhances rather than diminishes international tension. Who can doubt that a Communist America would be a greater threat to the Soviet Union than a capitalist one?

Foreign affairs specialists who welcome the prospect of our own over-

due disengagement from Southeast Asia will note with pleasure Professor Ulam's approving quotation from Talleyrand: "To be great once more, France must cease to be colossal." The Soviet Union, he believes, has still to make this clear and final choice between its two conflicting goals of ideological and political expansion, on the one hand, and Russian and Soviet national interest on the other.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

RUSSIA'S ROAD FROM PEACE TO WAR: *Soviet Foreign Relations, 1917-1941, by Louis Fischer. Harper & Row, $12.50.*

EXPANSION & COEXISTENCE: *The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-67, by Adam B. Ulam. Praeger, $12.95.*

Advice for F.S. Children

THIS sprightly book for teenage children of military families also has nuggets of worthwhile advice for children of Foreign Service, AID and USIA families. How to make the most of those overseas tours with mom and dad, how to ease the moving blues, how to prove that "getting there is half the fun," how to make new friends at the strange new post—these are only a few of the matters about which authors Angele de T. Gingras and Marie Deibler write with authority and enthusiasm. Miss Gingras, a Washington-based newsgal, became interested in the special problems of military and other "government children" while serving as U. S. LADY Magazine's book editor and State Department reporter. Mrs. Deibler, who was assistant editor of U. S. LADY from 1960 to 1965, learned what every military kid should know firsthand, guiding her own three children through the trauma of many moves and adjustments during her Navy officer husband's military career. In a chapter entitled "Americans Overseas —Ambassadors All," the authors tell why American young people should comport themselves with less abandon overseas than they might back home. They give the reasons for many customs in foreign lands that seem strange to us. They give the symptoms of and reasons for cultural shock and tell how to avoid that devastating illness. Another excellent chapter tells how to prepare for college back home while living far away. And speaking of colleges, one military child, when asked what he liked best about having his dad in the military, replied, "We get two college educations—one in books and labs and lectures, and the other a traveling scholarship to see the country and the world." That applies to Foreign Service children as well. Growing up with a father whose career makes constant moves necessary isn't all roses, the authors point out, but there are also many orchids for those who look for them along the verdant paths of strange lands.

—ALVADEE ADAMS

WHAT EVERY MILITARY KID SHOULD KNOW, *by Angele de T. Gingras and Marie Deibler. Stackpole Books, $4.95.*

Which Chasm Counts?

THIS book is a remarkable, idealistic exposition of a potential international problem (with recommended solution) by a successful industrialist rather than a politician or statesman. Mr. Peccei, Vice Chairman of the Board of Olivetti, is concerned with closing the gap between US and European technology, and proposes "Project 69," a study of the "general feasibility of forecasting, prospecting, and planning at world scale," which would include participation by all advanced nations, including the Soviet Union.

Sadly, the problem is not really the chasm Mr. Peccei notes, but the broad one he barely touches on—the political difficulties of acting on such recommendations. His next book could well be devoted entirely to that point.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

THE CHASM AHEAD, *by Aurelio Peccei. Macmillan, $7.50.*

On Man and War

THE author's central thesis is that we are bright because we fight—or, to put it in his words, "I will propose an explanation of human evolution that considers warfare as the force that demanded a threefold increase in the size of the brain in a mere two or three million years."

This is a fascinating and eminently readable excursion into modern evolutionary theory as applied to *homo sapiens*—Darwin revisited and updated. It should dispose once and for all of the romantic "paradise lost" notion that our remote prehistoric ancestors were innately peaceful, gentle sorts, living in a kind of Garden of Eden. On the contrary, Bigelow paints a persuasive and provocative picture of a prehistory marked by constant conflict, between groups that were frequently differentiated physically, culturally, and perhaps linguistically from each other, for the land most capable of supporting them. In most cases victory went to those groups in which group solidarity, discipline, and individual leadership were most highly developed, with the losers pushed outward to marginal land.

Bigelow brings this picture up to the present with the concept that as human capacity for social organization evolved, so did the size of warring groups; but actual conflict between groups became more intermittent, and areas within which peace generally prevailed also increased. We now face the need to achieve a new evolutionary stage—world-wide social organization—but it is by no means certain that we will be able to, that our atavistic instincts can be sufficiently contained to prevent nuclear war. Implicitly, Bigelow suggests that we are more likely to avoid mutual extermination if we understand our warlike origins than if we ignore them or pretend we are other than we are.

—C. S. COON, JR.

THE DAWN WARRIORS, *by Robert Bigelow. Atlantic, Little Brown, $6.95.*

NATO

PROFESSOR BEER provides an exhaustive study of NATO institutions and procedures in dealing with the varied problems it has tackled in its first 20 years. It is based on access to NATO and SHAPE documents as well as those in the archives of the United States and other governments and interviews with hundreds of officials of various nationalities. For the hurried reader the final chapter, "NATO: Past and Future," reviews its achievements and shortcomings and presents three possible scenarios for the future: Community, Partnership and simple Alliance. All have their drawbacks.

Looking for indications of supranational institutions, authority and decision-making, the author is understandably discouraged at the extent to which national positions have prevailed over the common interest despite the best efforts of distinguished Secretaries General, Supreme Commanders and non-governmental experts. National positions are revealed not as simple cussedness but as having deep and complex roots. Cooperation has waxed and waned with the degree of crisis.

The whole NATO experience to date can well be summarized by two quotations:

> "Unless NATO becomes far more than a purely military alliance it will be at the mercy of the first plausible Soviet peace offensive." (Senator Vandenberg, Senate debate, July 1949.)
>
> "Cooperation is not enough." (Lord Franks, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October 1962.)

—THEODORE C. ACHILLES

INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN NATO, *by Francis A. Beer. Ohio State University Press, $10.00.*

For The Young

NHAN, a Boy of Vietnam," is a charming small book with black and white sketches suitable for coloring. It tells an adventurous but not frightening story with a bit of history and local color. The map in the frontispiece will help orient a geographically-minded youngster.

—N.R.S.

NHAN, A Boy of Vietnam, written and illustrated by Inor Forney. Charles E. Tuttle Co., $1.00.

Internationalizing for Peace

IN this small book Lester Pearson brings all his wisdom, his humanity, his political experience to bear on the single issue of how to achieve peace for the peoples of the world. It consists of six tightly written lectures delivered over the BBC in 1968. His inescapable conclusion is that complete interdependence is the only answer. "People must be made to see that internationalism is quite as important to them, as practically and immediately important, as national loyalty and interest." In demonstrating that this is not a theoretical, academic question, but the tough practical matter of the survival of the human race, Mr. Pearson draws on his own extensive experience running back to World War I and the idealism of the League of Nations. Now, he feels, we have only the fear that war will destroy us to restrain us from war. But, he asks, will that fear not diminish, permitting us to quarrel ourselves into a traditional war which, once begun, must escalate into an atomic war? He discusses the need for compromise on small, specific issues. He comments on the Soviet fear of the United States and the reaction here caused by their fearful actions. Mr. Pearson draws hope from the feelings of the astronauts coming back to "their earth," the home of all humans in the immensity of space. Taking up the analogy of the American Revolution and the growth of our federal union he says we must extend the idea of a federal union of independent political communities to a far wider area than ever considered before so that present day national communities will one day become part of a larger international community. He deplores the fissiparation of the world into separate national sovereign states preferring that the idea of the "compound nation of America" be extended. Mr. Pearson speaks much of the United Nations, urging the small and middle powers to seek to be objective and preserve as much flexibility of maneuver as they can with the hope that they can free themselves from one bloc or the other and work freely together. He expresses doubt about the advisability of maintaining UN peacekeeping forces too long between warring nations since this removes some of the pressure for bringing about a political settlement. Mr. Pearson notes also the possibility of extending the concept of regionalism as already practiced within the United Nations in economic and social fields to the political field. Annual regional assemblies could supplement the General Assembly which then might be held every three years.

Mr. Pearson does not despair but he is deeply concerned. He finds hope in Barbara Ward's words that "The ever tightening thickening web of complete interdependence draws all the sovereignties, great and small, kicking and screaming, into a single planetary system." He closes on two imperatives: "we must reach the point where we consider war between countries as civil war," and we must cultivate international ideals, policies and institutions, "above all the United Nations, so that peace and progress can be made secure in the family of man." This excellent presentation and analysis should be considered a companion piece to his report to the World Bank as Chairman of the Commission on International Development released in September, 1969.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

PEACE IN THE FAMILY OF MAN, *The Reith Lectures, by Lester Pearson. Oxford University Press, $3.50.*

War Control

THE authors have produced one of the better examples of useful political science. Even tradition-minded FSOs will be impressed by the evidence marshalled to support their suggested strategy and illustrate the dilemmas of conflict control. Readers may find the classification system a bit tedious, but the description of actual conflicts—the Soviet-Iranian clash, the Bay of Pigs, the Greek insurgency, the Indonesian fight for independence, and the Middle East—1956-67, will fascinate anyone.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

CONTROLLING SMALL WARS: *A Strategy for the 1970s, by Lincoln P. Bloomfield and Amelia C. Leiss. Knopf, $8.95.*

Ambassador's Weapons

Ambassadors have no battleships at their disposal, or heavy infantry, or fortresses. Their weapons are words and opportunities.—Demosthenes, 343 B.C. (Contributed by James B. Stewart).

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NO *from page* 20

ern Rhodesia. Sir Patrick Dean, the British delegate, then commented: "The British Government has always recognized that the possession of the power of the veto places a very heavy responsibility on those members of the United Nations who possess it. We would never have been driven to use it except in the most compelling circumstances." Nationalist China, on December 13, 1955, under what it doubtless considered compelling circumstances, vetoed a resolution which included the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia) in a recommendation for admitting "eighteen countries about which no problem of unification arises."

Attempts to curb the use of the veto began as far back as the first session of the General Assembly at Lake Success in the fall of 1946, when concern was aroused, after the example set by the Soviets at London, that the veto might not necessarily be used sparingly. A resolution was passed asking the permanent members of the Security Council "to make every effort . . . to ensure that the use of the special voting privilege . . . does not impede the Security Council in reaching decisions promptly." It was soon evident that the Russians, at least, were making no such effort. In November 1949 the Assembly tried again: it asked the permanent members "to refrain from the use of the veto in connection with the recommendation of States for membership." Again the Soviets were not swayed: they subsequently used the veto 30 times on applications for membership.

At the start of the Korean war in 1950, Moscow missed a memorable chance to say no when the Soviet representative walked out of the Security Council and an affirmative vote on the use of United Nations troops was taken in his absence. The circumstances surrounding this milestone in veto history led to the adoption by the General Assembly, on November 3 of that year, of the Uniting for Peace resolution, under which the Assembly can be called into emergency session and make recommendations in the event that the Security Council is deadlocked by the veto. The device has not, however, prevented use of the veto. In the nearly nineteen years during which the measure has been on the books, the Uniting for Peace procedure has been invoked only five times, while in the same period there have been 65 vetoes.

Considering the political realities of the day, which have changed little since the UN was launched almost a quarter of a century ago, and taking account of the recent shift in the organization's political balance, it would scarcely be reasonable to expect the United States to deny itself indefinitely the use of the veto as an instrument of policy. When the Security Council was first formed, in addition to the five permanent members, there were two from Latin America, two from Western Europe, and two from Eastern Europe. Now the composition of the Council is governed by a General Assembly resolution of 1966, which gives the Council five members from the Afro-Asian area, one from Eastern Europe, two from Latin America and two from "Western Europe and other States." Such a line-up suggests that if the five Afro-Asians, the member from Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union were in agreement, the United States could be confronted with a majority decision on some subject which might leave this country no alternative but to cast a veto.

Perhaps the Soviet Union in the years ahead will further temper its handling of the veto. By the same token, there may be occasions when the Western powers will be tempted to exercise their privilege more often than in the past. It has been suggested from time to time that the conditons under which the veto may be used should be changed, or that it should be abolished. However, as long as there exist such profoundly differing concepts of the organization of the world as prevail today, there is little likelihood of this taking place. In the light of present circumstances, it should be no cause for astonishment if the United States, as a conscious instrument of national policy, began to make use of that important "political tool" it insisted on including in the UN Charter. ■

land as those fine Peace Corps youngsters. A wonderful pony was coming down from America, sent by those same youngsters. The whole thing symbolized friendship and exchange of peoples—well, animals, anyway. The rabbit warrens were going to be blessed by the priest. Everyone would give a speech. It was to be a memorable day in Santa Maria and throughout the world of rural development if not, indeed, of diplomacy.

The fact is, it really was very much that kind of day. The ambassador, as it turned out, actually enjoyed getting out and meeting simple farm folks, perhaps because they made an unbelievable fuss over him. During the day, the mayor shook everyone's hand at least six times, and the priest blessed everything in sight. After the ceremonies, there was a great outdoor barbecue, beef, not rabbit, which was suggested but rejected as inappropriate. The pony was a tremendous success. Everyone who could get on a horse rode him, and the ambassador even patted his nose.

All's well that ends well, and all ended well for Santa Maria, but the agricultural attaché still faced one small chore—removing the bunnies at the end of the day. They were kissed, patted, crated up, and taken to the bus stop. The attaché was embraced by the old couple, blessed by the priest, and had his hand shaken six times by the mayor. The bunnies were put aboard, the attaché followed, the couple cried, the priest put an arm around both of them, and finally the bus rolled away.

At Catumiri, Bill boarded an airplane, along with the bunnies, who in their crate were placed in the rear of the cabin. Now, on this particular airline passengers don't worry much about the steward. They consider themselves lucky if the doors close and both the propellers stay on. They are surprised and relieved if both the pilot and the copilot show up for the flight, although after taking a second look their relief diminishes substantially. So, to repeat, passengers do not worry much about the shiftless, scraggly, dirty steward, and as a result, he doesn't worry much either, except occasionally about the plane's capacity to stay airborne.

"What do you suppose is in this crate?" he wondered at about 6,000 feet. "Open it and find out," he decided as the plane plummeted to about 5,500 feet. "Where?" he asked himself as it bucked up again to about 6,300 feet. "Well, probably right there where it says uh, let's see, 'DO NOT OPEN'." So he gave it a little jimmy and a pry, a pound or so with his fist, a twist and a shake, and suddenly a rabbit jumped to the floor and began hopping up the cabin. While the steward, amazed, was still watching the first one, another pushed up the top, and he was out, too, gambolling after the first. Finally, the steward yanked up the top, and immediately the other three were free, and all five cavorting in the aisle.

"Well, the hell with them," he figured. He didn't even see them. Rabbits? Rabbits running loose on an airplane? You're crazy.

So zig-zag, first on this side, then on that one, hoppity-plop-sniff-sniff here, hoppity-plop-sniff-sniff there, up the cabin they went.

Now, growing accustomed to the flight, the attaché began to relax for the first time in a long while. He

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thought about Santa Maria, how everything had gone well there, and how, thank God, it was finally all over. Royce, of course, would probably damn his work with faint praise. He could almost hear him saying, "Not bad, Bill—on the whole, not too bad," Well, by God, he had saved old Royce from being the laughing stock of the Foreign Service. What did it have to be, the Treaty of Vienna? The Marshall Plan? He took a tough assignment and did a good job with it. Probably the ambassador couldn't have come out of it half so. . . . What was that in the aisle? He must have imagined it. Anyway, the next time Royce. . . What was that against his leg? He thought he felt something. . . Next time Royce . . . WHAT. Oh, dear God. Those two beady little eyes were looking right up at him. He refused to look back. Finally he did, a quick peek, and sure enough, there they were, all five, bouncing and sniffing, having a grand time, with everyone who wasn't passing out from air sickness calling and clucking at them.

Well, the hell with them. Rabbits? Rabbits in the aisle of an airplane? Who ever heard of such a thing? He looked straight ahead. He was the only one that did.

But if he didn't recognize them, at least one, that one at the edge of his seat, seemed to recognize him. It just sat and stared at him. "Well, go ahead, stare," he thought. "I'm not going to watch." He looked straight at the seat in front of him. Pretty soon another rabbit came up and stared. The attaché sneaked a sidelong glance. They were all there. "Damn it, get lost," he hissed out the side of his mouth, but it was no good. They would hop around, but always come back to stare at him.

When the plane finally landed, he reluctantly admitted ownership, and asked the steward not to open the door until they caught the rabbits. Everyone who was able joined in the chase, bumping, banging, and stumbling around while the tower asked if there was something wrong aboard and the ground crew kept knocking on the door until it got the steward's attention, whereupon he stuck his tongue out at them and went back to the hunt. Finally, with only three rabbits caught, a woman who had been nearly invalided by the flight insisted on getting off and the hell with those dirty beasts that shouldn't be on an airplane anyway and if they didn't open that door she was going to put her bag through the window and go out that way, understand. As soon as the door was opened, a rabbit sprang from nowhere and darted down the ramp. The steward yelled to a crewman at the bottom to catch him. The crewman got set, made a lunge, missed, and fell flattened on the steps. The rabbit hopped down the length of his back and off to freedom. The last one was less successful and was trapped in the pilot's seat.

The attaché arranged to have the crate left beside the airplane while he rounded up some porters to carry it to the front of the airport where a vehicle from the embassy was to meet him. They would be along shortly, the porters said, so the attaché returned to the plane.

When he got back, he found the escaped rabbit sitting on top of the crate. Apparently having discovered that freedom is a lonely experience, it had returned to its friends.

"Move over," the attaché said, giving it a shove, and sitting togther, they waited for the porters. ■

A Communication on Communications

COMMUNICATION AND CONTROVERSY: Thoughts on the Future of Foreign Service Reporting," by Michael Michaud in the October issue, makes a substantial contribution to the improvement of foreign affairs information processes.

Mr. Michaud accurately isolated some of the worst abuses of our reporting—wordiness, make-work, rigidity of formats, excessive caution by reports, fear of controversy, blandness, anonymity, etc. He has also foreseen some novelties. Clearer divisions of function among reporters, greater reliance on professional information collectors, heavier emphasis on policy-influencing reporting, more attention to discriminating evaluation of reports, on-line dialogue between field reporters and Washington officers—these are among the developments foreseen by Mr. Michaud.

There is no denying that the defects of reporting produce daily frustrations throughout the Foreign Service, and that reporters find as little pleasure in producing unnecessary reports as Washington does in reading them. We can hardly calculate how much time is spent in scanning printed pages merely to confirm that they need not be read or retained.

Improvement of this situation is part of the Department's overall plans for improving information systems. By the time this is published it will also be apparent that it is an urgent matter of highest concern. Providing better services to field posts is part of our plans. Once substantive information in Washington can be controlled with the help of computer-assisted dissemination and retrieval, overseas posts should be able to "converse" with a computer in Washington in much the way that the writer suggested for human dialogue. The stored information resources of Washington, including "facts," opinions, proposals, approved policy and program data, would thus be at the command of field officers. Even before this is possible, imaginative effort is needed to reduce the "information overload."

In at least one major country, Foreign Service posts decided more than two years ago to "know more and report less." The corollary of this, of course, is that Washington will not expect routine factual or analytical reporting until it is asked for. Presumably, we will have the wit to request any needed information and recommendations so that they will arrive in time to support the decision-making process. For at least some parts of the world, generally available information about spot events may soon make this kind of arrangement possible.

Another part of the Department's plan foresees the provision of better evaluation of incoming reports, as well as other measures to raise the total quality and reduce the quantity of reporting. One of the difficulties will be to decide exactly how this can be done. The regional bureaus' traditional aversion to fixed controls on political reporting is well-known. By contrast, they are curiously reluctant to protect their respective posts from the demands of circular instructions for special reporting. I hope that the article will provoke a continuing discussion of ways and means.

My own quibbles with Mr. Michaud are relatively minor. Two of them involve matters of emphasis.

First, he gives little recognition to the fact that the reporting tradition of the Foreign Service is not one of mere collection. It also includes a heavy element of analysis. "Superior judgment" of the kind mentioned in the article has always been highly prized, and sometimes rewarded. The fact that analytical reporting may go unrewarded, and can even be a punishable offense, goes back to the writer's mention of needed changes in the bureaucratic and personnel systems. Obviously, when promotion is preponderantly influenced by efficiency reports written by one's immediate

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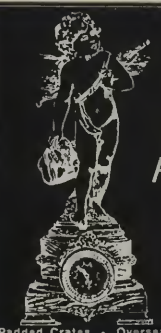
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superior, reporting officers are reluctant to displease. If not, they tend to disappear from the scene. And it is not much help to suggest, as the writer did, that we should reward only those who "are proved right" after taking the risk. Ultimate truths are elusive in foreign affairs.

Second, while I like the emphasis on controversy, I would rather see it applied differently to various kinds of information. Too often, we are inclined to label as "policy differences" the controversies which are merely disagreements over facts or interpretation. There would be real merit, I believe, in asking reporting officers to indicate on each report (or section thereof) whether they think that they are submitting data, analysis or recommendations. "Comment" labels are often inaccurately applied in current reporting.

If stricter distinctions were made among the three main categories of information, we might be able more easily to identify the superfluous fact-reporting against which Mr. Michaud inveighs, and to begin to recognize and reward deserving attempts to influence policy and program decisions. But reporters should not be relieved of a responsibility for collecting facts. They are, after all, the only sound bases of analysis and action. Proliferation of information does not obviate, but instead increases, the need for questioning and appraising the roots of it all. This can best be done by digging at the source. Even if the digger forebears to deliver all that he turns up, he must demonstrate that he has not neglected the spadework. ■

GRANT G. HILLIKER

Periodical Articles

"Crossroads of Africa." THE NATION, August 11, 1969, p. 104-108. In the first article in this discussion, Jack Kramer examines "Ethiopia's Unknown War," recounting the conflict with the Eritrean Liberation Front; Stanley Meisler addresses himself to the political and tribal consequences of the assassination of the Kenyon leader.

"Brazil under Domination of Military Dictatorship," by Richard Gott. MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, July 27, 1969, p. 6. Although the masses in Brazil experience little difference under the military government, the small group that constituted the political and intellectual elite have been repressed or exiled, and the press is subjected to military censorship.

"The Culture of Bureaucracy." THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, July 1969, p. 33. In the first of this two-part article, William A. Bell, under the title "The Cost of Cowardice," examines the reasons for and practice of failing to speak out critically or show initiative in the rank and file of the State Department. In "The Cost of Courage," Barbara Newman reviews the case of Arthur E. Fitzgerald, a Pentagon Executive, who exposed the financial overruns on the C-5A contracts, and Pentagon reaction to his revelations.

"Can Mao Count on the Strife-Torn Chinese Army?" THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS, July 30, 1969, p. 19-21. Describes the conflicts within the Red Chinese Army, identifying the antagonistic elements and claiming that Maoism is not universal to the local military units, which are plagued by contradictory instructions emanating from the confused political situation. Further, the Army ranks are being "cleaned" and "reeducated" and are expected to "clean class ranks" in other milieus of Chinese life.

"Resolution of Conflicts," by William Gerber. EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS, July 2, 1969, p. 493-509. Conflict resolution is a new social science which studies the methods of peacemaking and reduction of strife: arbitration, third parties, historical codes of law, majority rule, and ombuds-

men; conflict areas in need of recurring aid, like college, labor, and racial controversies, are examined.

"Eco-Catastrophe!" by Paul Ehrlich. RAMPARTS, September 1969, p. 24-28. A deeply disturbing prediction of world famine by 1979, occasioned by the wanton pollution of sea, land, water supplies, and air, overpopulation, and plagues of insects and rodents resulting from the loss of birdlife. The author holds that either famine, plague, or thermonuclear war must occur to redress the imbalance in world population.

"China's Aid to Cambodia," by Alain-Gérard Marsot. PACIFIC AFFAIRS, Summer 1969, p. 189-198. Cambodia has received a sizable amount of aid from Red China. This aid program is traced, with special consideration given to the reasons for such Chinese action, and the kind and quality of aid afforded.

"Europe in a Time of Change," by Drew Middleton. SATURDAY REVIEW, August 16, 1969, p. 14-15. In a realistic view of Europe at this time, France is no longer seen as the leader; instead West Germany is recognized as the strongest nation; Britain cuts a sad figure; the United States' will to protect Europe is doubted; and the German reunification issue still looms on the horizon.

"Greece Under Military Rule," by C. M. Woodhouse. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, July 1969, p. 1-15. This study of the Greek political scene, beginning in 1912, finds that there could be an alternative (as exemplified by General Zervas) to the "old politicians" backed by the Communists and the "new men" supported by the Army. Today's regime, its accession to power, its permanence, and public response to it, to communism and to constitutional democracy and monarchy are assessed, and some speculations are drawn on Greece's future government and to what degree her allies should try to influence events there.

"Intervention as a Scientific Concept," by James N. Rosenau. THE JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, June 1969, p. 149-171. This theoretical inquiry explains when intervention is morally acceptable, the problems in defining it and measuring its influence, and the prospect of increased intervention in developing nations in the future.

"Latin America in the 1970s." INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, Summer 1969, p. 403-589. Twelve articles constitute this issue: "Latin America and Its Alternative Futures," by Kalman H. Silvert; "Population and Society," by Nathan Keyfitz; "Integration and Development," by Miguel S. Wiorczek; "Stages of Modernization," by Gino Germani; "The Latin American Common Man: Political Integration or Civil War," by Phillip Althoff; "The Decline of the OAS," by Jerome Slater; "Colombian Prospects," by Malcolm Deas; "Chile: the Difficulties of Democratic Reform," by Alan Angell; "Brazil among the Nations," by H. Jon Rosenbaum; "The Future of Castroism," by C. Ian Lumsden; "Conflict and Cooperation in Tomorrow's Caribbean," by Sir Harold Mitchell; and "Canada and the Pan American Union: Twenty Years On," by J. C. M. Ogelsby.

"Asian Defence—Soviet Style," by Jay B. Sorenson. FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, June 29—July 5, 1969, p. 84-85. Moscow, consistently critical of Asian regional pacts, is now proposing the establishment of a collective security system in Asia as a move against Peking and an assist to the Russian position in Asia.

"Reflections: Revolution and Related Matters," by Leopold Tyrmand. THE NEW YORKER, August 16, 1969, p. 40-75. The writer offers his sentient and trenchant observations on, and analyses of, the principles of democracy, youth and the social revolution, and the trends in Americans' attitude toward their country.

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A Further Word

IN A LETTER dated September 22, Lannon Walker informed us that the Young Turks had recommended that time-in-class requirements be dropped from the precepts for the current Selection Boards. I have learned from other sources that their pressure was successful.

What Mr. Walker omitted from his letter may also be of interest to the membership.

While his intervention offers an opportunity for some outstanding officers, recently promoted, to be promoted again this year, it also places a requirement on the Selection Boards to increase the number of Foreign Service officers ranked in the low 10% of their Classes by 55-60.

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.
Washington

On Time and Rank

I have a suggestion for resolving one of the concerns expressed by Lannon Walker in his open letter to the Director General in the August JOURNAL, and also voiced in several letters to the editor in the same issue. I refer to the belief that FSOs whose performance has been "superior in every respect" are being retired because of time in class. Why not link the time-in-class and selection-out procedures via a sliding scale which would make enforced retirement more and more likely for an officer whose substandard performance continued over time?

For example—and I do not advocate these specific figures but use them only for illustration—an officer could be selected out who had two years in class and who been ranked in the lower two percent of his class in both years; or who had three years in class and had been in the lower three percent for two consecutive years; or four years in class who had been in the lower four percent in two consecutive years; etc. Thus no officer could claim that he had been forced out despite superior performance. The actual figures would be determined by the total number of selections-out needed annually in order to keep the pyramid trimmed, but the standards, once set, should not be frequently or capriciously changed, nor should the standards vary from one field of specialization to another, as Mr. Walker suggests.

It might be objected that if we were to go this far, why not discard the time-in-class concept altogether, and return to selection-out by class ranking alone? The answer is that that system patently did not work, perhaps because it is easier not to promote a man than it is to place his hand on the chopping block by ranking him in the bottom percentiles. But by linking time and rank as I suggest substandard performance would catch up with an officer eventually, no matter how forbearing his rating officers and promotion boards.

GEORGE F. JONES
Washington

Camouflaging Insight

BY now enough social research on organization sub-cultures in general and the Department of State syndromes in particular has been accumulated to thoroughly substantiate Andrew Scott's revelations in his article on the Department's informal culture (August 1969).

Strangely enough, the very organizational ideology he describes will, first, compel the organization man to disbelieve him, and second, on finding some verity in reflection, undermine him.

Sister-organization USIA, while maintaining the trappings of independence, has at the same time struggled hard to be like her older brother. In this schizo-culture, USIA has adopted within its informal organization all of the prevalent beliefs of the Department that Scott describes (except perhaps the premise that USIA operations are "peripheral to the main foreign policy task").

For two years now USIA has been experimenting with a patented exposure technique, and at latest count more than 700 senior officers of the Agency have examined their informal organization, its work culture, and their role in both. Most have concluded that Chris Argyris, especially as quoted in Scott's footnote, wasn't talking just about the Department of State. Those 700, however, leave the laboratory only to return to the protective coloring of the cultural environment they know, and their insights are quickly camouflaged by the organizational ideology.

Could not Scott's article be reprinted in each and every issue of the JOURNAL from August on until some generation does something about it?

JOHN S. BARKER
Rawalpindi

Remedies for "The Predicament"

ON re-reading Ambassador Steeves' "The Predicament of the Senior Career" in the July JOURNAL, two possible explanations occur to me for the anomalous divergency existing between the number of Career Ministers and the responsible jobs which they should, but are not receiving. The first of these is quite simply the debilitating effects of age and the general wear and tear on Career Ministers of their preceding 20 or 25 years of active service. The results of this grim process, which afflict some sooner than others, are declining vigor, physical attractiveness, flexibility and enterprise. It follows, perhaps unfairly, but inevitably, that the desirable positions go to the officers who have not been thus slowed down.

With respect, secondly to Ambassador Steeves' wry observation that Assistant Secretaries appear to exercise a kind of double standard, one on the Selection Boards and another in recommending actual Chiefs of Mission, I would suggest that it is understandable, and human, that an Assistant Secretary or his Deputies should propose as ambassadorial candidates in the first instance the ablest among the Country Directors (probably FSO-1s, or possibly O-2s), with whom they have been most recently and closely associated, rather than a Career Minister who is working in some other area of the Department or the field. The old adage of "out of sight, out of mind," undoubtedly plays a role here.

As to possible remedies (insofar as these are within the Department's hands), there are perhaps two. When an Assistant Secretary proposes an FSO-1 from his Bureau for an ambassadorship, this candidate should be required to compete for the job before whatever higher Departmental board passes on these arcane questions against a slate of available Career Ministers who have the necessary area experience and are still genuinely competitive. This presupposes a willingness on the Assistant Secretary's part to accept the board's judgment, as well as no delusions of grandeur on the part of the Career Ministers with respect to the posts they feel entitled to.

A second possible solution would be to adopt a procedure analogous to that used, I understand, by the United States Navy in parceling out the command of major vessels to senior officers. Since the number of such line units is less than the number of senior officers qualified to command them, each officer, except for an outstanding few, is given a single crack for a

limited period of time at one of these ships. After this he is expected to make room for the next qualified man.

While naval officers and vessels are not fully comparable with Career Ministers and Ambassadorships, the adoption of a variant of this procedure in the Foreign Service might provide a way out of the unhappy predicament we now find ourselves in.

ROSWELL D. MCCLELLAND

Athens

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Because of the war in Vietnam, the need for stamps becomes greater every day; thus SFTW is presently running out of material: all used or unused domestic and foreign stamps (except the common US 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5¢ issues), all commemorative and revenue stamps, envelopes with special postmarks, first-day covers, first air-mail flights, but particularly foreign stamps.

In case you wish to help, SFTW offers suggestions for packing and mailing your precious gifts. 1) Be sure to leave at least a quarter-inch of paper around stamps you tear off packages and envelopes to avoid damaging stamp perforations or tearing stamps. Please don't try to peel or steam off stamps. They must be soaked in lukewarm water till they float off the paper by themselves . . . and the soaking process provides fun for the hospitalized collector. 2) If you possibly can find the time, separate the stamps into three groups: canceled US, uncanceled US, and foreign stamps. You can ship them all together, of course, but the preliminary sorting will help tremendously! 3) Pack your stamps in strong, corrugated cardboard boxes, filling empty spaces with crumpled newspaper. Shoe-boxes and tissue boxes break open in transit and stamps are lost. 4) Please print your name and complete address on your parcel to enable SFTW to identify the sender and acknowledge your gift. 5) Send your stamp packages to: STAMPS FOR THE WOUNDED; c/o Mr. Herman L. Neugass, National Vice-Chairman, 2801 New Mexico Ave., N.W., Apt. # 1209, Washington, D.C. 20007.

NANCY G. NEUGASS

Washington

We're Sorry, Stanford

UNDER AFSA NEWS, page 25 of the October issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL you carry an item concerning your new Editorial Board Member, Princeton Lyman, and his education in which you discredit Stanford University. Whether or not your statement "though Mr. Lyman studied at Stanford before coming to his senses and transferring to Berkeley" was made facetiously, I find it in very bad taste and I resent it. It was completely uncalled for and hardly in keeping with the attitude I would expect from the Foreign Service and its JOURNAL, let alone a member of the Editorial Board. Stanford University deserves an apology. I hope you will do so.

PHILIP P. WILLIAMS

Cape Coral, Florida

The JOURNAL *Board member responsible for the* AFSA NEWS *(not Mr. Lyman, of course) was dismayed by Mr. William's letter, and sincerely regrets that a light allusion to the traditional rivalry between two fine institutions should have caused Mr. Williams (Stanford '34) to become upset. There is quite enough to be upset about in the world today, and* AFSA NEWS *is sorry if it has added, however unintentionally, to the burden.—C. E. S.*

A Tribute to Jim Stewart

I KNEW Jim Stewart so well that it is difficult to believe that I saw him only twice. We had at most four hours together, with an interval of that many years between the two meetings. But I had known him for a long time before—first through his "25 Years Ago," in the JOURNAL, later by letter. He kept up a fabulous correspondence, with old friends and new. His letters were a delight, warm and gay and salty, and when I finally had an opportunity to visit him at his Denver home I found that they were a true reflection of his personality—his warmth, his drollery, his lively interest in issues and people.

Even after emphysema and failing vision compelled him to give up his column, he continued to write, less frequently and more briefly, but with the old sparkle. When I saw him a year ago I was shocked at the change that four years had brought. But his welcome was as warm as before, his interest in the JOURNAL and in our mutual friends just as keen.

I shall miss those letters. And I know there must be many who never saw Jim who feel, as I do, that they have lost a dear friend.

TED OLSON

Washington

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



". . . . and just after I finished saying 'This is absolutely our final concession' . . ."

SANTA CLAUS

from page 35

healing powers and was parceled out in minute quantities.

Obviously Bari and Venice would not have competed for the bones of Saint Nicholas in 1087 if his cult had not by then reached Western Europe. By then he was probably the most popular Saint in the Christian World. In Holland in due course St. Nicholas was pronounced Sinterklass and after Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians in 1626 St. Nicholas was invariably the figure head of the Dutch ships bringing colonists to the New World. Quite naturally the first Church built in New Amsterdam was dedicated to Sinterklass.

However it was only after that imaginative humorist Washington Irving published in 1809 what purported to be "The History of New York from the beginning of the World to the end of the Dutch Dynasty" by one Diedrich Knickerbocker that the people of the United States became aware of Saint Nicholas and the Saint's connection with New York.

After the death of his fiancee Irving went abroad returning to the United States only for short visits. In the course of one of these trips home he was tendered, on May 30, 1832, a great banquet in New York. At this affair he urged the establishment of a society of Old New Yorkers and on February 14, 1835 some 300 signed up as charter members of the Saint Nicholas Society. The objectives of the Society were charitable and today it continues to serve this philanthropic role. The high spot each year in the life of the Society is a major banquet, naturally on the evening of December 6.

Once Washington Irving told the American people how Santa Claus had come to America the Saint was immediately adopted. Irving was assisted in this by the Reverend Clement Clarke Moore, son of the Bishop of New York, and a scholar, poet, and Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature at the General Theological Seminary. In 1822 he wrote a poem for his children; called a "Visit from Saint Nicholas" or "The Night before Christmas." The poem was probably prompted by some verses which had appeared in a children's magazine the year before. Although Dr. Moore did not acknowledge the poem as his until 1837 it was and has continued to be America's theme for Santa Claus and Christmas.

Thus did the boy from Patara become the Bishop of Myra, the beloved Saint and protector of sailors, children, students, and others in Constantinople, Russia, Western Europe, and England. Today he is not only the personal Saint of all Americans at Christmas time but also that of all the children of the Anglo-Saxon world. He is rapidly being adopted by the non-Anglo-Saxon world at Christmas.

Can anyone or any institution, no matter how sacred and learned, really persuade the children that Santa Claus never existed? ■

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$ 6,500	$ 99.00
$ 6,700	$101.80
$ 6,900	$104.60
$ 7,100	$107.40
$ 7,300	$110.20
$ 7,500	$113.00
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$2,700	$12.00
$2,900	$13.00
$3,100	$14.00
$3,300	$15.00
$3,500	$16.00
$3,700	$17.00
$3,900	$18.00
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1969 Index to the Foreign Service Journal

	Month	Page
A		
Academic Details. *Frederic H. Gerlach & Mark Beach*	Jan.	22
A Communication re Modern Diplomacy. *Brice K. Meeker*	July	10
Adler, Selig. The Ghost of Isolationism	Nov.	35
Advice to the Foreign Service. *John Kenneth Galbraith*	Dec.	21
AFSA Awards	May	31
Aha to Alphabetizers. *S. I. Nadler*	Jan.	10
Allen, George V. A Half Century in Perspective	Mar.	29
"Amanda Explains." poem by *G. Lewis Jones*	Oct.	8
Ambassador, The American. *John Kenneth Galbraith*	May	14
Ambassador, Political, Then and Now. *James K. Penfield*	Mar.	26
American Diplomats and European Etiquette. *Robert Ralph Davis, Jr.*	Feb.	35
An End to Anarchy. *Alan Carter*	Jan.	16
Arneson, R. Gordon. The H-Bomb Decision Part I	May	27
Arneson, R. Gordon. The H-Bomb Decision Part II	June	24
ASSOCIATION NEWS		
Ballot Box	Nov.	29
International Studies Association Dialogue	June	2
Awards for Student Excellence	July	6
By-Law Amendments	Mar.	39
Committee on Openness	Apr.	27
International Studies Association Dialogue	June	2
Proposals for Foreign Service Personnel	Apr.	25
Recipients of 1969-70 Scholarship Awards	July	6
Scholarship Program, 1970-71	Nov.	3
Welcomes Revitalization of Foreign Service Board	June	1
U. Alexis Johnson Addresses AFSA Luncheon	Mar.	40
Stephen H. Miller	Mar.	42
Caton, Margaret B., New Circulation Manager of Foreign Service Journal	Jan.	4
Commerce Chapter in Business	Jan.	4
Dobyns, Edward P., New Executive Director of AFSA	July	9
Feissner, Louise Howard, Head of AFSA's Personal Purchases Dept.	Dec.	3
Fellowship to Honor Secretary Rusk	Feb.	30
Heginbotham, Erland H., New Member of the Board of Directors of AFSA	Sept.	1
Interview with Charles W. Bray III	Apr.	28
Lyman, Princeton, New Editorial Board Member of the Foreign Service Journal	Sept.	2
Report from AFSA's Chairman	Feb.	27
Report of the Sub-Committee on Employee-Management Relations	July	1
Schneider, David, New Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal	Feb.	29
Senator Fulbright Submits Foreign Relations Resolutions	Nov.	1
Smith, Clint E., New Editorial Board Member of the Foreign Service Journal	Sept.	1
The 1970 AFSA Budget	May	1
Two Responses to "Modern Diplomacy"	Jan.	1
Walker, Edward S., New Board Member of AFSA	Mar.	41
What AFSA Has Done for You Lately	Dec.	1
Winners of Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards	May	3
Attrition of Foreign Service Officers, Then and Now. *Carroll R. McKibbin*	May	6
Austria Hungary—The Story that Will Not Die. *Carl Charlick*	Dec.	40
B		
Barnett, Robert W. The Man of Many Qualities: A Legacy of the I Ching	Feb.	10
Bartan's Benefits for Charity. *Bartan L. Connett*	Sept.	12
Beach, Mark. Academic Details	Jan.	22
Beaulac, Willard L. The Consular Function	Mar.	32
Black, Eugene R. Policy for a New Era	Oct.	14
Blancke, Wendell W. Salve Regina Semicentenaria	Mar.	46
Blancke, Wendell W. The Service and the Hill	Apr.	19
Blaney, Harry C. European Youth Unrest and Foreign Policy	Sept.	37
Boehringer, Carl. Townsend Harris—Businessman, Diplomat	Jan.	28
Boyatt, Thomas D. The Hijacking of TWA Flight 840	Dec.	4
Bridge, The. *William A. Sommers*	May	19
Bridge Between Peoples, The. *Kingdon W. Swayne*	Nov.	31
Bridges, Peter. In Latium	April	37
Briggs, Ellis O. Why Not Give Diplomacy Back to the Diplomats	Mar.	48
C		
Caffery, Ambassador Jefferson. A Communication from	Mar.	6
Campbell, John F. The Adventure of the Purloined Passport	Aug.	25
Carter, Alan. An End to Anarchy	Jan.	16
A Case for Dialogue. *Sigmund Cohen, Jr.*	Nov.	21
Cates, John M., Jr. An Interview with Margaret Mead on the Woman Diplomat	Feb.	16
Charlick, Carl. Austria Hungary—The Story that Will Not	Dec.	40
Cheers! *Alexandra Hill*	Jan.	31
Citizenship, When Can You Lose Your. *Stanley J. Goray*	Apr.	19
Cohen, Sigmund, Jr. A Case for Dialogue	Nov.	21
Collins, Lansing. The Floating Harem	Apr.	34
Collins, Lansing. The Travels of Saint Nicholas	Dec.	32
Comment on "An End to Anarchy." *Sanford S. Marlowe*	Nov.	10
Communication re "Russia and the Middle East." *Richard B. Parker*	June	10
Communication. *Paul F. Gardner*	Oct.	10
Communication and Controversy: Thoughts on the Future of Foreign Service Reporting. *Michael A. G. Michaud*	Oct.	23
Communication: The Bridge Between Peoples. *Kingdon W. Swayne*	Nov.	31
Communication on Communication. *Grant G. Hilliker*	Dec.	47
CONGRESS: The Service and the Hill. *Wendell W. Blancke*	Aug.	19
Connett, Bartan L. Bartan's Benefits for Charity	Sept.	12
Consular Function, The. *Willard L. Beaulac*	Mar.	32
Cooks Tour. *Helen K. Behrens*	Jan.	8
	Feb.	6
	May	48
The Country Director: A Subjective Appraisal. *J. W. Spain*	Mar.	35
COVERS		
"Chess Game." *Barrett Stephens*	Jan.	
"Munich." *Mary R. Smith*	Feb.	
"Fiftieth Anniversary Cover." *Robert Sivard*	Mar.	
"Washington Green." *Grace G. Barall*	Apr.	

	Month	Page
"Castle of Chillon." *Agnes Granberry Chalker*	May	
"L'Auberge Du Moulin de Fourges." *Jeannine V. President*	June	
"Everlasting Summer." *Elizabeth B. Owens*	July	
"Mogadiscian Montage." *Elizabeth B. Lawton*	Aug.	
"Marksmanship." *Solomon McCombs*	Sept.	
"The Bridge." *Paul Child*	Oct.	
"Jangada." *Patricia Rotundo*	Nov.	
"Joyeux Noel." *Robert Sivard*	Dec.	
Crisp, William. December Frost	July	30
Cross, R. D. Tomorrow Has Broken Out Today	Sept.	35
Cunningham, John E. Turtles and Diplomacy in Madagascar	May	34

D

Dahn, Tamara, James Huey and *Lawrence Gray.* Oppression Unlimited	Sept.	21
Dakar, Last Boat to. *Henry S. Villard*	Mar.	56
Dalai Lama, Dilemma of the. *James O. Mays*	Sept.	44
Dances of Shiva, poem. *William A. Sommers*	Sept.	48
Davis, Robert Ralph, Jr. American Diplomats and European Etiquette	Feb.	35
Death of a Program. *James D. McHale*	Nov.	16
December Frost. *William Crisp*	July	30
Defense Policy, Internal or External, Insurgency or Aggression. *Norman B. Hannah*	Oct.	20
DEFENSE POLICY: Our Internal Defense Policy, A Reappraisal. *Charles Maechling*	Jan.	19
Denney, George C. A Comment on Staffing Washington Jobs	Mar.	58
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE: Formal Organization and Informal Culture. *Andrew M. Scott*	Aug.	14
Devereux, Robert. Esoteric Toponymy	May	47
Dilemma of the Dali Lama. *James O. Mays*	Sept.	44
Dimensions of Security. *J. W. Fulbright*	July	14
Diplomat, A Communication re the Modern. *Brice K. Meeker*	July	10
Diplomat, American, and European Etiquette. *Robert Ralph Davis, Jr.*	Feb.	35
Diplomat, The Professional, Characteristics, Norms, and Attitudes Part I. *John Harr*	June	19
Diplomat, The Professional, Characteristics, Norms, and Attitudes Part II. *John Harr*	July	29
Diplomats, Reporters and, The Competitive Siblings. *John Leacacos*	Mar.	54
Diplomats, Why Not Give Diplomacy Back to the. *Ellis O. Briggs*	Mar.	48

EDITORIALS:

Farewell to Secretary Rusk		
Farewell to Administrator William C. Gaud		
With Congratulations to Recipients of Honor Awards		
A Warm Welcome to Secretary Designate Rogers	Jan.	2
Rusk Fellowship		
Congratulations		
More Freedom in Womens Activities Participation	Feb.	2
The Challenge of the Next Fifty Years		
In Memoriam—January 1969 Allen Dulles, Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss	Mar.	2
Tardy Justice	April	2
AFSA Award Winners		
Still Much to be Done	May	2
Observations on a Predicament		
Salute to a Colleague	July	2
Effects of Student Activism on International Relations, The. *S. M. Lipset*	Sept.	26

E

Eisendrath, Craig R. Visa for America	April	23
Ellis, Weldon T. Vince	Apr.	39
Equal Employment Opportunity—Too Much or Not Enough? *Idris Rossell*	Jan.	12
Esoteric Toponymy. *Robert Devereux*	May	47
Estimates and Influence. *Sherman Kent*	Apr.	16
European Youth and Foreign Policy. *Harry C. Blaney*	Sept.	37

F

Faces of Vietnam. *Robert Pell*	Aug.	30
Fisher, Roger. More Purpose and Less Policy in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs	Oct.	37
The Floating Harem. *Lansing Collins*	Apr.	34
Foreign Policy, A Home Base for U. S. *William C. Rogers*	Mar.	52
Foreign Policy, European Youth Unrest and. *Harry C. Blaney*	Sept.	37
FOREIGN POLICY: More Purpose and Less Policy in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs. *Roger Fisher*	Oct.	37
FOREIGN POLICY: The Ghost of Isolationism. *Selig Adler*	Nov.	35
Foreign Policy, The UN and American. *Mario Rossi*	Apr.	31
FOREIGN POLICY, US: Oppression Unlimited. *Tamara Dahn, James Huey,* and *Lawrence Gray*	Sept.	21
Foreign Service Officers, Social Origins and Characteristics. *John E. Harr*	May	15
Foreign Service, Problems of the. *Rufus Burr Smith*	June	28
Foreign Service, Professionalism and the. *Louis J. Halle*	Mar.	24
Foreign Service Reporting, Communication and Controversy, Thoughts on the Future of. *Michael A. G. Michaud*	Oct.	23
Foreign Service Wife, The. *Jack Perry*	Feb.	18
Four Persian Miniatures. *Marina Stephens*	Feb.	39
Fulbright, J. W. Dimension of Security	July	14

G

Galbraith, John Kenneth. Advice to the Foreign Service	Dec.	21
Galbraith, John Kenneth. The American Ambassador	June	14
Gallery of Women in Diplomacy	Feb.	22
Gardner, Paul F. A Communication re Westernization	Oct.	10
The Generator that Would Not Walk. *Karen A. Signell*	Feb.	34
Gerlach, Frederic H. Academic Details	Jan.	22
The Ghost of Isolationism. *Selig Adler*	Nov.	35
Goodman, Melvin A. Russia and the Middle East in the Wake of the Mediterranean War	Apr.	14
Goray, Stanley J. When Can You Lose Your Citizenship?	Apr.	19
Graves, John. The Nine Month Eunuch	Sept.	54
The Great Montpellier Wine Tasting. *Howard R. Simpson*	Nov.	37
A Half Century in Perspective. *George V. Allen*	Mar.	29

H

Halle, Louis J. Professionalism and the Foreign Service	Mar.	24
Hannah, Norman B. Defense Policy: Internal (or External Insurgency or Aggression?	Oct.	20
Harr, John E. The Professional Diplomat, Characteristics, Norms, and Attitudes Part I	June	19
Part II	July	29
Har, John E. Social Origins and Characteristics	May	15
Harris, Townsend—Businessman-Diplomat. *Carl Boehringer*	Jan.	28
The H-Bomb Decision. *R. Gordon Arneson* Part I	May	27
The H-Bomb Decision. *R. Gordon Arneson* Part II	June	24

	Month	Page
He Spoke for America. *Stephen N. Sestanovitch*	Apr.	21
Henry of the Tower. *Ralph Hilton*	June	2
Hijacking of TWA Flight 840. *Thomas D. Boyatt*	Dec.	4
Hill, Alexandra. Cheers!	Jan.	31
Hilton, Ralph. Henry of the Tower	June	2
Hirshorn, Anne Sue. The Toone Marionettes	June	39
A Home Base for U. S. Foreign Policy. *William C. Rogers*	Mar.	52

I

INDONESIA: Death of a Program. *James D. McHale*	Nov.	16
In Latium. *Peter Bridges*	Apr.	37
Internal (or External) Defense Policy: Insurgency or Aggression. *Norman B. Hannah*	Oct.	20
International Relations, Possible Effects of Student Activism on. *S. M. Lipset*	Sept.	26
An Interview with Margaret Mead on the Woman Diplomat. *John M. Cates, Jr.*	Feb.	16
Isham, Sheila. Journey Through City and Space	May	32
Isolationism, The Ghost of. *Selig Adler*	Nov.	35

J

Japanese Embassy, The First to the United States	Mar.	10
Jones, G. Lewis. "Amanda Explains" *poem*	Oct.	8
JONES, COMMODORE THOMAS A. P. CATESBY: Pardon my Conquest. *K. C. Tessendorf*	Nov.	39
Jones, G. Lewis. Poems	May	30
Journey Through City and Space. *Sheila Isham*	May	32

K

Kent, Sherman. Estimates and Influence	April	16
Keppel, John. Undersecretary for Functional Affairs	Mar.	50
King, William B. Dr. Arnold Toynbee Talks About . . .	Mar.	19
Kowtow; Un-American Protocol. *K. C. Tessendorf*	July	27
Last Boat to Dakar. *Henry S. Villard*	Mar.	56

L

Leacacos, John P. Reporters and Diplomats, The Competitive Siblings	Mar.	54
Lipset, S. M. The Effects of Student Activism on International Relations	Sept.	26
Looking Ahead to the Year 2001. *Frank Snowden Hopkins*	Jan.	32
Loucheim, Katie. Three Ladies at Lunch at Limoges, poem	Oct.	10

M

Maechling, Charles Jr. Our Internal Defense Policy, a Reappraisal	Jan.	19
Maechling, Charles Jr. Stevenson Speaks on International Affairs (a special JOURNAL Book Essay)	Apr.	8
Marlowe, Sanford S. Comment on An End to Anarchy	Nov.	10
Mays, James O. Dilemma of the Dalai Lamma	Sept.	44
MEAD, MARGARET. An Interview on the Woman Diplomat. *John M. Cates, Jr.*	Feb.	16
Meeker, Brice K. A Communication re Modern Diplomacy	July	10
Menard, Wilmon. Willie Maugham and the Wonderful Widow Sinclair	Oct.	40
Michaud, Michael A. G. Communication and Controversy: Thoughts on the Future of Foreign Service Reporting	Oct.	23
Middle East, Russia and the. *Melvin A. Goodman*	Apr.	14
Miller, Luree. What Post Reports Do Not Tell Wives	Feb.	31
The Modern University. *James A. Perkins*	Sept.	6
More Purposes and Less Policy in the Conduct of Foreign Affairs. *Roger Fisher*	Oct.	37
Myers, Dr. Edward D. An Interview with Dr. Arnold Toynbee	Mar.	19
McFall Contest Winners	Nov.	2
McHale, James D. Death of a Program	Nov.	16
McKibbin, Carroll R. Attrition of Foreign Service Officers: Then and Now	May	6

N

Nadler, S. I. Aha to Alphabetizers	Jan.	10
The Name of the Game Nowadays, A Glance at the Future. *William N. Turpin*	May	24
Nash, Ogden. The Turtle, poem	May	35
The Nine Month Eunuch. *John Graves*	Sept.	54

O

Old Tabus Against Women Linger on. *Susanna Wingfield*	Feb.	21
Olson, Ted. see Washington Letter		
One Hundred Times No! *Henry S. Villard*	Dec.	16
Operation Sampan. *Anne Penfield*	Aug.	23
Oppression Unlimited. *Tamara Dahn, James Huey* and *Lawrence Gray*	Sept.	21
Our Internal Defense Policy: A Reappraisal. *Charles Maechling Jr.*	Jan.	19

P

Pardon My Conquest. *K. C. Tessendorf*	Nov.	39
Parker, Richard B. A Communication re "Russia and the Middle East"	June	10
Peace Corps, A World. *George C. Wynne*	Sept.	41
Pell, Robert. Faces of Vietnam	Aug.	30
Penfield, Anne. Operation Sampan	Aug.	23
Penfield, James K. Political Ambassador, Then and Now	Mar.	26
Periodical Articles: Aug. p. 8, Sep. p. 10, Oct. p. 53, Dec. p. 48		
Perkins, James A. The Modern University	Sept.	6
Perry, Jack. The Foreign Service Wife	Feb.	18
Personnel System, Toward a Modern. *Lannon Walker*	Aug.	32
A Poet in Thailand. *William E. Sommers*	June	31
Policy for a New Era. *Eugene R. Black*	Oct.	14
Policy Maker, The Scholar and the. *Howard Wriggins*	Aug.	10
Political Ambassador . . . . Then and Now. *James K. Penfield*	Mar.	26
The Predicament of the Senior Career. *John M. Steeves*	July	29
Problems of the Foreign Service. *Rufus Burr Smith*	June	28
Professionalism and The Foreign Service. *Louis J. Halle*	Mar.	24
Profile in Conformity. *Edward S. Walker, Jr.*	Sept.	19

R

Rabbits Bunnies. *Henry B. Ryan*	Dec.	36
Relph, Anne K. Return to Mykonos	Oct.	36
Reporters and Diplomats: The Competitive Siblings. *John P. Leacacos*	Mar.	54
Return to Mykonos. *Anne K. Relph*	Oct.	36
Rinden, Robert W. The Role of the American Ambassador	July	33
Rogers, William C. A Home Base for U.S. Foreign Policy	Mar.	52
The Role of the American Ambassador. *Robert W. Rinden*	July	33
Russell, Francis H. The Genesis of Point Four	Apr.	5
Rossi, Mario. The UN and American Foreign Policy	Apr.	31

	Month	Page
Rossell, Idris. Equal Employment Opportunity Too Much or Not Enough?	Jan.	12
Russia and the Middle East in the Wake of the Mediterranean War. *Melvin A. Goodman*	Apr.	14
Russia and the Middle East, A Communication re. *Richard B. Parker*	June	10
RUSSIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS: One Hundred Times No! *Henry S. Villard*	Dec.	16
Ryan, Henry B. Rabbits Bunnies	Dec.	36

S

Salve Regina Semicentenaria. *Wendell W. Blancke*	Mar.	46
Security, Dimensions of. *J. W. Fulbright*	July	14
The Scholar and the Policy Maker. *Howard Wriggins*	Aug.	10
Scott, Andrew M. The Department of State: Formal Organization and Informal Culture	Aug.	14
The Service and the Hill. *Wendell W. Blancke*	Aug.	19
Sestanovitch, Stephen. He Spoke for America	Apr.	21
Signell, Karen A. The Generator that Would Not Walk	Feb.	34
Simpson, Howard R. Dusk on the River, poem	Oct.	12
Simpson, Howard R. The Great Montpellier Wine Tasting	Nov.	37
Smith, Rufus Burr. Problems of the Foreign Service	June	28
Social Origins and Characteristics. *John Harr*	May	15
Sommers, William A. The Bridge	May	19
Sommers, William A. Dances of Shiva, poem	Sept.	48
Sommers, William A. A Poet in Thailand	June	31
Spain, J. W. The Country Director, A Subjective Appraisal	Mar.	35
Staffing Washington Jobs, A Comment on. *George C. Denney*	Mar.	58
Steeves, John M. The Predicament of the Senior Career	July	29
Stephens, Marina. Four Persian Miniatures	Feb.	39
Stuck, Constance V. Today's Junior Officer—Female	Feb.	20
STUDENT ACTIVISM: European Youth Unrest and Foreign Policy. *Harry C. Blaney*	Sept.	37
Student Activism, The Possible Effects of. *S. M. Lipset*	Sept.	26
STUDENT ACTIVISM: Tomorrow Has Broken Out Today. *R. D. Cross*	Sept.	35
Swayne, Kingdon W. Wanted: An American Diplomat Style	July	19
Swayne, Kingdon W. The Bridge Between Peoples	Nov.	31

T

Tessendorf, K. C. Kowtow: Un-American Protocol	July	27
Tessendorf, K. C. Pardon My Conquest	Nov.	39
TIBET: The Dilemma of the Dalai Lama. *James O. Mays*	Sept.	44
Today's Junior Officer—Female. *Constance V. Stuck*	Feb.	20
Tomorrow Has Broken Out Today. *R. D. Cross*	Sept.	35
The Toone Marrionettes. *Anne Sue Hirshorn*	June	39
Toward a Modern Personnel System. *Lannon Walker*	Aug.	32
Toynbee, Dr. Arnold. An Interview with	Mar.	19
Travels of Saint Nicholas. *Lansing Collins*	Dec.	32
Turpin, William N. The Name of the Game Nowadays, A Glance at the Future	May	24
Turtles and Diplomacy in Madagascar. *John E. Cunningham*	May	34
Twenty-Five Years Ago. *Henry B. Day* Jan. p. 43, Feb. p. 52, Mar. p. 73, Apr. p. 48, May p. 49		

U

Undersecretary for Functional Affairs. *John Keppel*	Mar.	50
UNITED NATIONS: One Hundred Times No! *Henry S. Villard*	Dec.	16
UNIVERSITY AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE: Academic Details. *Frederic H. Gerlach*	Jan.	22
Up From the Ghetto. *George Walker*	Sept.	4
USIA: A Case for Dialogue. *Sigmund Cohen Jr.*	Nov.	21
USIS: Death of a Program. *James D. McHale*	Nov.	16
The United Nations and American Foreign Policy. *Mario Rossi*	Apr.	31

V

Vietnam, Faces of. *Robert Pell*	Aug.	30
Villard, Henry S. Last Boat to Dakar	Mar.	56
Villard, Henry S. One Hundred Times No!	Dec.	16
Vince. *Weldon T. Ellis*	Apr.	39
Visa for America. *Craig R. Eisendrath*	Apr.	23

W

Walker, Edward S., Jr. Profile in Conformity	Sept.	19
Walker, George. Up from the Ghetto	Sept.	4
Walker, Lannon. Toward a Modern Personnel System	Aug.	32
Wanted: An American Diplomatic Style. *Kingdon W. Swayne*	July	19
Washington Letter. *Ted Olson* Jan. p. 34, Feb. p. 32, Mar. p. 44, Apr. p. 32, May p. 36, June p. 32, July p. 4, Aug. p. 2, Oct. p. 4, Nov. p. 4, Dec. p. 10		
What Post Reports Do Not Tell Wives. *Luree Miller*	Feb.	31
When Can You Lose Your Citizenship? *Stanley J. Goray*	Apr.	19
Where There's a Willis There's a Way. *Val Paraiso*	Feb.	26
Why Not Give Diplomacy Back to the Diplomats? *Ellis O. Briggs*	Mar.	48
Willie Maugham and the Wonderful Widow Sinclair. *Wilmon Menard*	Oct.	40
Wine, The Great Montpellier, Tasting. *Howard R. Simpson*	Dec.	37
Wingfield, Susanna. Old Tabus Against Women Linger On	Feb.	21
Woman Diplomat, An Interview with Margaret Mead on the. *John M. Cates, Jr.*	Feb.	16
WOMEN: The Foreign Service Wife. *Jack Perry*	Feb.	18
WOMEN: A Gallery of Women in Diplomacy	Feb.	22
WOMEN: Old Tabus Against Women Linger On. *Susanna Wingfield*	Feb.	21
WOMEN: Today's Junior Officer—Female. *Constance V. Stuck*	Feb.	20
WOMEN: What Post Reports Do Not Tell Wives. *Luree Miller*	Feb.	31
World Peace Corps, A. *George C. Wynne*	Sept.	41
Wriggins, Howard. The Scholar and the Policy Maker	Aug.	10
Wynne, George C. A World Peace Corps	Sept.	41