

# FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

FEBRUARY 1970 • SIXTY CENTS

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New Directions

The Diplomat's Commitments



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## A MESSAGE FROM THE BOARD

**S**INCE the Board election of 1967, the Association has become a force to be reckoned with.

It has won increasing recognition from the leadership of the foreign-affairs agencies as the authoritative voice of their personnel.

It is forging links to the foreign affairs community in the Congress and outside the Government.

In "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," it has presented the elements of reform which are essential if the Government is to develop a rational and efficient machinery for the execution of foreign policy in the years ahead.

It has made tangible progress in protecting the members' interests: the travel allowance, the temporary-lodging allowance, and the reduction of projected increases in health-insurance premiums.

In the 1969 Board election, the members of the Association voiced their overwhelming approval of the attitude, approach, and accomplishments of the outgoing Board of Directors. The mandate is unmistakable. The members want more. The new Board is pledged to give them more.

The Board is an action group which the members have set in motion, not a disembodied committee to which they have ceded their right of discussion and their power of decision. It will succeed to the extent that the members make their wishes known, maintain a high level of support, and provide the manpower that is needed if the Association's programs are to be carried out.

The first of the areas in which the Board must act involves the character of the Association itself. AFSA's membership now comprises less than half of those eligible to join. Some feel that AFSA is not relevant to their concerns and needs. Some are not aware of the active role the Association has assumed. Some do not understand that, if we are to move forward, we must all do so together. The Board will soon mount an intensive membership drive, designed to reach all who are eligible, but who are not yet members. AFSA acts in the interests of all Foreign Service personnel in the State Department, AID, and USIA, and all Foreign Service employees of those agencies should belong to it.

Expression of the will of the membership only at two-year intervals is not good enough for an organization that is continuously seeking to determine policies and implement programs affecting the terms of employ-

ment, working conditions, and evolution of the foreign-affairs machinery of the Government. There must be a constant interchange of views between the membership and the Board. The process will be equitable and effective only if the interchange involves all active members. The Board will shortly be in touch with post AFSA Chapters, where these exist, about improving communication, and will ask for the help of the membership in establishing Chapters where there are none. The Board will also sound out the membership in Washington about the means of achieving better communication here. Openness is a principle which AFSA applies internally, as well as a goal to be achieved between the official foreign-affairs community and its constituency outside the Government.

The second area of Board action involves AFSA's relationship with the leadership of the foreign affairs agencies. The Board is committed to the principle that the Association should be an active, perhaps combative, and certainly independent organization.

The Board will devote particular attention to the concerns of the Staff Corps, the backbone of the Service. The status and prospects of the Staff Corps need to be clarified as soon as possible. It is time that its members found the voice they need. AFSA belongs to them as much as to any other group in the Foreign Service.

The bedrock of AFSA's concerns lies in the bread-and-butter issues which affect the conditions of work and daily life of every member. The Board will have proposals to make on a number of these. Both because it symbolizes existing inequities and because members are out of pocket every time they move to a new assignment, the transfer allowance will rank first on this list.

The third area of Board action is that involving who we are and what we do. This is a time of transition in America's view of its role in the world. AFSA needs to know what our fellow-citizens think about our foreign affairs. Concerned Americans need to know that members of this association, too, have some considered thoughts on that subject, because they are concerned Americans themselves and because they are professionals devoting their lives to work in diplomacy.

The Board plans to sponsor a conference on the foreign affairs profession. In addition to high Administration officials, members of the Congress, and AFSA members stationed in Washington, we will invite interested citizens from all over the country. We will seek funds to allow AFSA members serving abroad to participate.

\* \* \*

The Board takes office at a time when the leadership of the foreign affairs agencies is searching for answers to the questions which the Association has raised. As an organization of men and women who have chosen to serve their country in the work of foreign affairs, we believe we are particularly qualified to help in that search. As an independent organization, we intend to keep putting the questions. We look forward to finding the answers together, in the interest of our common cause.



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From Ted Olson



## Washington Letter

It used to be mandatory, at least on small-town newspapers, to report soberly on February 3 whether or not the groundhog had seen his shadow the previous day. If he had, there were six more weeks of winter in prospect; if he hadn't, spring was just around the corner. Or was it the other way?

In today's ultra-urbanized society most people probably have never heard of the groundhog, which is a woodchuck, which is a marmot. Those who have, and have taken the trouble to look him up, know that you couldn't wake up a groundhog on February 2 with any amount of poking. He's the most completely dormant of all hibernating creatures, with a pulse rate of five per minute and a blood temperature of 37° F. (Source: Edwin Way Teale's "Autumn Across America.")

Washington weather forecasters must sometimes wish they could go into hibernation too. This is a particularly tricky area; a slight shift of wind, a temperature change of a degree or two, may divert a menacing blizzard off to the east or north or, contrariwise, convert a predicted mild rain into a foot of snow. The poor meteorologists are always apologizing.

In February you can expect anything—temperatures as high as 70 and as low as 4 (1961 had both); snow ranging from a trace to 16 inches (1967). The first crocus has appeared in Limbo, Md., where your correspondent lives, as early as February 15 (1965 and '67) or as late as March 24 (1960).

You have had fair warning.

### How to Save Our Crumbling Capitol

As if there weren't enough to worry about, they've got us all worked up about the Capitol. Is it in danger—or at least is the west front in danger—of falling down? And if so, what's to be done?

Everybody agrees that some fairly extensive repairs are necessary. The original sandstone has flaked and cracked. There is a visible bulge, and for years the wall has been propped with massive timbering, rather like that used in London during World War II to shore up bomb-weakened buildings. What people don't agree about is the imminence of the danger and the best way of coping with it.

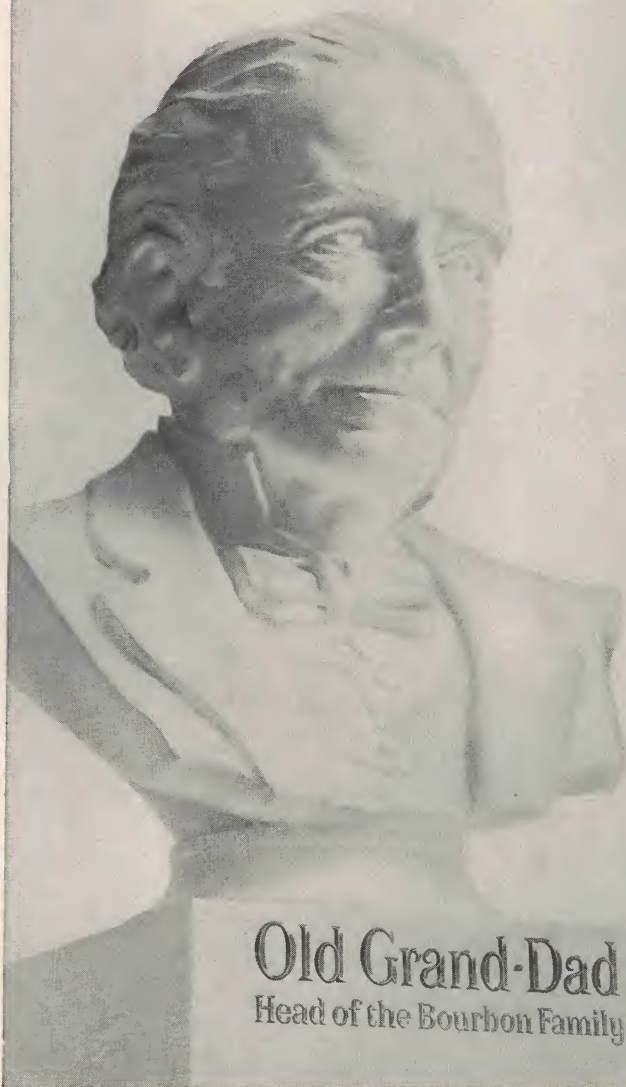
The Architect of the Capitol, J. George Stewart, told a House sub-committee he shuddered every time a jet-liner passed overhead. He's afraid the vibrations could send the whole wall sliding downhill, like a cliff-top villa in California after a heavy rain. He wants to extend the entire west front, 44 feet in the middle, 88 feet at the wings, to provide support for the weakened wall and—not incidentally—more than four acres of additional floor space. The east front, you will remember, was extended 32½ feet about a decade ago.

Opponents of this project argue (1) that it isn't necessary, because the west front could be restored to its original state at much less cost, and (2) that the extension would mean "burying forever the last remaining walls of the Capitol that date back to the founding of the Republic." The quotation is from Francis Lethbridge, vice-president of the American Institute of Architects.

The AIA estimates the cost of reconstruction at \$10 million, compared with \$45 million for the new construc-

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tion. Extension proponents challenge this figure, and say \$50 million would be a better guess. (The example of the Rayburn Building would seem to justify their pessimism, but by the same measure Mr. Stewart's \$45 million projection may be a bit on the sanguine side, too.)

As for tradition, extensionists point out that here's been a lot of tampering with the Thornton-Latrobe-Bulfinch original over the years, as a look at an early print would reveal. (The same is true of the White House.)

The decision now depends on the results of a study to determine whether restoration is feasible. Financed by a \$250,000 appropriation, the study is to be conducted by an independent architectural engineering firm. Congress has allocated \$25,000 to install some more props so the west front won't deteriorate further in the meantime. Those jets that worry ex-Congressman Stewart have not been rerouted.

(For most of the facts in this report acknowledgements are due the Washington Post and reporter David L. Boldt.)

### How Long Is Temporary?

Well, in some instances it stretches out over decades. We were surely not the only Washingtonian who had quite forgotten that the Navy and Munitions buildings on Constitution Avenue, between 17th and 21st, weren't supposed to be there for keeps. For one thing, they were more substantial in appearance than the frame and tin-roofed structures that were demolished a few years back. For another, they had been a feature of the landscape—though not a particularly handsome one—ever since our first visit to Washington, in the Coolidge administration.

Now they're coming down. Relocation of the 12,000 workers is to begin in April. By the end of the year the site should be clear, and in 1971 it will once more be parkland, as it was in 1917 when Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt pre-empted it for World War I emergency construction.

Fifty-three years is a respectable life span. In these times of accelerated retirement a tempo may well outlast the careerist working in it.

### The Metroliner: a Belated Report

We finally had occasion to ride the Metroliner, and though it's a bit late for critiques, we insist on giving you our impressions. We liked it, rather.

No problem about buying a ticket. We walked up to one of the wickets set aside for Metro passengers, watched a polite young man poke various keys in a gadget which shortly excreted two strips of cardboard imprinted with computer hieroglyphics, paid him \$31.50 and walked away. (We chose to travel with the silent majority; it costs \$5.90 more to be an effete snob.)

We confess having had a moment of dismay when we found a queue snaking roughly 100 yards through the unheated trainshed. But when the gate opened the queue moved fast. There seemed to be seats for everybody; anyway we found two without trouble.

Comfortable seats, too. Designed with some understanding of human anatomy; plenty of leg room; backs tiltable to several positions. No fold-down table like those in airliners, though; you'd think the attache-case trade would welcome that convenience. No shades on the windows, unless they were tucked away where we couldn't spot them. And the passenger on the inside may bump his head on the luggage rack if he stands up without ducking.

We queued up at the snack bar for sandwiches and soft drinks (they had hard ones too.) Returning to our seats we encountered the first kink in the Metroliner's performance. When we pressed the plate that is supposed to open the

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door, the door didn't open. We pressed and pried; so did a helpful Japanese on the other side, and eventually the door opened. Every so often after that we became aware of an icy seepage around our ankles, and when we looked for the source we saw that the door was stuck again—open.

To make the run in one minute less than three hours the train must average close to 80 m.p.h. We had no particular sense of high speed, except when the tracks briefly paralleled a stretch of turnpike and we saw we were passing everything on the road. It's certainly quieter and steadier than trains used to be. But it does wiggle considerably. If you take a stroll down the aisle you'd better hang on, or a sudden slalom swing may decant you into somebody's lap. It's the same old roadbed, stiffened a bit here and there. The Japanese built a new one exclusively for their highspeed trains.

We slid into Penn Station right on time, at 3:59 p.m. The 7:30 a.m. train stops only at Baltimore, and does the run in 2:30.

We can't report on the return trip. After several comforting assurances over the loud-speaker that the 11:30 a.m. Metroliner would soon be ready for boarding, Penn Central finally confessed at 11:50 that "owing to weather conditions and mechanical difficulties" the Metroliner would not operate that day. A large and disgruntled post-holiday throng made the journey on an old-fashioned train, apparently hastily assembled, because the snack bar ran out of solid food almost immediately.

Of course Christmas week, particularly a blizzardy one, is not a fair test of a transportation system. The Metroliner "ground shuttle," as Penn Central, with a flattering nod to the opposition, now calls its Washington-New York service, is certainly a great improvement over what we used to put up with. Its obvious success gives some faint reason to hope that rail travel may be making a comeback, at least on medium-length runs through densely populated areas.

### ... And Going To and From Work ...

It is unlikely that downtown Washington will ever look like Copenhagen at the morning and evening rush-hours, with two-wheeled commuters outnumbering the four-wheelers ten or twenty to one. Just the same, bicyclists are finally winning a measure of recognition. A couple of months ago the first bicycle path designed for people going to and from work was officially opened by Councilwoman Polly Schackelton. It runs along East Capitol Street, and is identified by pictorial signs, just like those in Europe. Eventually the route will extend from Key Bridge past Kennedy Center and along the Mall to the Capitol.

The young enthusiasts who talked the City Council into undertaking the project—three Smithsonian staff members—have much more ambitious plans. They hope this pilot model will eventually be expanded to all the major residential areas, just like the subway. Much of the way the cyclists would take their chances in traffic, or use the sidewalks (more bad news for the eccentric who likes to walk). On heavily traveled routes special paths would be provided.

Some time ago two Georgetown neighbors, one motorized, the other on a bicycle, had a race to the office. The cyclist won. Thomas R. Reid III boasted in the WASHINGTON MONTHLY recently: "I can get to work in the morning faster than you can. I can get to work cheaper than you can. I can park much closer to my office than you can. And I have more fun commuting than you do."

### Better Luck Next Year, Mr. Lombardi

Our Redskins, in their first season under the guidance of the legendary Vince Lombardi, didn't win any titles, but they didn't do too badly. They finished with a 7-5-2 record—a mite on the credit side for the first time in 14 years.

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### Things to See and Hear

National Symphony: Feb. 10-11—Joao Carlos Martins, pianist, in Ravel's Concerto for Left Hand; Mesru Mehmedov, guest conductor. Feb. 17-18—David Oistrakh, guest conductor and soloist in Bach's Concerto No. 2. Feb. 24-25-26—Leonard Pennario in Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 1. March 3-4—David Bar-Illan, pianist, in Liszt's "Malediction." (Howard Mitchell conducting when no guest conductor is listed.)

Washington Performing Arts Society: Feb. 14—Christoph Eschenbach, pianist. Feb. 15—Cleveland Orchestra, George Szell; Smetana, Walton, Beethoven. Feb. 21—I Solisti Veneti. Feb. 28—Martha Argerich, Argentine pianist. March 7—Evelyne Crochet, pianist. March 8—Sherrill Milnes, Metropolitan Opera baritone.

Theater Chamber Players: Feb. 23, at new Washington Theater Club, 23rd & L Streets N.W.—program to be announced later.

National Theatre: Through Feb. 14—"George M." Feb. 16-28—"Man of La Mancha." March 2-21—"Hadrian VII."

Arena: Through Feb. 22—"The Cherry Orchard." Feb. 26-April 5—"The Meteor," by Friedrich Duerrenmatt (American premiere).

Ford's Theatre: Through March 1—"The Autumn Garden," by Lillian Hellman. March 5-April 26—"The Fantas-

ticks," by Harvey Schmidt and Tom Jones.

Washington Theater Club: Through Feb. 15—"The Wolves," by Robert Koesis. Feb. 18-March 22—double bill: "Exit the King," by Eugene Ionesco and "The Projection Room," by Robert Sommerfeld.

National Gallery: Through March 1—African sculpture.

National Collection of Fine Arts: Through March 1—"American Print-Making: the First 150 Years."

National Portrait Gallery: Feb. 20-June 1—"The Hand of Man in America," photographs by David Plowden.

Corcoran: Feb. 21-March 31—Paolo Soleri, architectural exhibition.

### Oddments

● Friendly place, Washington. Interesting people, too. During the holiday season we had worked our way up to second place in the long queue at a suburban postoffice. Fellow ahead of us apologized because his business was taking so long. We got to talking—politics, naturally. After a rather pessimistic interchange he remarked, "Well, wasn't it Bernard Shaw who said that in a democracy people get the kind of government they deserve?" From the woman waiting just behind us came the correction: "No, that was Tocqueville."

● Changing times note: The Hot Shoppes chain is discontinuing curb service. A 50 percent drop in sales is the official explanation; vandalism and rowdiness may be additional reasons.

● Last year was a bad one for our neighbor, Baltimore. The Orioles lost the series and the Gayety burlesque theater burned down.

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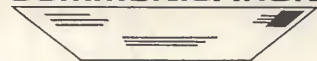
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## COMMUNICATION



RE:

## Ambassador Galbraith's Speech

JAMES D. PHILLIPS

**A**MBASSADOR GALBRAITH's talk to the Foreign Service Association was an intelligent, witty, even thoughtful expression of the new conventional wisdom. It was a kindness, perhaps, like giving an alcoholic a good stiff shot of whiskey, but not very helpful.

As he has pointed out elsewhere, conventional wisdom (CW) consists of truisms, tautologies, pieties and nostrums, once useful, but no longer relevant. It can express the ideology, mythology, hagiography of whole societies as well as particular institutions. The Foreign Service has its own body of CW, of course, which Ambassador Galbraith caught to near perfection.

We can skip over the homilies about adequate pay and better working conditions. They are the bread and butter conceits of any profession, in no way unique to the Foreign Service. The same things might have been said, in fact often are said, to any group on any occasion. (It goes without saying that egg candlers should be handsomely compensated. If one has to worry about what's inside that shell, etc, etc.) When we come to "reform of our most cherished traditions," we come to the heart of the new Foreign Service CW.

Take the simple syllogism—times are changing—the young are best able to keep abreast of change—the young should be in charge. This assertion is so widely accepted in the Foreign Service that only the dull are thought to require evidence. But is it true? Ten years ago, when there was a sense of excitement about the third world and great to-do over the emerging nations, it probably was true. Then the energy, idealism, zeal, even naivete of youth might have been the Service's most valuable assets (not that this proposition was ever tested). But why put the accent on youth today, in the post-Super Power era?

The difficulty is to know what functions Ambassador Galbraith would have a rejuvenated Foreign Service perform. He clearly feels it should do less rather than more; less reporting, less intelligence work, and, above all, less intervening in the affairs of others. But why turn over responsibility for a diminished, more traditional diplomatic role to young people who are by nature least able passively to let nature take its course? Knowing when inaction is better than action is the wisdom of experience. The constitutional ability to be comfortable with the dictates of that wisdom is the talent of age. Besides, 87.8 percent of all heads of state today, 72.6 percent of all foreign ministers, and 65.3 percent of all cabinet officials now in office are over fifty (it is each reader's responsibility to verify these figures). True, they will eventually be replaced by people who are now young,

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Swoop of movement, speed-blurred,  
Substance casts jet shadow on the snow—  
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and we need some young officers who understand these future leaders. But we may at least want to keep in touch with the present leaders while they are still in power. It might be wise to keep a few officers of their age group at hand. They could be called ambassadors, or something. It is a mistake to underestimate curmudgeon power, worse to try to fight the battles of the 70s with weapons we should have used in the 60s.

The reader will recognize as pure Foreign Service CW, vintage 1969, Ambassador Galbraith's contention, so in tune with the roccoco style of today's reformers, that reform can be brought about by fiddling with the system. We are admonished to stop being obsequious to superiors and beastly to subordinates. We should forever remove that finger from our forelocks in the presence of those above us and become "good neighbors" to those below us, by encouraging, as I understand it, everyone to get his chop in on everyone else's efficiency report! This could at best generalize our Uriah Heep complex at the office and lead to even greater incidence of wife beating at home. At worst, it could create jungle anarchy with everyone giving as good as he got. Even the wretched basis we now have for promoting and firing people would be lost as superior to subordinate, subordinate to superior and colleague to colleague reports cancelled each other out.

Ambassador Galbraith also suggests the Foreign Service should protect itself from the intrusion of too many outsiders, particularly into the upper echelons. This would depend on the Association's passing judgment on political appointees, limiting internal patronage and "deglamorizing" ambassadorships (a novel view of FSO motivation here). We are advised to assert ourselves on the assumption that clear-cut, accepted standards exist by which to judge poten-

tial diplomatic talent. Again, in the past, this may have been true. At least we used to assume that if a man knew the language of a country, something of its history and tradition and was at least able to maintain a facade of normal behavior, he had more to offer than a man deficient in any of these qualities. But this assumption seems a little dicey today. It is clear, for example, that a fluent fool can cause more trouble than a mute one. In rapidly changing times, history and tradition may only provide false analogies. At times, of course, the linguist and the deeply-steeped may be what's needed. At times they may not. The point is that there is no sure way of knowing *a priori* who will be effective where and when. (I will provide examples of the effective boob and the ineffective expert upon written request.)

In the last section of his speech, Ambassador Galbraith insists that the Foreign Service adjust its operations to accord with the "new reality." Few would argue, but there is no compelling reason to make this adjustment indiscriminately. Some functions and some programs should be scaled down, others should be scaled up; some old ones dropped, some new ones added. The central question of Foreign Service reform, indeed of foreign policy, is which should be what?

According to the tenets of democracy this is a political question. We should therefore seek a system that provides a political answer. Such a system, par excellence, is the spoils system.

A mature spoils system would solve both our organizational and policy problems. For starters, if hiring, firing, promotion and assignment were controlled by patronage, the people who presently worry about these things could be eliminated. We would have a streamlined, easily under-

(Continued on page 48)



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"The guerrilla swims like a fish through the sea of men," according to Mao. What is our course when the sea is an inviting one for the fish?



## Where Do We Go from Here?

**B**y mid-1969, it had become perfectly obvious that in one way or another, sooner rather than later, the United States was going to disengage in Vietnam. Whatever the precise terms of that disengagement, whatever the ultimate resolution, the effort at counterinsurgency in Vietnam was coming to an end and the way was clear for the inevitable next question: What now? Where do we—the United States—go from here?

The first and easiest answer to the question would undoubtedly be a fervent "never again." And the so-called hawks might be just as emphatic in this response as the doves. For the agony, the bitterness, the tensions which our society has suffered at least in part because of Vietnam have constituted a very heavy price indeed. If there is any reasonable way in which another Vietnam can be avoided in the future, all sensible Americans would accept the alternative. Indeed, the present administration in the now famous no-direct-quote briefing on Guam prior to President Nixon's mid-summer visit to a number of Asian nations laid down just such a national policy: "No more Vietnams."

But while national policy may or may not be able to maintain such a heartfelt intention, prudence requires acceptance of the possibility that our best preventive efforts may be insufficient and that once again somewhere, sometime in the foreseeable future, some country will

### BARRY ZORTHIAN

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again face an insurgency situation which our national leadership will decide involves our essential interests and requires our assistance. Such a prospect hardly seems likely in today's atmosphere but, nevertheless, only the foolhardy would rule out either the possibility or the need for preparing for that possibility.

An estimate of the likelihood of this prospect is measured best by examining the past. We must recognize that the course of events in Vietnam was such that renewed use of the techniques of insurgency, of wars of liberation at other vulnerable points is possible and even likely.

For neither sentiment nor self-delusion should blind us to the merits of a Communist contention

that Vietnam has proved the validity of the Mao-Giap thesis that a determined, skillful "peoples' effort" can bring the world's most powerful industrial and military power to heel in certain situations short of total war. We can reassure ourselves in many ways. If we want to so argue, we can hold that we succeeded in our basic objective of preventing the takeover of South Vietnam by military force, and in this sense, we have seen to it that aggression has not paid and have forced the aggressor to revert to a political track for his goals, but we should be clear that the other side of the coin is a very persuasive one to dissident elements everywhere in the world: application of insurgency tactics as perfected by the Viet Minh and their successors, the Viet Cong, provides a blueprint for success for "Wars of National Liberation." This Communist brief could be argued regardless of further developments in Vietnam. While the Viet Cong and Hanoi have come to the negotiating table, the fact is that we are there too, dealing with them not as defeated parties but as equals. The argument can extend ad infinitum with point and counterpoint. For the purposes of this presentation, let it simply be acknowledged that there is more than a color of a respectable case to be made from the viewpoint of potential insurgents—and the United States as the prime target for the dissidents of the world would do well to recognize that the challenge

may well be mounted once more.

Vietnam, of course, had unique characteristics that made the application of insurgency concepts easier: the largely uninhabited and easily penetrated border areas that permitted infiltration with little hindrance; a tradition of popular opposition to a central government of any kind, let alone one identified with a foreign power; a political, social and historical heritage that facilitated the role of the insurgent; and above all, legitimate political, social and economic grievances on the part of a major portion of the population that needed correction. The specific proverbial ocean was an inviting one for the fish.

But if Vietnam contained characteristics that encouraged the particular type of war which it experienced, it should not be regarded as impossible to reproduce elsewhere. Each potential setting for insurgency will have its special circumstances but resourceful insurgents need only adjust and modify techniques to that particular situation. The effort will not always be effective, but there is no doubt that the basic theories of Mao and Giap can be modified for situations of many types. It will be largely a matter of imagination and skill that will determine whether an insurgency presents a real threat which requires assistance beyond local resources.

Fortunately, there can be a corollary flexibility in the response to insurgency, provided certain essential bedrock principles are observed. It is these principles that this paper will seek to identify and examine. These principles are relatively few in number and simple in concept but extremely difficult to apply consistently in the face of counter pressures. The problems of application have been discussed at great length in the continuing analysis of Vietnam. At this point, we limit ourselves to the exercise of distilling the lessons of Vietnam and pinpointing fundamental requirements for future successful responses to insurgency—no matter how determined and skillful. Furthermore, the requirement for modification in application to particular situations is a demanding one but is not considered here simply because

the basics must be absorbed first—and then the variation can be almost infinite depending on the individual setting.

This act of identification of essentials accompanied by the development of doctrine and capability has an additional prospective virtue of serving as a deterrent to future challenge. For, while the potential insurgents of the world are likely to be encouraged by the course of events in Vietnam, so the counterinsurgents have also had the opportunity to test their methods and should be better prepared in any future contest. If that better preparation is evident, then the likelihood of needing it is reduced. If you will, the United States has to be visibly less of a mark, less of a big, hopeless, sitting duck for every small fry movement that wants to demonstrate its insurgency prowess—and the challenge may be discouraged by the elimination of such a tempting target.

Our creditability in this context of preventive readiness will be better established by a vigorous distillation and acceptance of the lessons of Vietnam—a process that has been relatively neglected under the pressures of the immediate problems facing us in the recent past. The agencies of government—primarily the military—directly involved in Vietnam have been so busy trying to fight the war and our society as a whole has been so absorbed debating it that there has been too little effort devoted to a concerted and systematic evaluation of the Vietnamese experience or to the corollary development of a strategic doctrine for counterinsurgency. We have had much on tactics; too little on strategy. We have in effect had too few qualified specialists writing for us on how to meet the challenge of insurgency.

The emphasis on "we," the United States, is a deliberate one. For our concept of response to insurgent challenge must necessarily grow out of the nature of our role in a prospective insurgency situation—a role in sharp contrast to the problems facing the existing local social structure and government.

The most likely prospect and the one that will require the greatest

skill is a situation similar to Vietnam: an insurgent challenge to an existing government which we regard and continue to treat as independent and allied rather than subordinate and submissive. We differed in Vietnam—and the likelihood is that we will differ in future situations—from the British in Malaya, perhaps the most relevant of previous counterinsurgency situations. The British were in charge with a direct line of authority in Malaya. When we talk about the United States meeting an insurgency challenge, we are really talking about a situation in which we will be assisting an existing government; in fact, we will be in an allied role, not a position of command. The difference is enormous.

This fundamental characteristic will inevitably color our approach, our policies and our actions. It determines the principles which we seek to apply and provides the basis for our participation and effectiveness. It also limits the pertinence of other experiences and situations. It is why we must develop a doctrine based on the type of situation and relationship with the local government in which we are likely to find ourselves.

It is in this context that we can identify four essentials of counterinsurgency for future American involvement. While these principles seem primer level in formulation, the failure to observe them fully in spirit and concept led to many of our difficulties in Vietnam and similar shortcomings in the future would cast doubt on the potential effectiveness of any response by us to a resourceful insurgent movement.

These principles, of necessity, revolve around the basic ingredients in the type of situation likely to face us: the United States, the host government, the relations between the two and the process of communicating to our respective publics and to the world as a whole. It is useful to examine each of these broad segments and establish some basic considerations which must be observed.

Perhaps one note of caution or limitation is essential if the following presentation of principles is to be placed in proper perspective.

Discussion of insurgency—or counterinsurgency—should not be undertaken in the context of the more conventional war that eventually evolved in Vietnam through the presence of more than one-half million American troops and many tens of thousands of North Vietnamese regulars. Many of the principles enunciated below still have relevance even when the conflict reaches the classical third stage of insurgency that finally emerged in Vietnam but the desired application of these principles is intended to take place long before that phase—indeed, in time for the third phase to need never arrive. For though these principles will still have relevance, it is also true that they are harder to apply and even less effective as the war grows; changes if you will from the relative fluidity, political as well as military, of an insurgency to the rigidity and massive bluntness of a more conventional war. Our remarks are to be read in the framework of a true insurgency; not an insurgency transformed into a battlefield war.

**F**IRST, the involvement of the United States: the principles governing the American part of a counterinsurgency effort break down into two broad categories—basic philosophy and organization. The two are closely interrelated.

In terms of philosophy, we must first and foremost accept fully in deed as well as in word the truism that insurgency movements almost by definition—and the response to them—are essentially political or at most political/military, not exclusively or even predominantly military. Without the acceptance of this principle, we are on a completely false footing and we can save ourselves a great deal of disappointment by not getting involved. In insurgency, it is the political agent backed up by the military capability who provides the cutting edge and the response or “defense” must be based essentially on the same approach. As simple as the point may seem, we have not given much evidence of learning the lesson in the past while the Communists have demonstrated full apprecia-

tion of the basic principle for more than fifty years. Our involvement in terms of assistance to a host government cannot be limited to hardware and/or economic assistance; it must extend into a political area without apology or hesitation. Or, perhaps stated better, we must have assurance that an effective political program will be undertaken by the host government and we in turn must insist and assist in such a program.

Secondly, our approach and the organization for our assistance must be determined by this interrelation of political and military factors. Some of the most astute observers in Vietnam insist that the greatest contribution made by the Viet Cong to the art of insurgency has been organization—and there is much to be said for the theory. Conversely, it might be argued with considerable validity that the greatest American weakness in Vietnam was organization. In effect, we sought to conduct our portion of the effort for many years through the mechanism of a bureaucratic structure designed for normal government operations in Washington. We worked closely with a military that, like the military in all underdeveloped countries, was intensely political—and told our own military to stay out of the political aspects, a restriction our own military accepted much too willingly. Similarly, our civilian agencies—State, AID, and USIA—avoided the military aspects of the effort for too long. Only the CIA tried to bridge the gap but it was too inhibited by its very nature to serve the purpose. It was not until the late stages of the war that some of these artificial barriers began to break down—and in truth, we must recognize that the essential erasing of agency distinctions was never complete, nor was command and responsibility in Vietnam ever truly unified under one chief.

For the future, we need to establish a United States governmental organization that is designed specifically for counterinsurgency rather than conventional war. Such an agency must initially break down the rigid distinction between military and civilian personnel and among Washington agencies just as

our doctrine of operations must break down the artificial distinction between the political and military aspects of the war. Recognizing that an insurgency situation is essentially a political problem or at most political/military need not predetermine the category of personnel who should conduct the effort. Not only is the military not ruled out of such an undertaking but quite to the contrary: the military must participate, provided it recognizes the nature of the effort and becomes qualified to contribute to the political dimension. This is particularly true and particularly difficult for our own military which traditionally has either avoided politics completely or has tended to be identified with the status quo. An insurgency situation requires our military to be political—as distinguished perhaps from engaging in politics in a domestic sense—and to be sensitive and responsive to the need for political change in the host country.

Similarly, civilian—or political—personnel must recognize and accept the military dimension of the insurgency situation with full appreciation for the problems and capabilities of the military forces. Separating the civilian participant from the military aspects of the situation is just as damaging to the effectiveness of the overall effort as separating the military from the political aspects.

It is not until one has served within our government that one appreciates the depth of the heresy involved in the foregoing statements. But, if we do not catch up with the Communists now after fifty years and several major examples of this interrelationship of political and military factors and the need for proper organization and personnel to conduct an effective campaign, then perhaps we should not even try to undertake a counterinsurgency effort again and simply concede that we are not capable of meeting a challenge of this type.

More than anything else, the direction of any future United States effort in counterinsurgency needs the distinguishing characteristic of a coordinated, integrated single channel of political/military authority and organization.



**T**HE second essential to consider is the role of the host government. If Vietnam has taught us nothing else, it has taught us the importance of the nature and calibre of the host government which we are assisting: if that government represents only the status quo, an oligarchy or a dictatorship, which has neither support nor potential support of the population nor any interest in gaining such support, then we are better off rejecting whatever reasons justify our involvement. A dictum applies. If the host government is not interested in undertaking the programs necessary to gain the support of its people, then all the assistance we provide will be useless. The critic will say that this is a circular argument; that if the existing government were interested in the welfare of the people, the insurgency would not have been able to start in the first place. The objection does not necessarily hold. There are certainly governments seeking to respond to the needs of a population which have not had the time or the means to do so; there are elements within societies that recognize popular needs but need encouragement to emerge and assurance of assistance and support to carry out needed reforms; there are progressive political parties which prefer evolution to harsh revolution. These are the type of groups with which we must associate ourselves. Without them, it is preferable to save ourselves the heartbreak and blood and treasure for in the long run, we will expend all three and have little to show for

any. In any counterinsurgency effort, we thus need a host government interested in responding to the legitimate needs of its people rather than a simple preservation of the status quo—and that government must be prepared to mount and carry through a necessary program of political, social and economic change. Here again, the concept is deceptively simple, the execution extremely difficult.

**R**ELATIONS between the two governments is the third fundamental aspect that must be considered. Here is an area which raises all kinds of sensitivities and limitations, both for us and for the host government. Our role, presumably, will be one of assistance: the host government will be sovereign and independent. And yet, with due regard for public sensitivities and visible humiliation, we must not permit our surrogate role to inhibit the use of our assistance—military and economic—as leverage to press for the desired goals of political, social and economic responsiveness to the needs of the people. How we apply our pressures is a matter of skill and adaptation to the peculiarities of the nation involved, but applying such pressures when required is essential to success. Once more we find a fundamental principle which is relatively easy to state and enormously complex in application. In Vietnam, we either refrained from applying our leverage sufficiently or, when we attempted to do so, we did it so crudely and visibly that it was almost self-defeating. Perhaps the ultimate test of diplomacy in an insurgency situation is the effective application of leverage based on our assistance. We have a perfectly valid rationale for such pressure. Our lives and resources are involved and our stake in the effectiveness of the host government is a very real one.

**F**INALLY, the fourth principle in the basics of counterinsurgency is the effective communication of the nature, goals and progress of the effort to the public of both the United States and the host country—and indeed to the population of the world at large. Volumes can, have

been and will be written about the communication process in the Vietnam war. For purposes of this particular discussion, it is enough to note that the effort of the United States government fell short of the needs; that the lack of understanding and support at home led inevitably to the presidential speech of March 31, 1968, and the subsequent American determination to disengage almost regardless of consequences. In a very real sense, as seen from Hanoi, history has repeated itself. If the French effort against the Viet Minh was lost in metropolitan France, with the climactic factor being Dien Bien Phu, the American effort might similarly be said to have been lost in the metropolitan United States with the ultimate disillusionment coming in the Tet offensive of 1968.

It is patently clear that popular support is needed for a counterinsurgency effort—both in the country of origin and in the country of assistance. That support must be based primarily on the substance and attractiveness of the political/military program being conducted by the host government and leadership—and thus the relative appeal of the competing sides from the viewpoint of ultimate justice. But communication in today's world has become so immediate and pervasive that, even with a valid program, the failure to communicate effectively can leave an information vacuum which will inevitably lead to an erosion of support. The requirements for successful communication in such circumstances are demanding but failure in this vital area ultimately can undermine the entire program.

For it is no longer valid to assume that US official identification with one side assures an automatic base of support in the US body politic; in fact, given the nature of today's skepticism about official acts, US involvement might almost mean the opposite. A major communication effort is essential right from the start—an effort based on candor, openness and dialogue.

**S**TRIPPED of all elaboration, the bedrock requirements of a successful counterinsurgency doctrine for  
(Continued on page 46)

Pontius Pilate as a great power representative found himself antagonistic to local authority. His was one of the early and basic conflicts in

## The Diplomat's National and Transnational Commitments

By the nature of his work, the diplomat must live in two or more collectivities, and be accepted by them. They present him with conflicting claims. The result is a conflict of loyalties. The diplomat may resolve the conflict thanks to skill and circumstances. This is opportunity. Or the conflicting forces may compel him to default on some loyalties, jeopardize his standing with superiors or partners, or his personal integrity. This is dilemma.

### National and Transnational Agency

As an agent of his nation, the diplomat is above all an agent of his national government. But he is also a national agent in the sense that he is a citizen of the nation, endowed with personal views of its collective ambitions, a sympathizer of a political party or of a religious or occupational fellowship. He is a *political person* of his nationality, and in this capacity he has sympathies that transcend his government service. A diplomat thoroughly purged of these transcendent sympathies would be an imperfect substitute for a teletype line.

Thus, in exercising his usual functions of representing, negotiating, reporting, and policy advising, the national diplomat is subject to two

*Any views expressed in this paper are those of the author. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of The RAND Corporation or the official opinion or policy of any of its governmental or private research sponsors.*

*This is an abbreviation of a paper delivered at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 4, 1969.*

### HORST MENDERSHAUSEN

*Dr. Horst Mendershausen is a senior staff member of The RAND Corporation's Social Science Department and a Lecturer in Economics at the University of California at Los Angeles. His principal fields of interest are United States-European political and economic relations and the problems of transnational society.*

types of commitments, *obligations* to his superior, and *sympathies* (sometimes duties may be the better word) to various causes. It is important to distinguish between the two types of commitments, and also to note that they overlap. The obligations arise from the diplomat's service contract. They comprise a discipline, notably the execution of instructions. The sympathies arise from the diplomat's political personality. They are not specified in the diplomat's service contract, or so vaguely specified as to require his substantial interpretation (e.g., to serve "the best interests of the country"); and they rest on the man's personal judgment. I use the term "agent" to denote the diplomat's service under both types of commitment, to his employer (under obligations), and to the causes to which he devotes his sympathies.

One should expect that governments will employ diplomats, and diplomats make themselves available to governments, only if a substantial congruity is believed to exist between the political sympathies on both sides, so that the obliga-

tions to be imposed on the diplomat are at least not *bound* to produce a conflict of conscience. Judgments of the degree of congruity may of course prove to be mistaken. The life of the diplomat under conflicting commitments is marked by *imperfect congruity*, or by a supportable degree of incongruity. Higher authority pulls one way, some of the diplomat's sympathies another.

In the *transnational* dimension, we find a more complicated situation, at least in an institutional sense. The transnational entity of which the diplomat might be an agent may be any community that somehow extends into the nation of which the man is a citizen and into others, or that affiliates with it or comprises it. Interactions in these communities are part of both national and international politics; they straddle the conventional division between the two.<sup>1</sup>

For our purpose, it is useful to distinguish between three transnational entities (1) a specific other nation, notably the host country, with which the diplomat is concerned; (2) a multinational organization of which the diplomat's na-

<sup>1</sup> The concept of transnational society and politics was introduced into contemporary political theory by Raymond Aron (*Paix et guerre entre les nations*), Paris, 1962, pp. 113 ff. See also Horst Mendershausen, "Transnational Society and State Sovereignty," *KYKLOS*, Volume XXII, 1969, No. 2; James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy," in R. Barry Farrell, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Evanston, 1966, pp. 27-92; and Karl Kaiser, "Transnationale Politik," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Sonderheft #1, Cologne, August 1969.

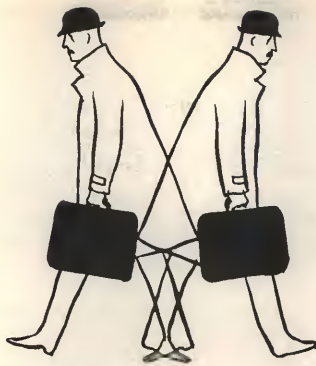
tion forms part; (3) politically informal fellowships extending across nations, ranging from the diplomatic corps to linguistic and social class fellowships, and lastly to "the fellowship of man."

Beholden to his nation and to one or the other of these transnational entities, as an employee or as a sympathizer, the diplomat finds himself in the double or multiple role of agent to various collectivities. The professional diplomat is of course not the only type of man experiencing this multiplicity of roles. Other public and business officials do, too.

### The Pull of Diverse Commitments

I find it impossible to say that politics is becoming either more national or more transnational the world over, and therefore, that the pull on the diplomat is systematically becoming stronger either way. In support of a thesis of an increasing national pull one may list such developments, spread over the last century, as the decline of the European concert of powers; the splitting up of European empires and the constitution of new, jealous nationalisms; the expansion of the economic, social and cultural functions of states; the decay of multinational organizations and alliance systems, (the League, the UN, NATO, the European Communities, the IMF, COMECON, etc.) In support of the opposite thesis of an increasing transnational pull, one may cite the formation of rejuvenation of multinational organizations and alliance systems; the transference of some national state business to them, notably in Europe; the practices of foreign economic and military aid, emmeshing countries in each other's affairs; the growth of multinational business corporations; and the global reach of communications, transportation and weaponry.

A neat separation of national from transnational phenomena is becoming increasingly difficult; but even that is subject to an important qualification. It presupposes the continuity in time of existing national and international systems. Revolutionary change within, and war between, states can reverse the evolutionary tendency and re-



nationalize relations that have grown transnational. The history of the last fifty years abounds with examples of such reversals in all parts of the world.

To assert that the national context generally exerts the stronger pull than the transnational one may simplify a complex matter, not only for the student of diplomacy, but also for a national bureaucracy which is at times called upon to prove that the loyalty of its members is unquestionably attached to itself, and thus to the state, and thus to the nation. But the general rule may be deceptive, not merely because it is subject to exceptions, but because the rule is ambiguous. The execution of the diplomat's national-bureaucratic commitments may be twisted—perhaps quite helpfully, perhaps not—by his sympathies with conflicting national or transnational causes. An ambassador may espouse international schemes which, while not evidently contrary to the policies of his government, are nevertheless in conflict with its evolving interests and its need for penetrating reporting.<sup>2</sup> The negotiator for one power may try conscientiously to find merit on both sides of a dispute with another power, turn mediator to facilitate some kind of agreement, and leave his government without an effective advocate.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, a national

<sup>2</sup> William W. Kaufmann, "Two American Ambassadors: Bullitt and Kennedy," in Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (eds.), *The Diplomats 1919-1939*, Vol. 2. Atheneum edition, New York, 1967, furnishes interesting examples.

<sup>3</sup> For examples, see Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate*, Harper & Row, New York, 1964, pp. 146-149.

diplomat may serve his government and a transnational cause espoused by it (say, an alliance) well by bending national-bureaucratic instructions and thus facilitating a common stand of the allies. Thus there is no salvation for the diplomat in regarding either the national or the transnational commitment as necessarily supreme, but only in finding a fortunate and honorable way through the maze of their possible and often very real incompatibilities.

The balance of this paper is devoted to a set of situations that place the diplomat's divergent loyalties under particular stresses. First, we shall consider situations which stress maximal congruity of loyalties, and second, situations which emphasize incongruous loyalties.

### Situations Stressing Congruity

All organizations employing diplomats, whether national states or multinational organizations, urge their representatives to subordinate their sympathies to a concept of their function that is shaped at the center. This is legitimate and at times badly needed. In certain situations, however, this natural tendency is exaggerated and absolutized.

Revolutionary regimes bent on conquest and a drastic transformation of the international order are particularly inclined to submit their diplomats to elaborate control systems which "synchronize" them with the center. Research on Fascist Italian, National-Socialist German, and Communist Russian diplomatic policies furnishes many examples.<sup>4</sup>

Conservative and liberal regimes, too, have at times taken steps in this direction, notably when internal tensions, often related to unlucky foreign policies, induced suspicions of the loyalty of foreign service personnel. In the early 1950s, and largely in conjunction with unhappy American experi-

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Gordon A. Craig, "Totalitarian Approaches to Diplomatic Negotiations," in *War, Politics and Diplomacy*, Praeger, New York, 1966; and Vernon V. Aspaturian, "Dialectics and Duplicity in Soviet Diplomacy," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 17, No. 1, 1963.

ences in China and Korea, the United States Foreign Service came under such pressures.

### National Man in Multinational Service

One interesting aspect of this was the imposition of national loyalty screening on American citizens in the employment of the UN, interesting not only because it showed a direct conflict between transnational and national motivations in one government, but also because it brings out sharply the typical conflict between national and transnational obligations of a country's citizen in a multinational diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic function.

On the one hand, the United Nations Charter said in Article 100 that each member state was to "respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities." The United States Government had played the leading role in drafting the charter and had underwritten this concept of an independent international staff. It had notably helped defeat a proposal of Soviet bloc delegates before the Preparatory Commission in London in 1945 that appointments to the international staff should be made with the consent of the member government of which the candidate is a national.

On the other hand, beginning in 1949, the State Department began to supply information to the Secretary General on United Nations employees or applicants for employment who "appeared to be Communists." Subsequently President Truman prescribed a procedure for investigating the loyalty of Americans employed by the United Nations, and President Eisenhower established an International Organization Employees' Loyalty Board. These measures influenced UN hirings, led to some dismissals, and modified international staff regulations. In 1955, former Ambassador Philip Jessup wrote: "It is commonly understood that the UN would not employ an American today unless he had been cleared by the United States Gov-

ernment."<sup>5</sup>

Thus we find transnational obligations being absolutized in the charter of a multinational organization, while national obligations are emphasized, if not absolutized, by the member government. The liberality or inefficiency of national government and multinational organization may leave the individual enough leeway for maneuver between the conflicting absolutes; but from time to time congruity will be enforced and someone will get caught.

All multinational organizations have idealistic personnel regulations that postulate supranational chastity, a personnel devoid of special relationships to their home government. In all of these organizations, however, such special relationships are at work, covertly or openly. A Commissioner of the European Communities, e.g., once argued before the Commission that "all Commissioners of my country" are opposed to a certain proposal. A high official of the Commission reported to "his" government that he successfully blocked a Commission project that was not popular with that government.

Such cases, happening *intra muros* and usually not publicized, are offenses to the code of the multinational organizations. They are rarely punished, if ever. Incongruity triumphs then over the design of congruity.

Multinational bureaucracies are usually in a weaker position than the national ones to enforce a drive for maximal congruity. However strong the integrationist professions in their basic charters, the constituent states usually remain purse-string holders and possessors of residual and veto power. All the states try to bend the multinational bureaucracy if it inconveniences them, deprive it of functions, funds, or privileges, reduce the tenure or block the appointment of officials. To be sure, the multinational bureaucracy is not entirely helpless. It can mobilize countervailing interests of other states, or public opinion, or lean on the prestige of charter or

<sup>5</sup> Philip C. Jessup, "The International Civil Servant and his Loyalties," *JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1955, p. 59.

treaty. But United Nations and European Community experiences show that the contest is an unequal one, at least when the opponent member state is powerful and determined, and no more powerful and determined a state comes to the rescue.

Rotation of officials is sometimes offered as a cure for the nationalistic subversion of the multinational bureaucracies. By spending alternating stretches of time at the multinational and his national center, the official is expected to attune the second to the requirements of the first. This may work, but the opposite may work even better. By holding open a national career to the multinational official of their nationality, and perhaps bringing him back from time to time, the states probably ensure above all his continued attachment to national sympathies and duties. It is interesting that in the European Communities only the Dutch government, which on the whole has probably taken the most integrationist position among the Six, demands of its officials that they choose between the Community and the domestic career (after one year of Community service). In the United Nations, the increasing use of fixed term contracts in place of permanent staff contracts, while argued on the ground that it would help achieve a more balanced multinational character of the staff, has probably worked to fasten the hold of national governments on their nationals and to weaken their allegiance to the multinational apparatus.

In the light of this experience, a statement that international officials act exclusively in the higher interest of the community of states constituting the organization expresses more often a wish than a fact.

### Situations Stressing Incongruity

We now turn to situations in which some of the diplomat's sympathies are hardened into a second set of obligations and these obligations are incongruous with the first set. The diplomat enters into these incongruous obligations on his own volition, or by order of his employer, or just by the force of circum-

(Continued on page 31)



## Secretary of State Speaks to AFSA Members

Secretary Rogers spoke to the monthly AFSA luncheon on December 18, 1969. Following the presentation, on behalf of the Board of Directors, by Vice Chairman Theodore Eliot, Jr. of a briefcase to retiring Chairman Lannon Walker, Mr. Walker introduced the Secretary.

Most of the Secretary's remarks were devoted to a review of the international situation. He referred to three developments which are having and will over the next few years continue to have a major effect on the international scene: the Sino-Soviet split, the war in Vietnam and the growing strength of Germany and Japan. These three developments, the Secretary noted, are inter-related. Soviet policies in Europe and Vietnam are affected by their problems with Communist China. The American presence throughout the world is affected by our involvement in Vietnam. All nations have to take into consideration the vitality and potential of Germany and Japan.

The Secretary said that although we are reducing our presence abroad, we can't become an isolationist nation. He said we will continue to pursue negotiations: as we have been doing

on disarmament matters and SALT, on the Middle East, on Vietnam, and now with Communist China. Our aim in these negotiations is to reduce tensions. Secondly, he said we will be less strident, believing as we do that we don't have to try to solve all the problems of the world and that our presence overseas has been too pervasive. Thirdly, the Secretary said we are encouraging our friends and allies to solve more of their problems without our assistance. We are encouraging the development of regional organizations. In particular, other nations will have to take care of their own insurgencies. We will assist in providing equipment and training, but not with our own troops when other major powers are not involved.

In his introductory remarks, the Secretary said:

"I recall very clearly that one of the first invitations I received when I got this office was from the Foreign Service Association. I was sorry that I wasn't able to accept it at that time, but I'm very happy to be here today and to see some of the Young Turks who now have become sort of Middle-Aged Turks.

"I think that there has been a good

deal of progress made, and I think this Association deserves a lot of credit for it. I realize that you are in the middle of a political campaign and I want to say that if there's anything I say here today that has any political connotations, it's purely accidental.

"I do not support any slate or the policies of any slate. I do though want to tell you how much I appreciate the Foreign Service itself in the State Department, AID, USIA, generally—for the tremendous work that you do, the help that you give all of us."

After reviewing the international scene, the Secretary spoke about the Foreign Service:

"I would like to refer just for a moment to the Foreign Service and to say that I support wholeheartedly efforts to improve the Foreign Service. And I'm looking forward to the working of the Board of the Foreign Service which is chaired by Elliot Richardson and of which Bill Macomber is Vice Chairman. I understand Mr. Macomber has a statement that he's going to make—hopefully, in January sometime—which will set forth some of our ideas. We hope we can work in active consultation with the Foreign Service Association because it's to everyone's interest to update the Foreign Service, to make it more responsive to the needs of today.

"I would also like to say one further word. I'm quite convinced that over the years the Foreign Service has, for one reason or another, had its responsibilities eroded. There are a lot of explanations for that. We in the State Department have been so concerned about policy considerations that we probably have let the management part of the operation get away from us a little bit. And the fact of the matter is: it's very difficult to be effective in making policy unless you can perform, unless you can carry out the policy. And Presidents and all other executives pay a lot more attention to people who carry out the policy than they do to the policy-makers, because they usually think of



Secretary of State William P. Rogers shown speaking before AFSA members on December 18.

themselves as the policy-makers.

"So, in order to be policy-makers—and I think we should be—you have to put the policy in operation. You have to, in a sense, become the manager, because if you are effective in carrying out the policy it comes to the attention of the President and others; and then when you make another policy recommendation he says to himself, 'Here's a man who could get something done.'

"So, as I see it, there are three functions that we have: first, of making policy. And, in the final analysis, the policy is made by the President. But we should recommend policy and we should be preeminent in that regard. But, secondly, we have to be managers. We have to be able to put into operation the policy decisions, because, if we leave that to others, it will erode the effect of our policy recommendations. And the third function, of course, is to carry on the nation's diplomacy.

"There's no doubt in my mind that that last part has been done very well.

"I would hope that in the years to come we can do two things: one, we can be a little more assertive in the policy-making role. And by 'assertive' I don't mean offensive. I mean assertive in the way of making policy recommendations that are wise and that can be supported with reason, because if you make that kind of policy recommendation and are successful, then you'll be called upon to make other policy recommendations. Secondly, I would hope that we can look at the problems that face us not in terms of analyzing the problems solely, or restating the problems, but figuring out what to do about them, and then being sure that we take charge of the doing rather than have some other department take charge. Because we have the preeminent role in this field; foreign affairs is not just policy; it's policy and putting policy into effect. And the Department of State has the primary role in that regard.

"And I would hope then that all of you and particularly you younger people who are coming along, will get a spirit of leadership. Say to yourself that you do have a responsibility to take on leadership and assert that leadership in a way that's effective. Don't do it offensively because that's counterproductive. But what I'm saying is—and I hope we can do it, and I think we can—this Department has the primary role in foreign policy. You who are working at it every day should sense that role, be sure that it doesn't slip away from us. It will take us a while because, over the years, there's been quite an erosion."

# Results of AFSA Election

*Board of Directors  
American Foreign Service Association*

Sir:

In accordance with the instructions of the Board of Directors, the following members of an Elections Committee have met and have counted the ballots of the 1969 American Foreign Service Association election:

John H. Stutesman, Jr.  
Joan Clark (State)  
Frank Ready (State)  
Arthur Bardos (USIA)  
William Parks (AID)

We are pleased to advise you that 3029 ballots were received by the Elections Committee prior to midnight December 31, 1969; 21 of these were considered defective. For instance, some bemused members of the Association voted for all three slates simultaneously. Others returned absolutely blank ballots. Some voted for more than eleven persons.

We have found that the following eleven candidates for election received the most votes:

DAVIES, Richard	1590
GOOD, Barbara	1549
BRADFORD, William	1547
EASUM, Donald	1540
BRAY, Charles	1521
NEVITT, Robert	1510
HEGINBOTHAM, Erland	1478
LAMBRAKIS, George	1456
LYMAN, Princeton	1423
HARROP, William	1420
CARTER, Alan	1403

The membership will be interested in the following information on votes

received by the three contending slates:

CONTINUITY	1200
NEW MEMBERSHIP	508
FRESH START	342

It is significant to recognize, however, that every individual on each slate polled more votes than the total cast for the slate itself. Persons interested in the number of votes received by individual candidates on the ballot may obtain that information by getting in touch with the Executive Director of the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

*Sincerely,*  
JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.  
Chairman  
Elections Committee

*John H. Stutesman, Jr., Esquire  
Chairman  
Elections Committee  
American Foreign Service Association*

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of January 5 reporting on behalf of the Elections Committee the results of the 1969 American Foreign Service Association election. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and the members of your Committee for the work you have done on this election. I know that the extraordinary number of votes imposed an extra burden on you.

With very best wishes.

*Sincerely,*  
HARRY K. LENNON  
Acting President



*The newly elected Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association is pictured at its first meeting. Left to right, George B. Lambakis, Alan Carter, Erland H. Heginbotham, Barbara J. Good, Richard T. Davies, Charles W. Bray, III, William G. Bradford, Princeton Lyman, William C. Harrop and Robert L. Nevitt.*

## AFSA's Officers and Board

The new officers and Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association took office on January 15. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., former Chairman of the Board, was named President, John E. Reinhardt continues as first vice president, and C. William Kontos joins AFSA's officers as second vice president.

Continuing as Board members are Charles W. Bray, III, who becomes chairman, and Erland Heginbotham. Brief biographies of new Board officers and members follow:

C. William Kontos, second vice president, entered on duty with ECA after service in the US Army. He served with the successor agencies, FOA and ICA, in Colombo and Lagos, then with AID starting in 1961. He was detached to the National War College in 1964 and appointed director, Officer of Personnel Administration in 1965. His most recent assignments were as AID director in Lahore and Rawalpindi.

A native of Brooklyn and graduate of Columbia and the US Army, Richard T. Davies has been in the Foreign Service since 1947. He served in Warsaw, studied Russian language and area training, and subsequently was assigned to Moscow. In 1953, he served a tour in Paris, followed by service in Calcutta, and a Washington tour in the Office of Eastern European Affairs.

Mr. Davis returned to Moscow in 1961, and was made Counselor for Political Affairs. He returned to Washington in 1963, attended the Senior Seminar, and was assigned to the Executive Secretariat. In 1967, he had a tour in USIA, serving later as Consul General in Calcutta. He is now a senior officer on the newly-organized Planning and Coordination Staff on the seventh floor.

William G. Bradford entered the Foreign Service from private business in September, 1952. His first post was Berlin, Germany, and subsequently he served in Naples, Italy, and in the Department in the Secretariat and as a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Administration. Following this, he was Counselor for Administration in Saigon, Vietnam, and CAMO Director in Leopoldville, Democratic Republic of the Congo. He was named Counselor and Deputy Chief of Mission in Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1966 and received a Superior Honor Award while serving there. In 1968 he returned to Washington to attend the Senior Seminar, following which he became Executive Director, Bureau of African Affairs.

A native Californian, Barbara J.

Good received a BA from the University of California at Berkeley in 1950 with major studies in Art, History and Political Science.

She entered the Foreign Service in 1951 as a cryptographer and was assigned to Rome for three years. Subsequent assignments in the secretarial field during the next ten years included La Paz (Bolivia), Buenos Aires, Kobe and Paris. She speaks Italian, Spanish, French and some Japanese.

Since 1965 she has been assigned to the Department as a recruiter in the Employment Division. For the past two years she has headed up the Recruitment Branch's Publicity Unit and duties include writing employment brochures, feature articles and arranging for TV and radio publicity regarding staff corps career opportunities.

She is an avid skier and prefers outdoor sports including swimming, tennis, sailing and bicycling.

Alan Carter, a career foreign service officer, was appointed Assistant Director of the United States Information Agency (Near East and South Asia) on November 1, 1965.

Mr. Carter began a radio career following graduation from the University of Michigan in 1946 with majors in political science and broadcasting.

He worked for radio stations in Rochester, New York and Albany, New York until 1949 when he became program director for a leading educational radio station, WNYC.

Mr. Carter transferred to NBC in New York in 1951 as a staff producer and director. The following year he served as campaign director for the San Antonio (Texas) Council for Educational Television.

A native of Rochester, N.Y., Mr. Carter joined the USIA foreign service in November 1955. His overseas assignments since then have been entirely in the South Asia area—in Karachi, Pakistan and New Delhi, India.

Serving as press attache first to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, later to Ambassador John K. Galbraith in India, Mr. Carter played an important role in covering two major diplomatic visits to India. In 1959, during President Eisenhower's visit to that country, he was responsible for the press, radio and film coverage within India for the President's visit. Again, in 1962, he was designated control officer to handle the planning and itinerary of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy's visit to India.

In 1962, Mr. Carter returned to Washington where his first assignment was as Special Assistant to the USIA Deputy Director.

In 1963, he was appointed as Direc-



*Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.*



*Charles W. Bray, III*



*John E. Reinhardt*



*C. William Kontos*

tor of the Television Service of USIA.

In 1965, he took up his present position as Assistant Director, USIA, (Near East and South Asia).

Mr. Carter, 45, is married to the former Marjorie Lee Lawyer of Oklahoma City. Their daughter, Pamela Dale, 14, was born in Oklahoma City.

Donald Easum was born in Indiana in 1923. In 1947 he received a B.A. degree in history from the University of Wisconsin. He pursued overseas graduate studies in international affairs at the University of London and in Argentina. He holds a Master's degree from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University and a Ph.D. from Princeton's Department of Politics. From 1943-46 Mr. Easum served in the US Army.

Prior to joining the Department of State, Mr. Easum was a high school teacher and coach, and did city news reporting for a brief period on the NEW YORK TIMES.

In 1953 he was commissioned a Foreign Service officer and was first assigned to United States Embassy Managua, followed by two years at the Embassy in Djakarta. After a four-year tour of duty in Washington, D.C., Mr. Easum was posted to Dakar, and subsequently to Niamey. Since returning to Washington, Mr. Easum spent a year as a member of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy sponsored by the State Department's Foreign Service Institute. Presently he is Staff Director for the National Security Council's Interdepartment's Latin American Bureau. He speaks French and Spanish.

He has had two articles on Argentina published, and his recent article on "The Call for Black Studies" appeared in AFRICA REPORT June 1969.

Mr. Easum is married to a former Foreign Service secretary and has four children.

William Harrop, a Marine Corps veteran and graduate of Harvard, entered the Foreign Service in 1954. He has served in Palermo, Rome, Brussels, Lubumbashi and the Department. After a year's graduate work at Princeton, Mr. Harrop joined the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, where he now works in the field of African affairs. He is the recipient of the Department's Merit Honor Award for service while principal officer at Lubumbashi in 1967.

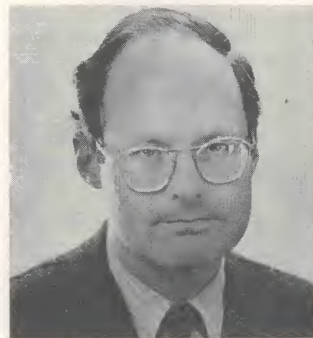
While waiting his turn to enter State during the great Reduction-in-Force of 1953 and 1954, George B. Lambrakis joined USIA's first Junior Officer Trainee group, served an apprenticeship in Saigon, and opened the first USIS branch office in southern Laos, at Pakse. In January 1957 he entered State, two grades lower than



*Princeton Lyman*



*George B. Lambrakis*



*William C. Harrop*



*Barbara J. Good*

he would have earlier and taking a pay cut of \$800, then about 15 per cent of his salary. This taught him his first lesson in personnel administration—Perspective. . . .

After two years on North Africa in INR he went as consular and acting administrative officer to help establish our first Embassy in Conakry, Guinea. Then came a year as political officer in Munich, nearly four as the same in Tel Aviv, and two more in the Israel/Arab-Israel Country Directorate of NEA. Thus the budding Generalist was transformed into a tidy Specialist, only to learn how little he would be permitted to contribute his special knowledge to the making of policy during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. A year of study as a mid-career Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy led to his present position as Chief of the Training Staff within O/PER/PO/CMA.

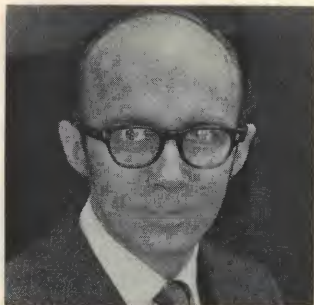
An AFSA member since 1954, he was, like many others, awakened to the potential of the organization by the activities of the previous Board. He is anxious to continue his education in the intricacies of Foreign Service operations—and distill from it some precepts for future action. Since effective reform of any community as large and many-faceted as the Foreign Service requires persistence over a number of years, he is happy to be contributing to AFSA's continuity of purpose.

He has been assigned Board responsibility for coordinating AFSA committees and organizing next Fall's Foreign Service Day. He expects to help also on personnel principles, "openness," and junior-officer contacts. An addicted fencer and the father of two little girls, he lives in Washington, D.C.

Princeton Lyman is Chief of the Title IX Division, Office of Program and Policy Coordination, AID, where he works on social and political development questions related to the US foreign assistance program.

These questions have been of concern to Mr. Lyman for some years, and he is the co-author of a book on political and economic development. Prior to his election to the Board of Directors, Mr. Lyman was named to the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service JOURNAL, and he has worked in particular on a special upcoming issue of the FSJ which will be devoted to this fascinating new field.

As constant readers of AFSA NEWS may recall from our October issue, Mr. Lyman did his undergraduate work at Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley, going on to Harvard for the Ph.D., which was awarded in 1961.



*Erland H. Heginbotham*



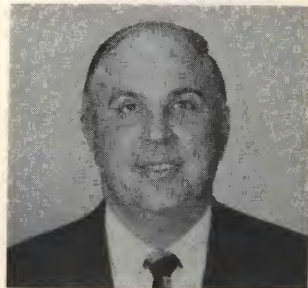
*Robert L. M. Nevitt*



*William G. Bradford*



*Richard T. Davies*



*Alan Carter*

Mr. Lyman joined AID in 1961, and has served in Washington and Korea. He and his wife, Helen, influenced by the life style of their native San Francisco, are firmly attached to apartment dwelling. They and their three young daughters live in Silver Spring.

Robert L. M. Nevitt was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1931. He matriculated at Westtown Friends

School and received a BA with honors at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. in 1953. He worked on the production staff of a television station in Harrisburg until he was called into service with the US Army, and stationed in Japan with the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service.

Following discharge from the Army in 1956, Mr. Nevitt traveled throughout the Far East and Middle East for over two years, free-lancing in motion picture, radio and newspaper journalism. On returning to the United States Mr. Nevitt entered the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in American Studies. He was called to duty with USIA in 1960 before completing his degree.

All of Mr. Nevitt's service with USIA has been in the Far East. Serving first in Burma, he opened the branch post in Ubol Thailand in 1962. He served in the field for nearly four years. This early association with the changing programs in the area resulted in an assignment in Bangkok,

first as Planning Officer and then as Assistant Field Program Officer, the job he left in August 1969. Mr. Nevitt is assigned now to the Office of the Assistant Director of USIA for Personnel and Training where he is involved in the program to broaden effective career planning. He lives with his wife, Audrey, and two children, in Annandale, Va.

#### Marriages

**COLLINS-WAGNER.** Mary Johanna Collins, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Ralph S. Collins, was married to Louis A. Wagner on December 27, in Monaca, Pennsylvania.

#### Births

**BRIDGES.** A son, Andrew Devlin, born to FSO and Mrs. Peter Bridges, on December 7, in Rome.

**CARTER.** A daughter, Sheila Ann, born to FSO and Mrs. James W. Carter, on December 15, in Chula Vista, California.

**EIN.** A daughter, Sarah, born to FSR and Mrs. Melvin B. Ein, on November 2, in Vientiane.

**MATZ.** A daughter, Anna Elaine, born to FSO and Mrs. James R. Matz, on December 30, in Washington.

**NEWHART.** A son, John Ly Cuong, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Newhart, on November 9, in La Jolla.

Mr. and Mrs. Newhart were formerly employed by AID in Saigon.

#### Deaths

**BARTLETT.** Frederic P. Bartlett, retired ambassador, died on January 10, in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Ambassador Bartlett joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served at London, Brussels, Saigon, the National War College, New Delhi and Katmandu, the Department, as Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic and as Director, Office of the African-Malagasy Union before his retirement in 1964. He is survived by his wife, of 3510 Edmunds Street, N.W., Washington, two sons and four grandchildren.

**BEYLARD.** Charles B. Beylard, FSSO-retired, died on December 3, in Nice. Mr. Beylard joined the Foreign Service in 1908 and served at Nice, Tunis, Bizerta, Las Palmas, Marseille,

Monaco, Lyon and Port of Spain before his retirement in 1955. He is survived by his wife of 49 rue Marechal Joffre, 06 Nice, France, and a daughter.

**HOPKINS.** John A. Hopkins, FSO-retired, died in early January in Washington, D.C. Mr. Hopkins joined the Foreign Service in 1944 and served at Bogota, Mexico City, Buenos Aires and as economic counselor to the International Sugar Council in London before his retirement in 1961. He is survived by his wife of 4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Washington.

**WEAVER.** Findley Weaver, FSO-retired, died on November 9. Mr. Weaver entered the Foreign Service in 1944 and served at Lima, Panama, London, Buenos Aires, the Department of State and Madrid before his retirement in 1961. He is survived by his wife of 73 Nore Road, Portishead, Somerset, England and five children.

## Volunteers for AFSA

The Association is interested in volunteers to man the activities of AFSA committees. Applicants willing to devote time to such work are urged to send a brief note expressing their interest, and any relevant qualifications they wish to include, to AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street, attention of the Executive Director.

Members of the Board and chairmen of the committees will then contact individuals selected for different committees and explain committee aims, tasks, and procedures. The important criteria are imagination and willingness to work.

Among the committees greatest in need of volunteers at present are:

**Community Action**, to improve Foreign Service relations with, and understanding of, the metropolitan Washington community.

**Chapters**, to expand AFSA support of AFSA chapters in the field and feedback to headquarters.

**Congressional Liaison**, to improve contacts with members of Congress and their staffs.

**Education**, to assist in selecting recipients of AFSA and other AFSA-administered scholarship awards.

**"Openness"**—to improve contacts and exchanges with outside organizations interested in the Foreign Service.

Volunteers are also needed to assist in a membership drive immediately. Please write AFSA or contact a member of the new Board as soon as possible.

## Retirement Scholarships

Many retirees are returning to college on scholarships.

Almost 500 senior citizens are enrolled at the University of Kentucky. The courses, called "Educare," are free.

Boston University, Providence College, the University of Rhode Island and Utica College also offer retirement scholarships.

Other institutions may be doing the same thing, but there is apparently no central list.

However, retirees can easily query colleges and universities nearby to learn about such programs.

## Macomber's Speech

Deputy Under Secretary William B. Macomber's speech on January 14 raises many questions of basic importance to the foreign affairs profession. The Foreign Service JOURNAL urges members to write letters or articles with regard to the Macomber proposals—let's make the JOURNAL a forum for discussion of these issues.

## Public Members Elect



Kenneth Youel, Washington consultant and retired executive of General Motors, has been elected president of the Public Members Association, succeeding R. W. McClenahan who had served as president since the association was formed in 1967. Mr. McClenahan will occupy the position of vice president in 1970.

The Public Members Association is an organization of former public members of Department of State and United States Information Agency selection boards and inspection teams.

Marshall M. Holleb of Chicago and William J. Trent, Jr. of New York have been reelected vice presidents, Luis F. Corea of Washington, D.C. has been reelected treasurer and Mrs. Elwood R. Quesada of Washington has been reelected secretary. Also, the members have elected two new directors: Robert S. McCollum, vice chancellor of the University of Denver, Colorado, and Daggett Harvey, vice chairman, Fred Harvey, Inc., Chicago. They succeed David H. Matson of Mexico City and Guy Stillman of Phoenix, Arizona.

Prior to the formal meetings of the members and the board of directors at the Department of State on Novem-

## February's Cover Artist

Susan Trinkka, who painted "Rooftops of Dubrovnik" for our cover, is the wife of FSO Frank Trinkka who is currently assigned to Washington following earlier tours of duty in Frankfurt, Berlin, Prague, Belgrade, and Zagreb. While in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Mrs. Trinkka studied art, graduating from the Zagreb Academy of Arts in June, 1969. She has worked in various art forms—graphics, sculpture, mosaics and frescoes but prefers oils and water colors. Mrs. Trinkka has had three showings featuring landscape scenes of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Italy and is busy preparing for another.

ber 14 at which time the elections were held, the members met with State Department and USIA officials.

Those participating in this discussion included Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration William B. Macomber, USIA Deputy Director Henry Loomis, Director General of the Foreign Service John H. Burns, Foreign Service Deputy Director of Personnel John H. Stutesman, Jr., and Robert G. Cleveland, Director of the Office of Public Services.

Other public members who attended the meeting were W. Stanley Allen, Arch Dalrymple III, Dr. John W. Davis, Norbert Dengler, John F. Donato, the Honorable Robert V. Franklin, R. Radcliffe Massey, Nathan Levin, Brig. Gen. Eugene Phillips, USA (Ret.), Dr. Robert B. Stewart, D. Randall Buckingham, George R. Concannon, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Richard T. Leonard and James B. Morrison.

## Scholarship Information

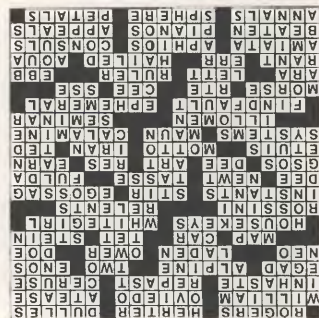
Announcement of recipients of AFSA Scholarships and Awards for Excellence will be made in the AFSA NEWS as soon as the Committee on Education has reviewed the large number of applications which have been received.

A deadline of February 15, 1970 was set for the receipt of all student material at AFSA's headquarters.

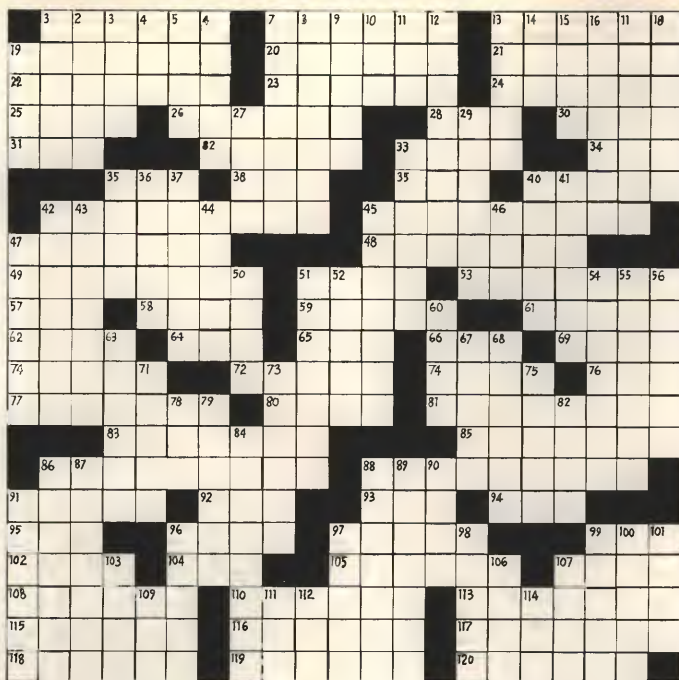
## Graduate Student Scholarship

A scholarship in memory of LaVerne Baldwin is offered to a graduate student or graduating college senior whose major discipline relates to international studies and who is the son or daughter of someone who is or has been a Foreign Service officer of the United States. This is for the summer seminar for foreign and American students at Twin Lakes, Salisbury, Connecticut, July 6 through August 21, 1970. Application should be made in writing to the Institute of World Affairs, 527 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

## Crossword Solution



CROSSWORD FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE by Thomas A. DeHart



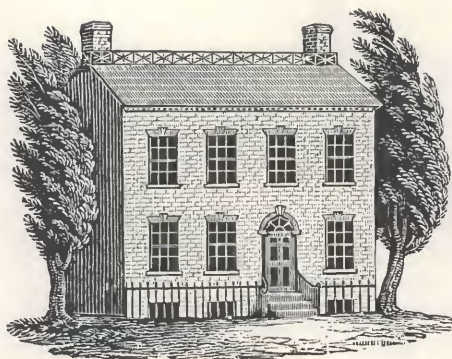
ACROSS

1. Buck, Will, et al.
7. Mr. Vann's award
13. "War, Peace and Change" author
19. Mr. Tell
20. City in Spain
21. Relaxed: 2 wds.
22. Policy decision should not be made in this manner: 2 wds.
23. A meal
24. White lead
25. Minced oath
26. Of lofty mountains
28. Tea for \_\_\_\_\_
30. Son of Seth
31. New: Prefix
32. Loaded
33. One in debt
34. Female of the animal kingdom
35. Chart
38. Vehicle
39. Saigon holiday
40. Munich schooner
42. When abroad it is wise to leave a set of these with 62-across
45. A standout in Ouagadougou
47. "William Tell" composer
48. Softens
49. Seconds
51. Agitate
53. Some who are not on the promotion list find that their \_\_\_\_\_: 2 wds.
57. Letter of the alphabet
58. Salamander
59. Cup, in 12-down
61. River in Germany

62. Admin. officers' right hand men
64. River in Scotland
65. Man's nickname
66. Thing: in law
69. Merit
70. Needle cases
72. A maxim
74. Persia
76. Spread to dry
77. Methods
80. Must: Scot.
81. Smithsonite
83. Inauspicious sign
85. University session
86. Nit-pick
88. Transient
91. Kind of code
92. Map abbreviation
93. Letter of the alphabet
94. Compass direction
95. Geographic bureau: abbr.
96. Latvian
97. Sovereign
99. Recede
102. Rave
104. Sin
105. Saluted
107. Water: Lat.
108. Mountain in Italy
110. Plant lice
113. "Inform all \_\_\_\_\_."
115. Vanquished
116. Musical instruments
117. Pleas
118. Chronicles
119. Orb
120. Corolla parts

DOWN

1. Town in Sweden
2. City in Portugal
3. Pleased
4. "Rocks," in Berlin
5. Pro \_\_\_\_\_
6. Odor
7. Japanese day off
8. Planers
9. Mature
10. Evening meal in Sydney
11. Newspaper men: abbr.
12. City in Germany
13. Association of elder statesmen
14. Shoshonean Indian
15. City in S.W. Chad
16. Wash and iron
17. Familiar lubricant
18. City south of Salzburg
19. The Stephansplatz is at its very center
27. Rate of speed
29. Golfer's mound after a rain
33. Not us
35. See 80-across
36. Thai
37. Wrote
40. \_\_\_\_\_ the Guard: NCO
41. Thinly woven fabric
42. Always the best policy
43. Bony
44. City north of Lusaka
45. The F.S. has still not recovered from his reforms
46. Locomotive operator: abbr.
47. Projecting parts
50. Check
51. Standing with all four feet on the ground: Her.
52. City in Estonia
54. City in Romania
55. A gland
56. Lake, River and Bay in Newfoundland
60. Scandinavian first name
63. Forms of protest
67. Eradicate
68. Popular cigarette brand: Pl.
71. Town in Denmark
73. Spanish, cheese or plain
75. Nominates
78. Now defunct U.S. policy aim: abbr.
79. A lofty flyer
82. Bog
84. Dogcatchers
86. Bone opening: Anat.
87. Middle Easterner
88. South American country
89. Woman's long coat
90. To list
91. City on Tocantine River
96. Slants
97. European river
98. A tire of a sort
99. Peer
100. Male whales
101. Food fish
103. Bye-bye, in Melbourne
106. Drug: Colloq.
107. On the briny deep
109. Wire: abbr.
111. Apple seed
112. Exclamation
114. Hong Kong Island location: abbr.



## FOR THOSE BACK HOME

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stances. He grapples with the necessity to serve two or more masters rather than with that of satisfying one exceedingly demanding master.

The extreme situation is that of the *double agent*. The servant of government X obligates himself to work for government Y. His obligation to X is overt, if only in the sense that Y knows that the man works for X, possibly in X's secret service. His obligation to Y is covert, or overt: X may or may not know of it; but if X knows of it, Y may not know that X does. The obligations are highly incongruous, although their fulfillment may intertwine in peculiar ways.

Consider some of the great double agents of our time. Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi were unofficial advisors of the Nazi government (its Tokyo Embassy) and the Japanese government (Premier Konoye's office), respectively. Both were well known free-lance publicists. Oleg Penkovsky was a Soviet general. Kim Philby held a British foreign service position for a while—as a cover for his principal position in the British Secret Intelligence Service. So much for their positions with regard to country X. With regard to country Y, Sorge worked for Soviet army intelligence. Ozaki believed that he was working for the COMINTERN (through Sorge); Penkovsky aided British and American intelligence services; and Philby described himself as a fully employed Soviet intelligence officer.

The situation of such men is marked by clandestinity, danger, and fear of discovery. No diplomat will venture into it without compelling motives, strong ideological attachments to a cause, hatred of another, or fear of the consequences of refusal. Exile, imprisonment, or violent death await those who do—sometimes posthumous fame. Are they diplomats at all? If the criterion of the diplomat is adherence to a national code of honor, they are not. If the criterion is functional, say, engagement in the management of government to government relations through information gathering and otherwise, they are diplomats; and they often are

first-class performers.

We cannot describe here the play of conflicting obligations under which the double agents named above were operating, and the ways in which they were trying to reconcile the obligations; but one brief observation may be made. The greatest intelligence feats of the Sorge-Ozaki group for the Soviets were transmission of the date of Hitler's attack and information on the southward course of Japanese military activity, both in 1941. Their daring efforts to prevent a joint German-Japanese attack on Russia by influencing Axis leaders were never explicitly approved by Moscow. By the end of that year, both men were in the hands of the Japanese police, convicted in part thanks to evidence supplied by a Japanese Communist and party leader-to-be. Before being hanged in 1944, both men wrote remarkable literary works in prison.

#### Coordinating One Nation's Diplomacies

For other illustrations, we turn to more conventional settings. Ambassadors represent their governments; but governments are complex. The foreign office, to which the ambassador is beholden, supposedly is concerned with all international activities of the government; but many of the activities are in fact managed by financial, military or other departments. Must the ambassador coordinate the international activities of all departments related to the particular country? That is likely to subject him to the pull of the *different departments*, and overburden him.

On May 29, 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued a circular letter to all American ambassadors which made them responsible for all-round representation, the coordination of special functions, and thus subject to the multi-agency pull. The letter said, in part.

You are in charge of the entire United States Diplomatic Mission, and I shall expect you to supervise all of its operations. The Mission includes not only the personnel of the Department of State and the Foreign Service, but also the representatives of all other

United States agencies which have programs or activities in —. I shall give you full support and backing in carrying out your assignment.

Needless to say, the representatives of other agencies are expected to communicate directly with their offices here in Washington, and in the event of a decision by you in which they do not concur, they may ask to have the decision reviewed by a higher authority in Washington.

However, it is their responsibility to keep you fully informed of their views and activities and to abide by your decisions unless in some particular instance you and they are notified to the contrary.

Unless coordination at home is thorough, this arrangement is bound to obligate the ambassador to various government departments and to complicate his relationship with the host government when the drives of these departments diverge.

It is easy to imagine a variety of such complications. The tendency of a financial mission to favor balanced budgets and safeguards for American investor interests may conflict with the tendency of an economic aid mission to favor local expenditures on a development project, or with the tendency of a military assistance mission to support an arms project of the local military. The tendency of all three missions to get involved in the decision making of the local government, perhaps on the side of one political faction against another political faction, may conflict with the tendency of the State Department, or of the ambassador himself, to avoid entanglement in local political struggles. The desire to maintain good relations with a broad spectrum of local political forces may clash with the tendency, explicit or implicit, of the special mission to support or resist particular personalities outside or inside the governing party. And so forth. As the "theater commander" of all official American activities in the country, the ambassador is expected to satisfy the impulses of aloofness and intervention, economy and largesse, that reach his mission

through the channels of the various departments at home—not to mention their great curiosity; two years ago, an ambassador to a South American country would rather have his personnel cut than stand ready to supply reports on “rats, bats, and noxious birds” to interested agencies in Washington—this in addition to the demands that the local government and society make on him as the representative of a great power.

There is a dearth of literature on how the American diplomat lives with these incongruous obligations and duties. But the little that has been published suggests that the coordination assigned to the ambassador overtaxes the powers of most. “In practice,” say the Jackson Subcommittee Papers, “the primacy of an Ambassador among American representatives is no more fully accepted than the primacy of the State Department with respect to matters administered by other agencies.”<sup>6</sup>

The consequences of this uncoordinated multiple diplomacy may not only be confusion, erosion of the ambassador's prestige, and missed opportunities; it may also lead to combinations of sectional United States government pursuits with local forces producing political effects that no American policymaker wanted or even considered.

### Great Power Diplomat in Alliance

Next we consider the situation of the diplomat who represents the leading power of an integrated alliance as well as the alliance as a whole. Contrary to views that have been expressed by some authors, diplomacy does not disappear where powers of very unequal strength meet. Nor do the tensions between the diplomat's national and transnational commitments disappear there.

NATO furnishes an example of an integrated alliance among states of unequal power. The alliance has a political personality of its own, distinct from that of its members, and integrated military commands, notably SHAPE, under SACEUR. (The alliance is not integrated, and



SACEUR's military executive function is suspended, in the sense that during peacetime the operational control of the assigned national forces rests in national hands.)

The inequality of NATO's member states is a thing of many dimensions. One of them is the preponderance of the United States in the group. By all counts the United States is the strongest power in NATO; in particular, its military forces overshadow those of the other states in size, variety, equipment and mobility. Some of the American forces are integrated under NATO command, others, notably most of the strategic nuclear forces, are not.

From NATO's beginning, SACEUR has been an American general; and he has always been at the same time the commander-in-chief of United States forces in Europe (CINCEUR). The occupant of these offices has always been subject to characteristic tensions. As the representative of the United States he had to be an advocate of government views on the military dispositions of individual member countries and the alliance as a whole; and he had to be responsive to United States military commitments in other parts of the world that competed in one way or another with commitments in Europe. As the representative of the alliance, he had to mediate in conflicts between European members, and he had to be an advocate in the United States of defense interests of European allies.

The imposition of these different and not necessarily divergent obligations on SACEUR/CINCEUR

has given the holder of the dual function opportunities to contribute greatly to the vitality of the Alliance. But dilemmas arose as well. A noteworthy one appeared in the early 1960s when the Kennedy Administration sought to persuade the principal European allies to concentrate on the development of “conventional” forces, and when these allies, chiefly France, sought a greater role in the nuclear field, notably in the control of American nuclear forces in the alliance framework. General Norstad supported the European demand and opposed Washington's policy of tightening control over nuclear arms in American hands. Following his retirement in early 1963, Norstad expressed his views in public.

Norstad underscored European demands for an “absolute guarantee” from the United States that a minimum stock of nuclear weapons be available in the event that the United States might be inclined to limit its own involvement in a European emergency, and for a right of the Europeans to exercise some measure of influence and control over “nuclear weapons disposed for their use.”

General Norstad's replacement by General Lemnitzer in 1963 was widely read as a measure to put the function in the hands of a man more attuned to the views then prevailing in Washington. But the conflicting obligations inherent in the function manifested themselves again as new issues arose. Before General Lemnitzer's term came to an end in 1969, he spoke out against the idea of reducing the effective strength of United States forces steadily stationed in Europe, an idea that had the support of influential officials of the Johnson Administration. For this reason or for others, one German defense commentator wrote at the time of Lemnitzer's retirement: “He was no less of an effective and indefatigable advocate of European defense needs in Washington than his predecessor Norstad.”

### The Viceroy

Finally, the diplomat representing a great power, in a collectivity penetrated or dominated by that power, deserves our attention here. I call him the viceroy. Once again

<sup>6</sup> Jackson Subcommittee Papers, Praeger, New York, 1965, p. 77.

we find ourselves at the margin of what is ordinarily thought of as diplomacy. The power inequality between the collectivities is maximal. The dominant one exercises, or comes close to exercising, supreme power in the dominated one. The latter may even have ceased temporarily to be regarded as a state, and the representative of the dominant power may play the role of chief executive above a rudimentary political structure. Germany after World War II under the military governments of the victors furnishes an example of this extreme situation. In less extreme cases, the penetrated society preserves a complete state structure, and the representative of the dominant power "participates directly and authoritatively, through actions taken jointly with the society's members," in its government.<sup>7</sup> Examples of this kind can be found in various situations ranging from Judaea under Pontius Pilate, or postwar Japan under MacArthur, to more recent conditions in the Dominican Republic under American, and in Czechoslovakia under Soviet domination. State-to-state diplomacy mingles with participation in government, and the business of the great-power representative consists of both.

The characteristic tensions in the viceroy's position are as follows: He must assure implementation of the dominant power's policies and maintain its authority. Although he has no formal obligations to the penetrated society—it did not elect or appoint him—he must meet its requirements for public order, including perhaps the maintenance of native authorities, economic performance, political reconstruction, etc. These two sets of requirements may clash, or they may be reconciled. In any event, they are complex. The forces working on the viceroy may not only be dominant-power forces on the one hand and penetrated-society forces on the other hand, but also forces of one kind disguised as forces of the other kind.

It appears that Pontius Pilate, Emperor Tiberius's military gover-

nor of Judaea, found Jesus innocent of a breach of Roman law. The Sadducean priesthood demanded his crucifixion because of a breach of Jewish law. The priesthood was the principal local authority. It was antagonistic to Roman rule, perhaps Pilate's principal antagonist, but indispensable for the maintenance of public order. Without sufficient Roman forces to govern the country directly, and under the Emperor's instruction not to interfere with religious matters, Pilate, so it appears, found it necessary to capitulate before the demand of his and Rome's antagonists and commit an injustice by Roman standards—in order not to jeopardize Roman rule. The Scripture reveals his inner struggle.

In a more recent and better documented instance, we find General Lucius D. Clay as US (deputy) Military Governor for Germany in 1945 in disagreement with the Joint Chiefs of Staff's policy directive for the conduct of military government. He reports that he was shocked not so much by the punitive provisions of JCS 1067 as by the failure of those who prepared the directive to foresee its economic consequences, notably the effects of de-industrialization.<sup>8</sup> Whether they foresaw the effects or not, some influential men in Washington did pursue the de-industrialization of Germany, but others did not and Clay was on their side.

Washington resisted the efforts to revise the directive, and it remained in effect until 1947; but well before that time United States military government at lower and higher levels reinterpreted the provisions and adjusted some of its actions to the economic necessities it perceived. OMGUS's industry division soon interpreted the "interest of American policy to be to incite and encourage the German people to contribute to the welfare of Europe by holding out to them the promise that they will be permitted to raise their own standards indefinitely, so long as they help their neighbors up to the same level."<sup>9</sup>

This was a far cry from the preventing of "disease or such civil unrest as would endanger the occupying forces," the economic policy standard of JCS 1067.

Clay's administration made this early shift, tentative as it was, from a pastoralization policy to an industrial recovery policy not in response to German pressures, which at the time were still weak and mute, but in response to American preferences for an economically self-supporting and politically stable Germany. These preferences were ascendant in the United States government but not yet consistently expressed in official directives. As time went on and the German political system was rebuilt, the American representative in Germany—first military governor, then high commissioner, and later ambassador—found his office pressed by combinations of American and German influences, often on both sides of critical issues, and reminding of the variety of its obligations to the dominant power and the penetrated society.

### Concluding Comment

The purpose of my paper has been to explore the diverse commitments under which a diplomat must do his work, commitments in the national and transnational dimensions; to states and international organizations; to complex governments and more than one government at a time.

This inquiry appeared inviting, first, because the variety of situations and their tensions finds so little recognition in the literature on diplomacy, much of which is focused on one nation, one regime, one type of institution, abstract principles, or on one man who is often enough, as Lloyd George once said of Lord Curzon, preoccupied with "burnishing his own halo." Secondly, the approach made it possible to identify certain situations that demand maximal congruity of the diplomat's commitments, and others that accentuate their incongruity. Both kinds of situations put the diplomat under heavy stresses and in some instances ruin his function. ■

<sup>7</sup> I am quoting from Rosenau's definition of a penetrated political system in his article cited above, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany*, Garden City, 1950, pp. 16-18.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in John Gimbel, *The American Occupation of Germany*, Stanford University Press, 1968, p. 25.

Where should "humanity's number one pilot project" be heading for its national and international long term goals?

## NEW DIRECTIONS

**O**UR nation has always been restless and argumentative, accustomed to criticizing its leaders and questioning its values. But in the last several years a generalized discontent has overtaken us that is probably without precedent in our history.

We used to present ourselves to the rest of the world as a self-confident people, but now, whether it is our race problem, student dissent, Vietnam, the ABM, or foreign aid, we go about our business almost apologetically, suffused with self-doubt.

I submit that the root explanation for this malaise is to be found in an examination of our successes, not our failures. We are confused because we have at last achieved our traditional goals in such measure that a felt need for new ones to take their place has emerged. It follows that what we need above all at this time is an increasingly explicit national debate about where we are going from here on out as a nation, a debate that can tie our present to our future insofar as it leads to a consensus on questions such as these: What kind of society do we want to become? And how can we best go about getting there? What kind of world order do we seek? And how can we best help bring it about?

To further such a debate, I shall sketch some possible answers to these questions. But first, let us examine what kind of a people our origins and our historical experi-

### CARLETON S. COON, JR.

*Mr. Coon, now Director, Presidential Appointments staff, joined the Foreign Service in 1949 after serving with the US Army overseas. He has served at Frankfurt on Main, Damascus, New Delhi, Tabriz and at the National War College. He received the commendable service award in 1959.*

ence have made of us, what is happening in the world around us, and how we relate to it.

#### Liberty and Progress

For reasons that escape me, it has not been fashionable in recent years for Americans to dwell on the fact that ours has always been a most remarkable and unusual nation. I say "Americans," for other nations remain acutely conscious of the fact that we are unique. Apparently, we who sit in the eye of the storm find it easier than others do to lose sight of the most conspicuous single happening of modern times: the unprecedentedly explosive impact that the United States of America has had on the evolution of human society during the relatively brief historical span of its existence.

We started out as a nation dedicated to the dignity, equality, and freedom of the individual. We may not have originated the philosophical concepts that underlay this essentially political doctrine, but we

did provide the laboratory in which that doctrine won its spurs. In so doing, we set a standard which most of the rest of the world has tried to follow.

We soon discovered that human freedom can be a highly catalytic ingredient when it comes to human achievement and progress. Liberty and progress became our hallmarks as a nation almost from the beginning, the twin pillars of our national purpose, the twin sources of our self-confidence and our self-esteem.

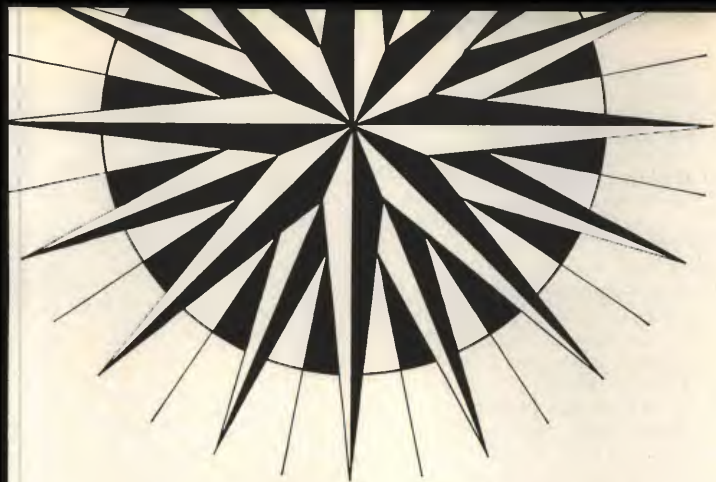
Whether we invented the automobile is debatable, but there is no doubt that it was in America that mass assembly for a mass market first occurred, with an assist from a labor movement that could only have developed in a free society. The concept of relativity may have originated in Europe, but it was America that first unleashed the power of the atom. We are the ones that lead in computers; we are the ones who just set foot on the moon (with half the world watching over mass media that we pioneered) . . . and right now, we are the ones who are leading the rest of the world in wondering what it all means, and whether it's worth it.

If we really want to decide where we are going, it might help as a start to bear in mind that we are, after all, humanity's number one pilot project.

#### The Social Sound Barrier

Although the length of a human life span or generation cycle has not changed much, the pace at which innovations are being introduced has been increasing ex-

*Adapted from a paper written for the National War College in February, 1969.*



ponentially in recent decades. Never before have human societies—ours above all—faced such pressing demands for recurring and radical changes in their ways of life. Never before has the plasticity of society suffered such severe and protracted strain. Whether it is population growth, or the real cost of transportation, or personal mobility, or the amount of raw energy available, or the quantity of scientific research, or advances in weapons systems, there seems to be no end, not only to exponentially increasing change itself, but also to the numbers of dimensions in which the rate of change has been going up so drastically. Perhaps it is this multiplicity of the faces of change that makes it so difficult for us to grasp the totality of what is happening to us.

I should like to propose the theory that the United States is now leading the rest of humanity through a kind of social sound barrier. Looking backward, we see behind us several million years of human evolution during which our primordial concerns have always related to survival, to wresting food and shelter from a hostile environment, to emerging victorious from conflict with hostile neighbors, or simply to earning a living. Right now, here in the United States, we see ourselves on the threshold of abolishing poverty as a mass phenomenon, of tapping almost unlimited energy sources, of achieving total communication and near-total mobility, and even, with our weapons of mass destruction, of abolish-

ing war as a feasible means of interacting with our peers.

All of this suggests a future radically different from anything our species has yet experienced, a future in which the old, familiar indices of progress will no longer be particularly relevant. If this is true, then we can define the principal challenge of our times, and the true meaning of the social sound barrier, in terms of a search for new criteria of progress, of new directions for our society to follow in its constant questing up the evolutionary ladder towards an unknown destination.

In our postwar generation, we have created the beginnings of a new kind of society, one in which something approaching a majority has been born to affluence. These young people are the first to grow up on the forward side of the social sound barrier. It is little wonder that they sometimes find communication difficult with members of my generation, whose childhood memories are rooted in the depression. And yet, my generation has a crucially important role to play. It is primarily up to us to preserve enough continuity in the structure of our society to make its continued progress possible. After all, human evolution proceeds through the adaptation of existing structures, not through their total rejection and a series of brand new starts. But we can only provide leadership to those that follow if the goals we enunciate relate to a future that present change makes not only possible but essential. We are the

bridge that links those generations that could not perceive the future with those that will be able only dimly to comprehend the past.

#### Domestic Goals

At present, our society is heavily, and I believe healthily, preoccupied with our race and poverty problems. A consensus is developing among substantial elements of our society, including the great majority of our affluent youth, that the goal of social justice must be given greater priority than in the past, even at the expense of continued economic growth.

Social justice is a necessary goal for our society at present, but I submit that it is only an intermediate one, a stepping stone toward a more distant goal that can now be dimly perceived in the light shed by present technological and social change and discovery.

I believe that the kind of post-industrial society we ought to be striving to create should be one in which man maintains a harmonious ecological balance with his environment. This implies conservation, and eventually some measures for restraining our numbers. It also implies ever-deepening understanding of ourselves as biological organisms, of how we evolved and what directions, as a consequence, our efforts at environmental control should take.

We can reasonably expect that the talents of our descendants who will belong to the post-industrial society will be more heavily concentrated in philosophy and the arts than has been the case in the past. There should also be ample scope for explorers and other brave spirits—we will be exploring outer space, and terrestrial hydrospace too for that matter—and for all the inquiring minds driven to push back the expanding frontiers of our scientific knowledge. At the same time, the market for human muscle will all but disappear. Brain power, already at a premium, is the human commodity with real growth potential as we look forward to the post-industrial era. It follows that a major intermediate goal for the near future is the improvement of our educational system to the point that every individual born into our society has his mind stretched and de-

veloped to the outer limits of its genetically determined capabilities.

This in turn suggests that eventually our society must take the fundamental evolutionary step of working out cultural mechanisms and social attitudes that will encourage the bright and successful to reproduce while inhibiting the stupid and unsuccessful from passing on their genetic inheritance to future generations. But our society cannot reasonably be expected to achieve this objective while our race problem remain unresolved. This is one reason why the achievement of social justice is so essential to further progress within our society. When America has fifty thousand Ralph Bunches, and millions of other black Americans that are as productive, as politically potent, and as proud as most of the rest of us, then and only then can we take a concerned, compassionate, and truly colorblind look at how we can discourage the congenitally under-endowed, of any color, from reproducing their kind into a society that no longer has any place for them.

#### International Goals

Throughout the postwar period, the United States Government has applied a commendable amount of intelligent and purposeful thought to the formulation of policies designed to cope with current and emerging problems in the international arena. However, I fail to see any evidence of a comparable effort to relate the archipelago of policies that has resulted from all this effort to a plausible long-range vision of the kind of world we want our grandchildren to live in. Occasionally, some official handout will try to define our so-called long-range foreign policy goals, but the results tend to be utopian, even fatuous. According to them, what we seek is a nice polite world of nations that help each other and don't fight. How we get to this happy condition, and how it will stay put when we do, deponent saith not.

I fail to see why the task of constructing long and medium-term international goals should prove unduly difficult. We know, for example, that the only external force capable of destroying us is the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Against this

threat, we have developed the strategy of deterrence, which provides satisfactory assurance under present circumstances . . . but how long will present circumstances last in a wildly changing world? Would it not be prudent to start thinking about a future in which our immunity from nuclear devastation rests on arrangements more durable than a balance of terror?

We also know a fair amount about how supranationalism works and how it doesn't work, based on roughly two decades of experience. We now know that postwar dreams of instant world government were utopian, but that supranationalism can be made to work, and can develop its own logic and momentum, if the institutions that express it are encouraged to grow organically out of emerging areas of interdependence among nations.

We also have learned that by and large the problems of the developing nations are of a different order than those of the areas where supranationalism is now taking root; in general, the less developed countries are a quantum jump or two behind in terms of social evolution.

Putting these bits of familiar wisdom together suggests the following formulation as a reasonable goal for the year 2000: a world in which the so-called developed countries (George Ball's 3½ superpowers) have achieved a sufficient degree of interdependence to eliminate any possibility of armed conflict between them.

This goal assumes a high degree of convergence between the American and Soviet systems over the next three decades. Personally, I subscribe to the convergence theory, with the stipulation that the amount of convergence expected of each converging society should be inversely proportional to its dynamism and to its importance as a global pace-setter. Under this stipulation, the Soviets would be doing about 90 percent of the converging, an expectation that may prove more realistic than it now sounds, after generational shifts in Kremlin leadership occur.

Obviously, this goal for the year 2000 is an intermediate one, comparable to the goal of social justice

on the domestic front. Its assumption that the developed countries are better prepared now for the evolution of pragmatic multidimensional supranationalism than the less developed states are implies that over a more protracted period of time the developing states will also evolve and integrate into the emerging global structure. The ultimate goal, therefore, is some kind of post-national world order, in which the structures that bind the individual nation-state members are sufficiently powerful to eliminate war as a means of prosecuting purely national interests.

There will doubtless be times when our national interests will conflict with those of emerging supranational structures. This has already happened from time to time. But in general, provided we play a leadership role in bringing these structures into being, and provided we continue to field a first rate diplomatic service, we ought to be able to see to it that the post-national systems within which we will eventually operate will remain broadly congenial both to our values and to our interests.

#### On Meaning and Relevance

The foregoing suggestions are impressionistic and perhaps even somewhat controversial. They should, however, suffice to illustrate my basic point: that current changes in our society and in the world around us are making it increasingly imperative that we redefine our national long-term goals. By reinfusing our society with a sense of direction, a broad-brush view of where we are headed, we ought to be able to control, not controversy, not criticism, but basic divisions in our society that have in recent years been approaching a point where they could threaten our continued viability as a nation.

In particular, such a redefining of goals could help those of our young people who now complain about lack of meaning and relevance in their lives to realize that never before in history has there been such an array of meaningful and relevant tasks that needed doing . . . and that America is preeminently the place where they will be done. ■

Samuel Clemens' conscience is bothering him in Heaven. Or so our correspondent in Bermuda states. He claims that Mr. Clemens' Ghost, who likes to revisit the vacation paradise that was one of Mr. Clemens' favorite places while he was alive, has told him so.

The Ghost says Mr. Clemens didn't tell the truth when he had Mark Twain claim he had told the whole of Hank Morgan's story in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court." (You will recall that the book purports to be based on the manuscript account of what happened to a nineteenth century Yankee when he got hit on the head in Hartford and woke up in Arthurian England, which he then tried to modernize.) Apparently Mark Twain's editor thought the manuscript was too long, and got him to delete large segments of it. He took out what he thought was least relevant to nineteenth century America.

But now, the Ghost says, Mr. Clemens has realized that many of the deletions are quite relevant to his country in the twentieth century, and his conscience is pricking him. He would like to get the deleted portions published, and sent his Ghost to the *Journal's* Bermuda correspondent to see what the latter could do.

Our correspondent has sent us one of the deleted anecdotes, thinking the *Journal's* readers might be interested in it. The *Journal* has published some material on the question of Area Specialization in the modern Foreign Service, and this story from Morgan's Manuscript tells what happened to a group of Area Specialists in Camelot.

In reading the anecdote, the reader should imagine himself in Mark Twain's Camelot, not T. H. White's or Sir Thomas Mallory's. The occurrences took place after the Connecticut Yankee had been able to set up for King Arthur a proper Ministry of External Affairs. It was headed by some of the brighter Knights of the Round Table, and staffed by the Yankee's Cadets. The Cadets had been thoroughly trained in their various specialties, and were as competent in their own areas as the other Cadets were in engineering and industry. They were certainly as carefully selected as FSOs are today.

ONCE upon a time in Camelot, the palace received an alarming message from Xanadu. The messenger who brought it was sent directly to report to Sir Persant and Sir Palamides, the two Knights whom King Arthur had appointed to look after his relations with Hither Asia.

The message was that Kublai Khan and Prester John were making hurried preparations for another war with each other over the Xanadu Boundary dispute. Because the messenger was known as a reliable chap, Persant and Palamides were deeply disturbed. Just last year both Kublai Khan and Prester John had been in Camelot for the autumn tournament. King Arthur had talked to each of them at that time. After his conversations, he believed he had persuaded them to forget their ancient quarrel. In fact, they had more or less agreed to turn their energies to setting up junior models of the Round Table in their respective kingdoms. Their Knights' interests would then be

redirected toward Progress and Modernization, in place of mutual-destructive warfare.

Persant and Palamides were therefore surprised to get the message, but congratulated themselves that the messenger had come first to them. This would give them a little time to consult their Cadets and come up with a sound recommendation for King Arthur's response to this news.

Accordingly, they hid themselves at once to the Castle's southwest tower, where the Cadets of the Ministry of External Affairs had their quarters. They summoned four of the Cadets, each knowledgeable about one or another aspect of the Xanadu problem, and asked for advice.

The Cadets, probed separately and consulted together, were unanimous that the message must be an exaggeration of the true facts. Their own sources had already informed them, by less urgent means, that Kublai Khan and Prester John were indeed talking about having

## an arthurian fable for the foreign service

### R. B. HORGAN

*Birnie Horgan, an FSO, has served in various capacities in Washington and the field for the past twenty-two years. Until his present posting to Bermuda, his experience has been with Asian or African matters. He was twice a member of AFSA's Board of Directors, in its old "Don't Rock the Boat" days. He also once served on a Personnel Subcommittee for Hard Language Training. The Subcommittee made several proposals to improve area and language training, and to increase the use of and rewards to Area Specialists; one or two of the proposals, marvelous to relate, were adopted.*

another bash. But the Cadets were convinced that this was just talk—and talk that was especially designed to reach Arthur's ears. Kublai and John wanted him to pay a little more attention to them. After all, they hadn't heard a word from Arthur since he had acknowledged their "thank you" messages for his hospitality at last year's tournament.

However, the Cadets expressed their delight at this evidence of Kublai's and John's interest in getting Arthur's attention. The Cadets had cooked up a scheme for settling the Xanadu problem, and felt that if Arthur would just play it cool for a while, the two Hither Asian monarchs would stop this nonsense about having another round in their war, and come more directly to the point of asking for assistance in setting up their own Round Tables. At that time, the permanent settlement of the Xanadu problem could be made a *quid pro quo* for technical Round Table  
(Continued on page 52)

Nor knowest thou what  
argument

Thy life to  
thy neighbor's creed  
has lent.

All are needed  
by each one;

Nothing is fair or good  
alone.—EMERSON



## Washington Is Home

**I**t's terribly hard for a wife to come back to Washington. Not only are there the obvious problems of no money, no maids, no houses, but what is most disturbing is a sense of loss. Where is the America I left four years ago? What has happened to Washington? The changes are so terrifying that it is hard to accept reality as real.

The temptation is not to try to understand except in a superficial way. It's easier to cut hide behind a barricade of personal problems, to cling a touch self-righteously to the good old days. I was rather unhappily in this position until one evening my aunt, with a smile like a friendly but hungry crocodile said, "You're becoming rather a bore about Yugoslavia. Do come and learn something about America," and offered to introduce me to D.C. General Hospital.

Aunts in general having always made me nervous, I accepted, suppressing memories of the Gray Lady whom

*Mrs. Delores Peques, a volunteer in the Outpatient Pharmacy, consults on a drug order with Pharmacy supervisor Benjamin Canty.*



### CORINNE CHUBB ZIMMERMANN

*Our D. C. General volunteer is the wife of FSO Warren Zimmermann, and the mother of three children, nine, seven and six. The Zimmermanns have served in Caracas and Belgrade. Mrs. Zimmermann writes, "Before marriage. I attempted Smith and Barnard. I would be very happy to talk to anyone interested in D.C. General; my telephone number is 893-3388."*

I met with the birth of every child: a kind lady, a nice lady who offered me everything I might want except a stiff martini and peace and quiet which was all I really did want. I'd even been a Gray Lady at one point. But I didn't want to be one again.

We made an appointment for Thursday. I went to the clinic where my aunt worked. She looked at me vaguely, muttered something about "perhaps you'll find this very tiresome but follow me." She whipped out the instruments necessary for the next clinic, removed a fainting woman from the waiting room, ran down the corridor to steal a stretcher (normal inter-clinical warfare), translated the deep Southern accent of a patient for a Pakistani intern, cleaned out eight cubicles, brought in eight new patients, chased a missing record down into the bowels of the hospital archives, and gave directions to the lost, water to the thirsty, and sympathy to the people who had waited for hours. I left exhausted after four hours to her tired whisper "I hope you weren't bored." I signed up on the way out and have never been sorry.

D. C. General is the city in microcosm. Here is one of the few places in Washington where the strands of hippiedom, poor white and Afro, militancy and humility, are tangled in an unwindable skein. Technology and good will battle the confusions and conflicts that tear Washington apart today and may blow it apart tomorrow. Dependent on public appropriations, it is crippled

by red tape, medical versus clerical staff disagreements, and endless delays. It is staffed by three good medical schools: George Washington, Georgetown and Howard, so responsibility already divided becomes divided further. Thirdly, it is a hospital for the poor and in Washington the poor are mostly blacks. And a black who has to wait long hours in crowded clinics in a hospital run by the establishment quite naturally feels resentment against that establishment. It also is a wonderful place where nine-tenths of the staff, white and black, work desperately hard to produce good medical care for an overwhelming number of patients. It is also the place where all the complex "isms" of our society are reduced to the simplest form—the person.

I had a tremendous choice of where to work: clinics, emergency, walk-in treatment, wards, prenatal, or birth control. It was a hard choice. A volunteer was needed in so many places. But after having flunked the emotional strain of working in the children's ward where many were incurable, unwanted, and desperately lonely, I opted for a big clinic or rather a big area containing four clinics.

This is very confusing. In the beginning I mixed up records, called men for the gynecology clinic and in general produced chaos incarnate—providing a constant source of amusement to the regular staff, while sorely trying their patience. The waiting room is a madhouse. Mothers with children, where else can they leave them? A hippie with his Chinese girl-friend. An old lady on a stretcher singing hymns. A terrifying young man with an Afro haircut, pink suit and green shirt. A loudly righteous woman not very sick but she doesn't want to wait: her husbands nods in agreement at each outburst. A child hit by a car. A cancer patient my age, but looks eighty.

Anyone overcome by the clinic should try directing traffic in the halls. Prescriptions to the left; appointments to the right. Follow the red line to Ear, Nose and Throat, the green to Surgery, the orange to the Dentist. Prenatal outside west; Pediatric, outside east. "Doctor (I'm always called Doctor because of my white coat), I have sort of a pain here." A woman leans against the wall crying. "Hey please, this doctor, no I don't know his name, well he give me some pills last January they run out." An old man pushing what must be his grandfather in a wheel chair. "Doctor, do I want the Psychiatric clinic or Personnel?" (How would you answer that one?) An enormous woman trailed by eight children. ("Doctor, I've come to get myself plugged.") Answer anything you can and get back to the peace of the clinic.

"Mrs. Zimmermann, could you prepare the woman in number seven?" "Oh Doctor (no I'm not a doctor) I'm having another baby." I prepare her and go out. "She's ready, Doctor, she says she's pregnant again." The doctor grabs a colleague and shrieks, "Man, you've got to see this, I tied her off myself last year." Diagnosis after consultation—gas.

This is a marvelous place to work. Why is it the hospital with the fewest volunteers in the city? Why when I ask women to give four hours a week—women who say they want interesting volunteer work—why do they always refuse?



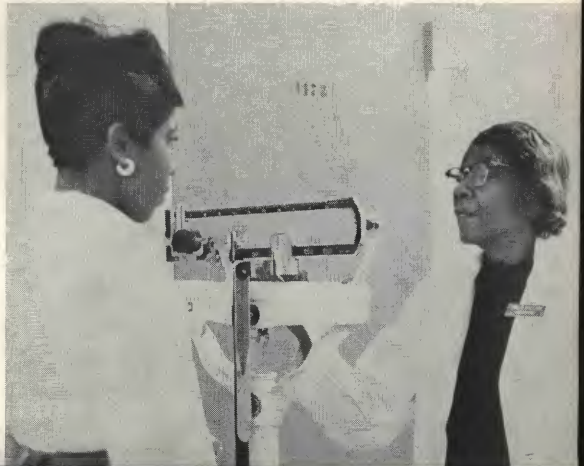
*Mrs. Grace Borders, volunteer, visits Mrs. A. Fezell in the course of her rounds with ice water and fruit juices.*

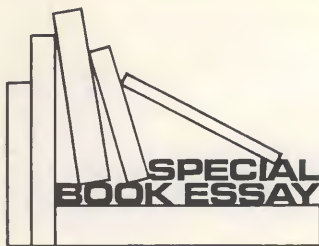
The reasons given are fairly obvious, sometimes given honestly, sometimes covered by nervous excuses. Reason number one is: it must be dangerous to go there and/or my husband doesn't want me to go into that part of the city. This is understandable but not a very good reason, particularly during the daylight hours. It is at the end of Massachusetts Avenue with its own large well-policed parking lot with special slots for volunteers. The approach streets are broad and well traveled.

Reason number two always surprises me—"That's where they take all the criminals, rape cases and assault victims, isn't it?" This reason assumes a rather curious theory of contagion, a medieval belief in contamination. Yes, there are a great many criminals treated in the hospital, each one handcuffed to a large policeman, kept and keeper both rather embarrassed by the situation. Yes, there are rape and assault victims. But what can they do but arouse your sympathy and make you grateful that it isn't you?

Reason number three is the most covert and the most important. *They are they and we are we. And their* (Continued on page 45)

*Mrs. Beatrice Wallace, a volunteer in the Outpatient Department, checks the weight of patient Bonnie Guess.*





## Ambassador's Journal

by John Kenneth Galbraith

Reviewed by  
H.B.S.

PROFESSOR JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH'S urbane and witty account of his two years as New Frontiersman extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Embassy New Delhi was not designed to bring roses to State Department cheeks. Not that we had expected it to. Galbraithian views of Foggy Bottom, its masters and its mores, have almost certainly been among the worst kept secrets in recent diplomatic history. Denser folk who entertained doubts about them were surely set straight two years ago when the Ambassador formally ascended into the world of fiction with his barbed little novel, "The Triumph." "Ambassador's Journal" (Houghton Mifflin, \$10.00) simply confirms, in bold and very readable prose, what we had reason to suspect all along.

The Galbraithian catalog of what is wrong with the State Department is a detailed one, and a careful perusal of it should prove peculiarly gratifying to those with a taste for self-flagellation, reform, or both. Those who provided leadership, with the general exception of fellow New Frontiersmen, are targets of particular scorn. No one will come away with the conclusion that the Ambassador's relationship with his Secretary of State constituted a love affair, or that he regarded the Assistant Secretary charged with responsibility for the subcontinent as a model statesman. Lesser lights emerge somewhat less savaged, and some even win a word or two of guarded praise. In an occasional aside we are indeed informed that there are plenty of good men around State Department corridors. But whatever effectiveness these worthies might have had—or so the Ambassador would have us believe—has been destroyed by the dead-handed system which operates at the intersection of Virginia and Twenty-first, Northwest.

Galbraith's views of the failings of the State Department are not unfamili-

ar ones. What will make them particularly telling to readers of "Ambassador's Journal" is the freshness with which he relates them and the immediacy of the alleged shortcomings to what he was doing, or seeking to do, in New Delhi. His invective against overstaffing, his despair at the Department's failure to reply to his telegrams, his dismay at the stately procession of senior officer staff meetings, his castigation of bureaucratic caution and cant, are recurring themes. They appear not only in the diary itself but in the letters the Ambassador wrote to President Kennedy. These extra-Departmental communications, liberally scattered throughout "Ambassador's Journal," are a particularly arresting part of the Galbraith book, not only for what they say but also for what they reveal about the author's relationship to the man who sent him to India.

Biting criticism of the Department and the Foreign Service is hardly the principal burden of Galbraith's recollections, however large this aspect of the book may loom for diplomatic readers. "Ambassador's Journal," fortunately enough one would suppose, is far more than that. With energy and imagination, the Ambassador depicts India in the closing years of the long period of Nehruvian dominance, highlighting this with what was surely his own finest hour, the Sino-Indian conflict in the fall of 1962. His frequent—too frequent, he confesses—journeys to the States kept him in close contact with the heartland of the New Frontier. His accounts of activities there, both political and social, and his comments on various problems faced by the Kennedy Administration (not excepting Vietnam) give his book added depth and interest.

But however many insights and observations "Ambassador's Journal" may convey of the Kennedys, or Nehru, or even of Dean Rusk, its focus of interest never strays very far from John Kenneth Galbraith himself. He is its dominating figure. The political derring-do of New Delhi, the policy-making and socializing of the New Frontier, and the bureaucratic rumbles of New State are never allowed to distract our attention for long from the personality and prejudices of the author. We emerge fully briefed on Galbraithian attitudes toward a vast array of likely and unlikely subjects. These range from the management of an Embassy and the proper handling of bothersome junketeers to proper techniques for losing weight and (though not necessarily simultaneously) for ducking out of protocol requirements. We follow him across the length and breadth of India. We are

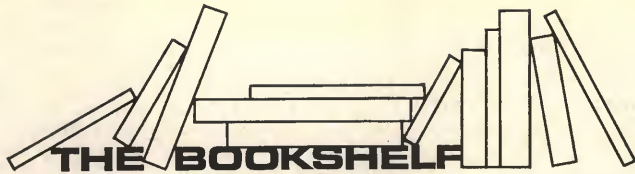
shown art objects and architecture through his shrewd and fascinated eyes. But while much of this is instructive and entertaining, we can nevertheless ask if it is all really necessary. Could not a little judicious editing and forethought have spared us at least a few of the repeated observations of the low estate of Indian cuisine (and Ambassadorial stomachs), the dreariness of diplomatic receptions, the greediness of the press, and other themes of less than overwhelming interest. Amusing and occasionally revealing as some of these matters may be, they often succeed only in obscuring our vision of the India and the Washington which lay beyond.

But that, of course, is Galbraith. It is vain to expect him to be otherwise. Sometimes described by Indian villagers as the tallest man in the world, he often seemed larger than life to his own staff. His years at Delhi were, indeed, an extraordinary period in the history of an Embassy which has known several extraordinary ambassadors. Few who worked for him are likely to forget the experience.

These pages are hardly the place for an exhaustive review of the Ambassador's strengths and weaknesses as envoy to India. One or two observations may be in order, if only to put him for a moment at the receiving end.

Professor Galbraith brought many strong points to Embassy New Delhi. Perhaps most important in a country whose government tended to view an American ambassador as its own spokesman in Washington and to value an envoy in important measure in terms of his access to the seats of power in the United States, he was able accurately to represent himself to the Indians as President Kennedy's man. Aware of Indian attitudes, he properly took full advantage of his position. (Some have said that Mrs. Kennedy's visit to the subcontinent—an important chapter in the Galbraith period and, inevitably, in "Ambassador's Journal"—was designed at least in part as a demonstration and celebration of the close relations the Ambassador enjoyed with the White House. If so, it was a highly successful operation.) From the point of view of United States policy, the special standing Galbraith had with the President doubtless contributed significantly to his success in calling Washington's attention to the critical situation created by the Sino-Indian conflict and in bringing about a prompt US response to India's request for assistance.

Galbraith's professional standing as a popular and articulate economist opened channels to the Indian intellectual world, and, along with his politi-



**Special Book Essay Cont'd**

cal position, allowed him to establish a cordial and understanding relationship with Nehru. His academic background gave him a deep familiarity with Indian economic development plans and planners. He does not appear, however, to have called attention to what in retrospect seem to have been serious imbalances in the Indian approach to planning. His flair for public relations, amply evidenced in "Ambassador's Journal," bordered on the notorious. It raised eyebrows among the more orthodox, but certainly succeeded in heightening Indian awareness of the American presence, not to speak of the Ambassador's.

The Ambassador ran the mission with a strong hand, and though he was satisfied to leave day-to-day administration to his Deputy no one could for a moment doubt where power lay. The accounts of his efforts to ensure this complete control are among the more fascinating in "Ambassador's

Journal." For those who labored in this milieu life was not always as gay and pleasant as depicted in the Galbraith diaries. Perhaps its most discouraging aspect was the Ambassador's insensitivity to the staff. His self-assurance, which President Kennedy was not alone in calling arrogance, made it difficult if not dangerous for his officers to offer opinions they felt might be different from his own. (He complains, at one point, of the tendency of his staff to agree with him. He should not have been surprised.) One suspects that had he adopted a more approachable attitude, he would have been better served. His political analyses would not have suffered for it, and, to revert to the parochial, he might have left Delhi with a kinder impression of Foreign Service capabilities.

At Embassy Delhi, as elsewhere, Professor Galbraith was a controversial figure. "Ambassador's Journal" is hardly likely to make him less so.

**Policy-Making: Form and Substance**

THESE two books cover both sides of policy-making: form and substance. "Policy-Making in the American Government" attempts to discuss the "how" aspect of policy-making in general, while "American Foreign Policy Since 1945" is a collection of NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE articles on substantive questions of the 1945-1967 period.

The policy-making volume is oriented primarily toward domestic issues, but contains several articles that should be read by any officer with policy-making pretensions. Eric Larabee's "The Politics of Strategy," and Samuel P. Huntington's "Innovation of Strategic Programs," both deal perceptively with program development and innovation, while Charles Lindbloom's "The Science of 'Muddling Through'" is a classic description of how decisions are really made. The rest of the selections provide good background in the American political process, but are very domestically oriented.

The NEW YORK TIMES has provided an excellent recap of important foreign affairs issues as seen from today's perspective. One regrets that there is only one article from the

post-1965 period, but the articles chosen have stood the test of time well. The "debate" between Senators Mansfield and Knowland in 1954 makes fascinating, almost eerie reading, as the same issues confront the US from a slightly different angle today. Frank Church's 1965 piece, "We Are in too Deep in Asia and Africa," is an early echo of the "neo-isolationism" we hear about now.

Taken together, these two books point up the principal problem in studying foreign policy and decision making: studies of domestic policy-making are very sophisticated, but there is still a serious gulf between substantive discussion of foreign policy issues and policy making. Foreign affairs involve a more complex environment than do domestic questions, and yet require more secrecy. This compounds the problem of adequately explaining foreign policy, but does not mean we should stop trying.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

*POLICY-MAKING IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, edited by Edward V. Schnierer. Basic Books. \$10.00.*

*AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1945, edited by Robert A. Divine, Quadrangle Books, cloth \$6.95, Paper \$2.45.*

THIS readable, well-researched book consists almost entirely of accounts of seven historical episodes—one in the eighteenth century, three in the nineteenth, and three in the twentieth. Its most striking feature is its contemporaneity.

"[The Senate] likes to be consulted . . . if sufficiently angered . . . it can hamstring any administration . . . although it may be ill-equipped to lead the nation in the President's stead, it can make sure the President does no leading." "If the clever Senator is speaking in opposition to the President's policy, he may well be able, through publicity alone, to lessen the effectiveness of the policy abroad and to weaken public support for it at home." "Senate foreign-policy debates are domestic political events."

It is a fascinating account of the long struggle for influence and authority between the Executive and Legislative Branches which was deliberately built into the American governmental system by our founding fathers as a protection against tyranny.

Its messages are: things may look bad but they've been as bad or worse before; but, a spirit of compromise, conciliation and real concern for the national interest usually (but not invariably) keeps things from getting too far out of hand.

The Senate ratified its first major treaty (with Great Britain) by a straight party vote 20 to 10 in 1795. In the process of consideration, the text of the treaty was prematurely leaked by the Senate and a nominee for Chief Justice who opposed it was not confirmed by the Senate. A Secretary of State was dismissed in 1811 "because he mangled Congressional relations, his primary task . . ." and a short time later the then dominant House of Representatives succeeded in forcing a declaration of war with Great Britain. In 1832 the Senate, in a tie vote broken by Vice President Calhoun, refused to confirm Van Buren as Minister to England and started a backfire of public sentiment that later made him President. In 1871, a chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee undertook to impose his own foreign policy through a sympathetic Ambassador and was removed from his chairmanship after a vicious parliamentary struggle instigated by the President.

Everything you can think of has happened before!

—H. G. TORBERT, JR.

*ADVISE AND OBSTRUCT, by Hugh Gregory Gallagher. Delacorte Press \$6.95.*

THERE is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," wrote Shakespeare. There were many observers in June 1967 who had hoped, even expected, that Israel, so overwhelmingly victorious in the flood tide of war, would grasp the opportunity to fashion the beginnings of meaningful co-existence with the Arabs—its only viable long-run fortune. The failure of such efforts as were made disappointed many of Israel's well-wishers, and encouraged authors such as the two reviewed here to record for English-speaking readers ideas they have long held but little published outside Israel.

Uri Avnery—member of parliament, sometime terrorist, and editor of Israel's most successful glib-gossip-intellectual magazine—undertakes an eclectic, incisive review of Zionist beginnings and the history of the State, replete with much inside information. His style is racy and gossipy—the source of its interest and its weaknesses. He makes too much of historical moments of Arab-Jewish understanding that might have been (Justice Felix Frankfurter's conciliatory remarks of 1919, Arlazoroff's "liberalism" leading to his murder in 1933, King Abdullah's negotiations in 1947-48, Yerucham Cohen's personal friendship with Nasser) and offers too little explanation for some of the admittedly blacker moments of official Israeli policy (the security plot to sabotage good Anglo-American relations with Nasser's government in 1954, or the bloody Gaza reprisal raid of 1955 with its far-reaching consequences). He reveals that Moshe Dayan suffers painful physical irritation whenever he wears his eye-patch, but does not draw the normal conclusion from that fact, to help explain the General's impatience and aloofness at public gatherings.

Avnery's arch villains are: (1) British imperialist efforts to hold on to Palestine in partnership with Zionist aspirations and at the expense of Arab nationalism following the First World War; (2) "practical Zionists" such as Ben-Gurion and—interestingly enough—Moshe Sharett; and (3) Israeli chauvinism today, as exemplified by hero Dayan who, despite his public reputation for straightforward sincerity, "just never says what he really thinks" and uses words "as any other weapon, in order to achieve, at any given moment, what he wants to achieve." Such polemics obviously require careful sifting by the knowledgeable specialist; the book makes dangerous reading for the unwary reader.

Nevertheless, Avnery's final prescription for the future stands on its own, however one may judge the earlier revelations. He argues that since June 1967 Israel has had it in its power to offer a generous, viable solution to the Palestinian people, including a state of their own on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with guaranteed freedom of transit through Israel, and a joint capital in Jerusalem. This should be devoid of onerous "security guarantees," which can only transform the proposal into one for a possible "Arab Bantustan." To the extent that the experiment succeeds and wins acceptance in the Arab world, it should lead to a Semitic confederation of Hebrew and Arab nationalisms, working for the common area interest. Thus Avnery records in English his group's support for an idea appearing in print only infrequently so far, and almost exclusively from non-area commentators, including expatriate Palestinian professor Cecil Hourani in London.

Along the same path comes Aubrey Hodes. It is indicative of the difficulty proponents of similar ideas have had in agreeing on the practicalities, however, that Hodes expresses mistrust of efforts to create a Palestinian state and argues for broader Israeli federation with Jordan as the first step. Like Avnery, he thinks one must begin with a solution of the Palestine refugees problem, but unlike Avnery he sees the best opportunities through outside mediation, using machinery similar to the abortive plan worked out in 1961-63 by UN emissary Dr. Joseph Johnson.

In plain, but well-documented, exposition Hodes sets out the details of the Johnson plan and of his own proposal. He relates Israel's recent past to its present problems, treating Hebrew and Arab nationalisms as siblings growing up in isolation from each other but destined to clash over and over again as they reach adulthood, unless the victors of 1967 seize the opportunity to integrate with their area neighbors.

Of considerable interest to the specialist for its analysis of Yigal Allon (the most formidable rival to Dayan for premiership in the long run), Hodes' book contains no hidden traps, and makes thought-provoking reading even for the general reader.

—GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

ISRAEL WITHOUT ZIONISTS: *A Plea for Peace in the Middle East*, by Uri Avnery. Macmillan Co., \$5.95.

DIALOGUE WITH ISHMAEL: *Israel's Future in the Middle East*, by Aubrey Hodes. Funk & Wagnalls, \$5.95.

IN my recent reading I keep coming back to the enormities of our time, the inhumanity of the twentieth century that in George Steiner's view should impose a duty of silence upon us. I have been reading the incredible record of the Soviet Union in the thirties and forties, and the monstrous acts committed during the Algerian war, and the NEW YORKER series on the rape and murder of the Vietnamese girl, and now this recouital of the crimes against the Jews in France during the war. I hate reading such accounts, but I feel a compulsion, almost a duty. My first defensive reaction is usually, "Our kind do not do that" and then I ask who "our kind" are, and recall, as a Southerner, the record of my kind's crimes against the Negro, or our kind's dealings with the Indians. I recall growing up during the war amidst anti-Japanese propaganda, then going to Japan while still a young man to find the Japanese the most civilized people I had ever known about. And I long since decided that no man and no people is very far from savagery, that the only wise course is to guard against any small step of surrender to the impulses of inhumanity. In foreign policy, this seems to me the first rule of all. And reading this horrible story of Nazi inhumanity and French complicity, while it brings back the old feeling of repulsion, also reminds me that not everyone complied, and that if we try hard enough, we can keep the barriers raised against the inhumanity in all of us.

—JACK PERRY

BETRAYAL AT THE VEL D'HIV, by Claude Levy and Paul Tillard, translated by Inea Bushnaq. Hill and Wang, \$6.95.

### The PKI Disaster of 1965

IT is a mark of conditions in modern-day Indonesia that the major studies on that complex scene continue to come from western journalists and academicians. The world is not yet permitted to view through Indonesian eyes the full meaning and impact of the stunning defeat of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) in 1965. The converse is equally true. We owe a special debt to the handful of western scholars and writers who continue to contribute to our understanding of Southeast Asia's largest and most populous state. Among these is Arnold C. Brackman, a former foreign correspondent, now a specialist on the Asian scene. His latest work, "The Communist Collapse in Indonesia," completes a significant trilo-

gy and ensures for Mr. Brackman a permanent niche among that "select handful" who write and interpret for the world the Indonesian political landscape.

In his pioneering work, "Indonesian Communism: A History," Mr. Brackman traced the rise of the PKI from its birth in 1920 through three violent and disastrous bids for power, ending on the troubling phenomenon of the Party's meteoric resurgence and growth to a membership, by 1963, of two million. In his second work, "Southeast Asia's Second Front," the focus was on the menace and dire implications of Sukarno's confrontation with Malaysia. His second study terminated with the just-aborted communist coup of September 30, 1965, and the provoking question: "How many lives has this cat?"

Mr. Brackman's latest work focuses on the Communist Party of Indonesia's fourth and most recent aborted power play. He grapples with questions that continue to perplex foreign observers. Why did the Indonesian communists gamble everything on a sudden, irreversible strike when they were winning with overt, "legal" tactics? Why did their mass movement collapse overnight? Why did Indonesia run amok?

Mr. Brackman's style is vivid and

colorful. Through prolonged exposure to the Indonesian scene his grasp of the subject is total. But the events of 1965 are too emotional and too recent for clinical analysis. The testimony of Indonesian participants in the bloody drama—or PKI leaders on trial for their lives—cannot be wholly objective. Equally, Mr. Brackman's masterful handling of such prime sources has created an atmosphere of rich and dramatic living history.

—JAMES D. McHALE

THE COMMUNIST IN INDONESIA, by Arnold C. Brackman. W. W. Norton. \$6.95.

#### A Delectable Malteser

**C**HARLES OWEN, a former British Naval officer, has produced a compact but excellent guide to one of the newest and smallest of the United Nations—Malta.

His survey, in fact, extends beyond the main island to include the smaller Gozo and Comino. Skimming lightly over the islands' spectacular history, the author has made his work more utilitarian by including sections on industry, arts and architecture, a visitor's guide, and tables of rulers, feast days and climatic figures.

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maps, and a 100-plus volume bibliography satisfy both the intending visitor and the serious scholar.

Will Malta be equal to the economic difficulties anticipated in 1975 when British aid is expected to end?

Owen has no doubt, concluding optimistically:

"Above all, the Maltese believe in their future and there can be no dynamic element of greater significance than that."

—JAMES O. MAYS

THE MALTESE ISLANDS, by Charles Owen. Praeger, \$6.50.

#### The Tonkin Gulf Affair

**T**HE bias of Joseph C. Goulden's "Truth Is the First Casualty" is adequately indicated in the title, and in the subtitle, "The Gulf of Tonkin Affair—Illusion and Reality."

It is, admittedly, a polemical book, in which the author, a Washington journalist, sets out to prove the nowadays popular thesis that the United States military used the moot incidents of August, 1964, to flimflam the Administration into a belief that the North Vietnamese had been guilty of aggression on the high seas, and that the Administration further doctored the evidence to extract from

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Congress the resolution on which it based escalation of the war.

Whatever one's own views, Goulden's is not a book to be kissed off lightly. His account of the events involving two US destroyers on patrol in those faraway seas is heavily documented. (How selective this documentation is, I cannot say; I am not familiar enough with the published material; and I have had no access to the unpublished.) He does not absolve Congress of blame, if blame there is; he finds it singularly incurious. And the volume is timely, since it appears amid much discussion, pro and con, of the resolution.

Moreover, it is pretty well written.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

TRUTH IS THE FIRST CASUALTY, by Joseph C. Goulden, James B. Adler, Inc. (in association with Rand McNally), \$6.95.

### Human Relations in Africa

THE newest book by Esther Warner is a charming, well written and appealing story of her experiences living with the Mano tribe in a small, remote village in the interior of Liberia, and of her return to the same village 20 years later. Her original purpose in visiting the village was to learn the Manos method of dyeing cloth. To reach her destination during

the pre-road era, she walked the entire distance—a five-day trip—literally being carried across rushing streams on the backs of her African traveling companions. She participated intimately in village life, and formed a close friendship with one of the village leaders. It was her interest in the villagers themselves which prompted her return after 20 years. At this time, she found herself involved in the family affairs of her old friend, acting as a mediator between him and his daughter, whom he was trying to force to marry according to tribal custom, when she wanted to finish her education instead.

Mrs. Warner portrays the old ways of life among the Manos with sensitive understanding and sympathy. She describes the bewilderment of older people brought about by the clash of modern practices with their traditional modes of existence. Her straightforward, often lyrical account of the beliefs, social relationships, tensions and harmony in an ordinary African village makes delightful reading for those who appreciate Africa as it really is—and was.

—HENDRICK VAN OSS

THE CROSSING FEE by Esther Warner. Houghton Mifflin, \$5.00.

**In the Australian Desert**  
RICHARD and Betsy Gould lived for more than a year with a family of aborigines in the Gibson Desert of Western Australia, and "Yiwara" is a personal and insightful view, much enhanced by more than 50 relevant photographs, of life on the "track."

The intrepid Betsy Gould foraged with the women, who provide the bulk of the aboriginal diet, while Richard accompanied the men on hunting trips, and, most interestingly, at rituals. A member of the group, with a particularly potent brand of magic, on one occasion displayed his *yirilmari* board with which he proceeded to cast a vengeful hex against an outlaw Aborigine who had taken indiscreet sexual liberties with a female member of the clan.

The Goulds's visit in 1966-7 came just in time to observe the Aborigines before the Warburton mining boom and their subsequent headlong plunge into the white man's world. We are fortunate that two people with the sensitivity and perception of the author and his wife were on hand at this critical period. Gould is Assistant Curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

—C.E.S.

YIWARA: Foragers of the Desert, by Richard A. Gould. Scribners, \$8.95.

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Charles (Chris) Raley, one of the hospital's male volunteers, shares a laugh with Mr. Archris Williams.

**WASHINGTON IS HOME** from page 39

problems are generally self-made, and therefore none of our business. This is backed up by if only *they* would behave themselves and stop wrecking the comfortable world we've built, then perhaps we'd feel we could come more in contact with them. This is the very reason that the hospital should have forty volunteers for every one it has. A city can't split into *we* and *they* without courting destruction.

Of course a volunteer must have her own personal satisfactions. Mine are obvious. During the one short day a week I spend at the hospital I'm amused, interested and useful. What more can you expect of a day? The city is no longer a terror. I belong to it. Although perhaps it's easier to live in, White Washington is as much of a ghetto as Black Washington. The barriers can only be broken by shared experience. The sharing isn't one-sided either. I'd stayed with a young girl during some unpleasant minor surgery. At the end she thanked me, then said with a giggle, "Hey Lady, would you like a little horse?" Exposed as I'd been, I was barely able to keep from saying, "No thanks, my garden's not big enough." It's a question I'm sure I'd have answered stupidly six months before.

The hospital has been my experiment: an experiment to see if it is still possible for a nice, normal middle class Foreign Service wife to be part of Washington today. There are, of course, many more organizations which have given other people their sense of belonging. To me the hospital is the best, because it encompasses the most; and it is the institution which has the greatest need. But no matter how or where, the returning wife must get involved, or she will go abroad again with memories of frustration and dissatisfaction; and such memories are even harder to live with than reality. ■

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**WHERE DO WE GO?** from page 19

the United States in the role of assistance to an existing government thus can be stated as follows:

1. Recognition by the United States that a successful effort depends on an integrated and responsive political/military program; and organization of our own considerable resources in accordance with this principle as a means of maximum effectiveness.
2. Recognition of the same basic philosophy by the local leadership which we assist and a readiness on its part to carry out aggressively and energetically an effective program along these lines.
3. A readiness to use American assistance, both military and economic, as leverage on the host government to pursue these goals consistently and vigorously.
4. Effective communication of the program and the effort to

the people of the the assist- ing and host countries.

**A**s important and critical as these four essentials are, they are still relatively easier to distill and identify than to apply. And in this latter task lies an additional great challenge for future American practitioners of the art of counterinsurgency. To take full advantage of our experience in Vietnam, to insure that the trained manpower we have acquired is not dissipated, to provide an effective ready capability in this highly specialized field of endeavor, some center of coordination and development is necessary. The exact nature of that center can be flexible. One approach would be to have some existing agency of government, such as the Kennedy Center at Fort Bragg, serve as an executive agent for the whole government. Another possibility would be to set up an independent planning office, such as the Office of Emergency Planning for Civil De-

fense, to serve the same function. But in one form or another, the United States needs a center for counterinsurgency to evolve on behalf of the entire government, military as well as civilian, a doctrine for the future based on our experiences in Vietnam and elsewhere and taking into account the refinements in tactics and theory which Communists will undoubtedly develop and disseminate in the years ahead. Such an agency would also draw up contingency plans for possible trouble spots in areas of potential American vital interests.

The creation of an independent center with interagency authority for this purpose would probably require special approval by Congress. The necessary legislation could provide the planning agency with a small budget and modest manpower to undertake training of personnel from all appropriate military and civilian agencies and a charter to evolve national counterinsurgency doctrine. Such an agency could also keep a master list of

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skilled government personnel, regardless of service, who have demonstrated special aptitude for counterinsurgency roles and even train limited cadres of personnel in the language, culture and political situation of countries where insurgency might involve the United States. The integrated civilian/military approach cutting across existing government agencies is essential in this process of preparation. Not only should the development of doctrine and the training process draw on the personnel of many agencies, but these same personnel could play a missionary role in spreading concepts during their service with their parent organization.

Once a situation deteriorates and a national determination is made that American assistance is required in an insurgency situation, the agency could even play an operational role. Initially and at a low level of activity this agency could work perhaps within the existing diplomatic structure in the same

manner that CIA or Special Forces elements have functioned in various situations in recent years. But, when the situation becomes more critical, when and if we approach the scale of assistance to Vietnam of the early sixties, then the President could transfer responsibility for direction of American involvement in the country over to the insurgency agency. Thus, all American elements in that country—State, Defense, CIA, AID, USIA, etc., would come under one direction and one leadership. In effect, the President could apply the joint command concept to the insurgency field, establishing a channel of single authority reporting back through any necessary intermediate levels to one point of authority in the United States—the National Security Council, a specially constituted Civilian/Military Chiefs of Staff or whatever other structure is devised. The principle is the important point: total integration of the civilian/military effort both in the field and in Washington.

There is much to be said for the proposition that only through some such device—whether an agency specially established for this purpose or assignment of the function to an existing organization in the role of executive agent for the government—can the United States properly prepare for and, if necessary, conduct the counterinsurgency effort of the future. Integration of effort, a breaking down of bureaucratic barriers, an acceptance of the interrelation of all aspects of counterinsurgency is absolutely essential for our future readiness. Whatever unorthodoxy is required to apply these principles must be accepted.

At enormous cost in Vietnam, we have gained the experience and foundation necessary to conduct more effective national efforts in counterinsurgency situations. If we build on this base along the lines of the fundamental principles which can be distilled from that experience, then perhaps the price we will have to pay need not be nearly so high if there is a next time. ■

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**COMMUNICATION**

from page 14

stood, easily operated system. Anyone sent to Fort Lamy instead of Paris, selected out, not promoted, etc., would know exactly where to lay the blame. Mental health would improve enormously on this count alone.

While there would undoubtedly always be a hard core of switch-hitter careerists who would spend their lives in the service, officers, for the most part, would necessarily have dual careers. They would be drawn from the ranks of partisan journalists, lawyers, businessmen, educators, farmers, union leaders and so forth. Bootlicking would be reduced because an alternate job, like an outside income, makes for a great deal more independence than any amount of career status under the present system.

Even more important than the obvious administrative gains, the measure of an individual's, an embassy's, indeed the entire service's performance would be political. No longer would alleged linguistic, representational, drafting, speaking, negotiating or leadership skills be the primary criteria. Rather it would be asked of a man, is he doing anything for the administration? (Or in democratic parlance, for the majority of the voters?) There would be ins and outs. The outs, back at their offices, classrooms, boardroom, factories, fields, etc. could be expected to keep a critical eye on the ins. If an ambassador or a Third Secretary did a rotten job, and if what he did or didn't do really affected US interests, the hue and cry would be raised and the party in power would suffer. If it were really important to post a Swahili-speaking vice consul to Lubumbashi, political expediency would assure that one was posted. If economists were in short supply, political expediency would assure that salaries were bid up to attract them. Priorities would be set by the political process. Individuals would be held directly responsible for policy suggestions and policy execution and would be responsive to elected leadership. There would be a party constituency to reward them if things went well and to protect them from excessive witch-hunting if things went a little sour.

Perhaps this is the way we should, and the only way we can, meet the new realities Ambassador Galbraith perceives, and the *new* new realities his counterpart in this administration will perceive, and the *new new* new realities perceived by sages in administrations thereafter. New realities lie in the eye of the beholder. And that is and always has been unconventional wisdom. ■

**Comitology**

From even as brief an outline as this it will be apparent that our knowledge of Comitology, both pure and applied, is steadily increasing; as is also, of course, the number of committees available for study. It would be idle to pretend that this multiplication of committees is regarded with equal satisfaction by all. An influential group of those wives who have come to describe themselves as gas widows went so far recently as to announce the discovery of an Eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not Commit." There can be no general sympathy, however, with so reactionary a point of view. The machinery of administration must continue to function and the study of this machinery must continue to present us with a subject for scientific investigation, as also with a career for those who cannot think what else to do. To paraphrase a wise remark made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, what is the use of man if science does not survive?—Chairmanship, from "In-Laws and Outlaws" by Professor C. Northcote Parkinson



LETTERS  
TO THE  
EDITOR

### From the Unstuffed Shirts

THE undersigned, who have the satisfaction to serve their country in distant Kabul, Afghanistan, have read with some irritation (and only a tinge of amusement) an item in the Paris *HERALD TRIBUNE* of November 26 (mail is slow here) on the then rumored appointment of Astronaut Collins to the job of Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. The article quotes a Department official as saying that the idea is "unabashedly a public relations operation. . . We've got a lousy image and we earned it, sending out stuffed shirts with phony British accents to represent the foreign service."

Thanks a lot, Mr. unnamed Department of State official. With friends like that in our own ranks, who needs enemies? Mind you, we have nothing but the highest admiration for Michael Collins. He and his Apollo 11 colleagues have given a tremendous boost to our interests and our spirits in this part of the world. We're glad to have him aboard and we hope he stays.

But how long must the Service be maligned for what it clearly no longer is? We've had our weaknesses and we still have plenty, but to be collectively labeled in this year of our Lord 1969 as being a Service with a lot of stuffed shirts with phony British accents is a bit much.

We're prejudiced, we admit it, but damned if we can identify a single such odd-ball in the ranks of all the men and women who serve the United States Government in this distant place. Nor do we recall serving with many (if any) such stuffed shirts in Dacca, Karachi, Teheran, New Delhi, Seoul, Calcutta, Athens, or anywhere else in our collective experience. Can't we once and for all, with good reason, get over this business about cookie pushers and striped pants and stuffed shirts? We hope the Association shares our weariness (and says so) with such hackneyed clichés by people who should know better.

If our friendly official in the Department is so concerned with im-

agery, he might pause for moment and consider the effect on the *Service's* image of innuendoes of this kind. Better still, he might apply for a tour abroad. We can only conclude he has never had one.

With regards from your sensitive compatriots in Afghanistan.

L. BRUCE LAINGEN  
CHARLES W. NAAS  
PHILLIP B. DAHL  
DAVID L. CAHN  
RUSSELL S. McCLURE  
VICTOR H. SKILES  
PETER F. BRESCIA  
NORMAN R. ASHTON  
GRACE A. RAFAJ

Kabul

### Of Rhetoric and Argument

I RECEIVE FSJ because related by marriage, so to speak, to the Service. I read it for the same reason and because I have long known and admired the writing of a frequent contributor. Over forty years of teaching speech prompts my interest in Kingdon W. Swayne's article in the issue of November, 1969.

Though obviously concerned with deficiency in verbal communication, Mr. Swayne seems to ignore failure to maintain some dependable relationship between verbal symbols and whatever they may symbolize. Though the ancient Greek *rhetor* seems to have been an orator, the word, *oral*, relative to rhetoric, seems to be disappearing. Such common current usage as "a merely verbal agreement" prompts the question: What, then, are those agreements that begin "This Indenture . . .?" Incidentally, changes in the manner of execution of such documents have eliminated the originally essential meaning of *indenture*.

Though Mr. Swayne seems to accept the broadening of rhetoric to include techniques of written communication, he does limit it specifically to the techniques of persuasion. Persuasion is notoriously careless of relationships between verbal symbols and their referents, witness the mechanically monotonous usage of *peace-loving* and *democratic* by representatives of members of the communist bloc. Incidentally, a question is raised by one sentence in Mr. Swayne's summary of the rhetoric of Hinduism-Buddhism. "Essential truth," he says, "is comprehensive, incorporating within one indissoluble whole all points of view (including communism and democracy)." If *communism* be accepted as denoting a pattern of economic behavior, *democracy* a pattern of political behavior, why should the two be incompatible in any rhetoric?

Mr. Swayne's declaration that ". . . his (Aristotle's) principles of rhetoric continue to this day to dominate the teaching of this art in the West" is difficult to reconcile with some facts. Even Quintillian, following relatively closely in Aristotle's footsteps, did not follow them meticulously. He encountered difficulty immediately with Aristotle's classification of oratory. He couldn't translate into Latin satisfactory to him Aristotle's Greek for the class commonly identified in English as *demonstrative*. We should not find this surprising. Our verb, *to demonstrate*, is ambiguous. In these two assertions, "The professor demonstrated production of oxygen" and "A mob of students demonstrated against production of napalm," obviously, two different verbs have been used, though the symbols, both visual and auditory, are identical.

Since Quintillian criteria for classification of oral communication have changed a number of times, and the patterns of classification have changed with them. The criterion generally accepted in the United States during the twentieth century has been the speaker's purpose. The most generally accepted general types of speeches have been entertaining, expository, and persuasive. This system probably represents in the field of rhetoric approximately as great an advance over Aristotle as did that of Linnaeus in the field of biology. Its most notable lack may very well be its failure to distinguish clearly between persuasion and argument, and that lack may be one of the barriers to the building bridges between peoples that troubles Mr. Swayne.

Argument, in the equivalent in the United States of rhetoric in Aristotle's Greece, is still dealt with as debate. Debate, however, is clearly persuasion. A debater is trying to convince his listeners (or readers) of the soundness of a conclusion already formulated. One who argues should be contributing to cooperative reasoning toward a conclusion needed as an answer to an as yet unanswered question. In any case, the soundness of the conclusion will be tested, not by agreement among participants in either debate or argument, but by future experience, though acceptance of conclusions may well be affected by the relative persuasive skills of debaters.

In a profit-motivated economy it seems inevitable that salesmanship should be persuasive. Products must be sold if producers are to remain in business. If consumers can't be induced to buy through simple description of the products or reasoning indicating their probable usefulness, then

other methods will be used. The same is true of party politics. As the adage goes, "The first duty of a candidate is to be elected,"—whether he has the best qualifications for the office or not.

Societies have survived, and likely will survive again, use of inferior products and decisions of inferior office-holders. How long a society can survive inferior laws and administration of justice, however, is becoming increasingly questionable. Evidence mounts every day that these consequences are preventing the building of bridges, or destroying those already built, between peoples within our own domestic society. Yet we conduct ourselves as adversaries in framing legislation and in reaching decisions in our courts. We debate among us and allow decisions to be determined by the greater skill in persuasion.

This writer must accept Mr. Swayne's assertion that "... the ability to persuade is the *sine qua non* of the effective diplomat," but can't avoid the question: Should it be!

W. E. STEVENS

Laramie, Wyo.

### An Orchid

I WANT to congratulate you and your staff on the truly excellent JOURNAL for October. As a retired FSO, it helps me keep up with developments in the area of foreign service. I attach copy of my publication. As chief executive officer of an organization spread around eighteen countries, I travel frequently, and maintain contacts with old friends and colleagues.

JOHN E. HORNER  
Secretary-General  
International Federation of  
Multiple Sclerosis Societies

### For A Sabbatical

IF I recall correctly, it was two or three years ago that the United Steelworkers Union won for its members a benefit I would like to recommend to the attention of the Department of State, and that is a six-month or year-long sabbatical after ten or fifteen years of employment. Would it be possible for the Department to grant a year's leave at half-pay, or six months' leave at full pay, to any officer with the requisite ten or fifteen years who had worked out a "worthwhile" (to be judged with generosity, please) work-study-travel project to give some purpose to the time off? (It is difficult to avoid the use of the word "broadening" which brings to mind physical as well as mental extension.) A sabbatical program would

give those officers who entered the Foreign Service almost right out of undergraduate school a chance to a work for a graduate degree, and others the opportunity to finish a thesis or dissertation. Naturally, some commitment would be required of the officer who accepted a sabbatical and did not return to the Service, perhaps on the order of that now made with regard to long-term training.

THERESA A. HEALY

Washington

### An Administrative Horror

IN that peculiar period of time known as Waiting for the Promotion List (it is now mid-January), stories of old friends and of administrative horrors bubble to the surface more frequently than at other times of the year. One such came to my attention the other day in connection with the terrible inequity faced by the FSO-4 who has reached length-of-time in grade and who is booted out with very little to show for his fifteen or so years in the Service. He is generally in his mid-forties, the supporter of a family, and, at his age, trying to find a job under the stigma (or handicap, or shadow, or what you will, but a disadvantage certainly) of having "resigned" rather than retired. In the same situation, an FSO-3 can retire, with some kind of an annuity that will at least feed the family, and without the disadvantage, in his job-hunting, of having to explain his "resignation."

This difference in treatment has always seemed unjust, and has been the subject of criticism in the past. The particular horror in this story is the suggestion that it might have been due to an oversight. I have heard that the difference in handling the selection out for length-of-time in grade for FSO-4s and below as compared to FSO-3s and above dates back to the days when there were six numerical classes. A decision was made at that time to select the half-way mark in the six classes as the break-point between resignation and retirement. However, when the six classes became eight, in 1956, no change was made in the break-point. If indeed there is a "legislative history" indicating that the mid-point of the grades should be the point below which resignations would be requested and above which retirement would be permitted, then shouldn't that point now be between FSO-5s and FSO-4s?

This is only a hearsay story, but it is all too reminiscent of the kind of thing that gets overlooked when changes are made in the system. I am also aware that there may be facts involved with which I am not familiar and which would tend to shed a better light (if that is possible) on the present policy of requiring FSO-4s to resign. I would appreciate comment from an authoritative source.

Washington

NAME WITHHELD

### Life and Love in the Foreign Service

By S. I. Nadler



"Oh, that is delightful! RIF, BALPA, and OPRED were so unimaginative. We'll use it next time. Forcible Involuntary Retirements and Early Departures: FIRED!"

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**FABLE**

from page 37

assistance.

Persant and Palamides were mightily impressed with their Cadets' grasp of the situation, and decided to present the Cadets' assessment and suggestions to King Arthur with their own endorsement. They therefore set in motion the procedure to obtain an audience with King Arthur.

Imagine their chagrin, therefore, when, before their audience could be arranged, they received a peremptory summons from one of the Royal Pages, telling them that Arthur wanted them to report at once for a conversation with King Pellinore about the Xanadu Problem. Persant and Palamides deduced that the messenger from Hither Asia had no sooner given them his news than he had rushed off to get the message to Arthur himself. When he had heard the message, the King must have forgotten all about his new Ministry of External Affairs, and the fact that

he was supposed to consult Sir Persant and Sir Palamides about Hither Asian Matters. Instead, he must have turned to his old confidant and constant companion, King Pellinore, who undoubtedly had been with Arthur at the time the messenger told his story. Arthur and Pellinore thereupon had cooked up their own plan of reaction to the messenger's news.

Persant and Palamides were quite correct in their deductions. When they talked with Pellinore, they found his (and presumably Arthur's) mind already made up. They tried to get him to listen to the Cadets' analysis. But Pellinore was an old acquaintance of Kublai Khan's, and he refused to believe Kublai would ever threaten to go to war unless he meant business. What Persant and Palamides had been summoned to do, was to get hold of Sir Galahad at once and despatch him to Hither Asia with detailed instructions to make Kublai and John calm down. He was to persuade them to get on with the junior Round Table busi-

ness immediately, whether they expressed any renewed interest in it or not. As a further sweetener, Galahad was to offer his services for six months as an instructor in knightly prowess.

And so Galahad was sent. It is reported that his Hither Asian trip was a success of sorts. The renewed warfare was postponed, while the knights in both countries took time to practice up on the advanced tactics they had persuaded Galahad to teach them as part of his lessons in how to be a Knight of the Round Table. Unfortunately, however, the Xanadu problem remained quite unresolved. It led to a new war the following year, in which the carnage (thanks to Galahad's instruction) was fiercer than ever.

Thus the Cadets' advice was never given a chance. Two of them became so discouraged that they asked to be assigned to other duties.

**MORAL: It isn't how much you know about your area that counts, it's whether you can get your ideas to King Arthur.**

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\$ 3,700	\$ 59.80	\$ 1,500	\$ 6.00
\$ 3,900	\$ 62.60	\$ 1,700	\$ 7.00
\$ 4,100	\$ 65.40	\$ 1,900	\$ 8.00
\$ 4,300	\$ 68.20	\$ 2,100	\$ 9.00
\$ 4,500	\$ 71.00	\$ 2,300	\$10.00
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\$ 6,300	\$ 96.20	\$ 4,100	\$19.00
\$ 6,500	\$ 99.00	\$ 4,300	\$20.00
\$ 6,700	\$101.80	\$ 4,500	\$21.00
\$ 6,900	\$104.60	\$ 4,700	\$22.00
\$ 7,100	\$107.40	\$ 4,900	\$23.00
\$ 7,300	\$110.20	\$ 5,000	\$23.50
\$ 7,500	\$113.00		
\$ 7,700	\$115.80		
\$ 7,900	\$118.60		
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