

FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

MAY 1970 • SIXTY CENTS

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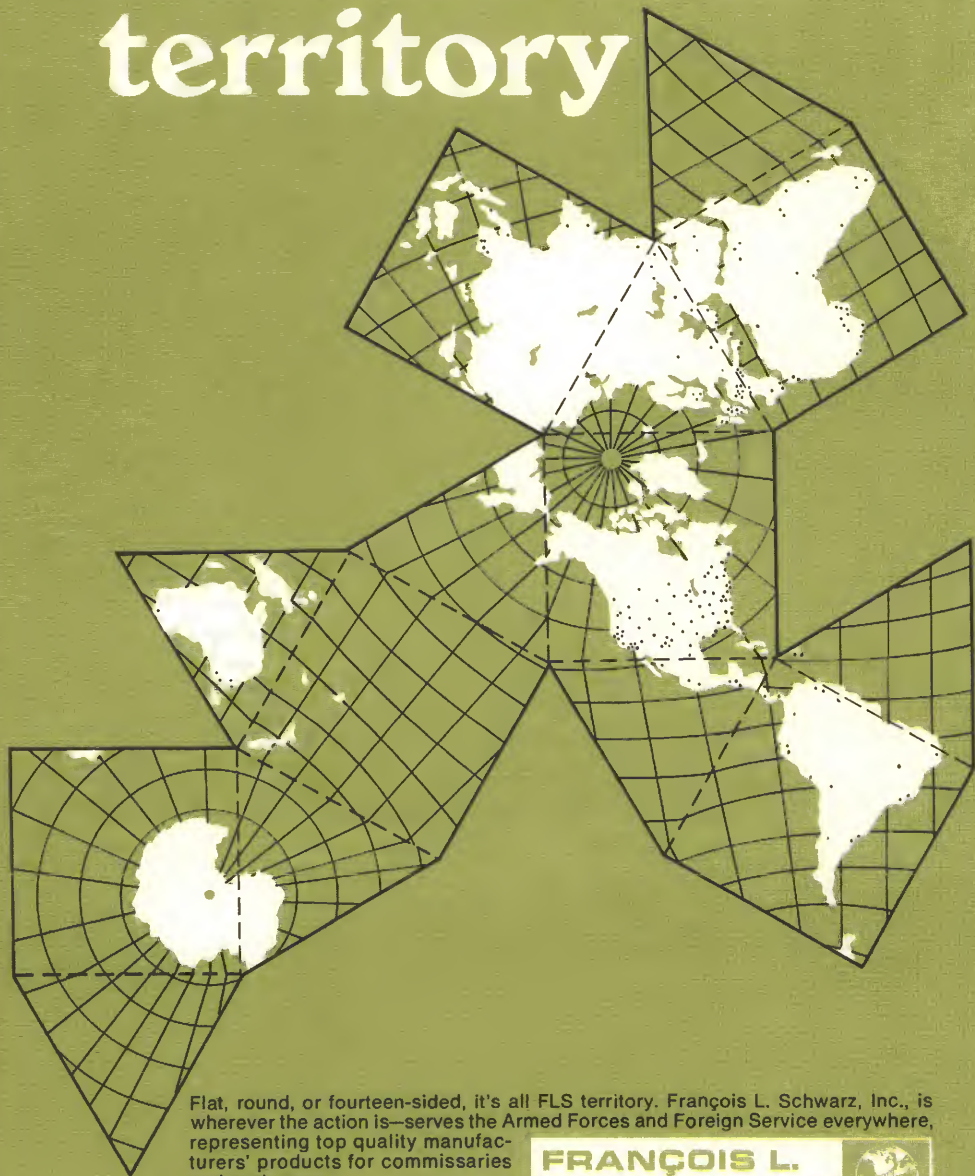
Student Activism in the Americas

Crisis Management

Reform from Within Comment



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Washington Letter

By the time you read this, the 1970 baseball season will be a month old, and sports writers—whose perilous profession requires them to crawl 'way out on a worm-riddled limb and then spend four months inching back to a solid perch—will have picked the four teams most likely to succeed. There will, naturally, be something less than consensus.

Your correspondent isn't making any predictions. In mid-March our Senators looked wonderful. They were belting the ball all over the Gulf littoral and had spurted right to the top of the standings. By the end of the month, though, they were behaving disturbingly like the Senators of yore. Game after game the only impressive figures in the box score were in the errors and walks columns.

You can't tell much by those spring rehearsals. Last year, you'll remember, their pre-season performance was lamentable, yet they finished with 86 wins to 76 losses and a percentage of .531, the best record the home-town fans had seen for a long time. In the so-called Grapefruit League this spring they ranked seventh among the 24 teams, second in the American League East division—the Yanks were first—with a percentage of .565.

The trouble this season, as it was last year, is pitching. The veterans on whom Ted Williams counted as starters have been plagued by injury and illness; what's worse, even when fit, they have seizures of astigmatism that cause them to throw the ball where the plate isn't. Some of the recruits, though, should help.

Elsewhere the 1970 lineup looks as strong as last year's, maybe stronger. If old John Roseboro's arm holds out, he will provide a third reliable catcher to spell Casanova and French. Dave Nelson, at second, is the find of the year, a consistent hitter and a whippet on the base paths. McMullen, Brinkman, Nelson and Epstein add up to a mighty sharp infield. The outer reaches are well protected too—Frank Howard, Del Unser, Lee Maye, Hank Allen, Lee Stroud all ready and willing. In fact, Williams had such a plethora of outfielders that a youngster named Tom Grievc who was hitting close to .400 had to be farmed out for another year.

Yes, it doesn't look too bad. To quote the *Post*: "With 24 teams, four divisions and, most remarkably, modern-day miracles like the New York Mets, who darcs rule out the Senators?"

The *STAR*'s sports staff, perhaps just a mite prejudiced, picked the Nats to finish third in the Eastern Division, behind Baltimore and Boston. The *TIMES* soothsayer chillingly relegated them to fifth place, just ahead of Cleveland.

Well, we'll see.

You know, of course, that Seattle couldn't meet the financial demands of big league membership and that the Pilots of last season are now the Milwaukee Brewers. Also that the Tigers are going to have to get along without Denny McLain until July 1; he's suspended for gambling.

"Miracle on 31st Street"

Georgetown is a queer mixture. Nineteenth-century townhouses, extravagantly priced, pridefully preserved, populated by the Very Best People (they think so, anyway), scene of the most elegant parties (if you believe the society editors). And, a block away, or maybe next door, pads, communal tenements, discothèques where the young and disaffected twitch and jerk spastically, their faces immobile and joyless, to the ear-shattering voodoo rhythms they call music.

There's a Plan for Georgetown, though—there are Plans

for almost every section of this noble and scrofulous capital—and the *Post*'s Wolf Von Eckardt reported recently that one tiny segment of the plan is actually materializing. It's called Canal Square, it's on 31st Street below M, and Wolf calls it a miracle. "At least for Washington," he qualifies, "because it blends imaginative historic preservation (a pre-Civil War warehouse along the C & O Canal) with sophisticated, modern architecture into a venture of rare good taste."

When finished, quite a spell hence, it will have shops, offices, a restaurant, an arcade leading to M street, a terrace overlooking the canal—all this plus (again we quote Mr. Von Eckardt) "the concealed flood lights, the charming, uniform storefront lettering mounted on weathered wood planks, the light fixtures—all one with the quiet brilliance of (Arthur Cotton Moore's) architecture."

Sounds wonderful.

Motorists using the Whitehurst Freeway will have noticed other changes along the Georgetown waterfront, mostly things coming down. A lot of those hideous industrial structures are being demolished to make way for the approaches to the Three Sisters Bridge—which is inching its way out into the Potomac, with little interference recently from those who don't like it. The Georgetown Plan calls for converting the area between the canal and the river into a park, something like what New York's Riverside Park used to be. Whether the highway complex will leave much room for greensward remains to be seen.

Legislatures Wind Up Work, Go Home

Inasmuch as many FSJ readers live outside the District boundaries, or may settle in the suburbs the next time they get stateside assignments, a short rundown on legislation adopted this year by the Maryland and Virginia Assemblies may be in order.

Maryland: Reduced penalty for possession of marijuana from felony to misdemeanor, but increased maximum penalties for drug peddlers. Adopted nation's most liberal abortion law (so far), leaving decision entirely up to patient and her doctor. (Governor Mandel, though, may veto it.) Enacted several environmental measures, including protection of tidal lands and waterfronts and prohibition of all storage or processing of radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants. Created office of Lieutenant Governor. Made daily recital of pledge of allegiance to flag compulsory in all public schools. Rejected gun control measures.

Virginia: Authorized first major constitutional overhaul in forty years. Proposals, which voters will ratify or reject November 3, would shorten, simplify or eliminate outdated sections, broaden state's borrowing powers, sharply modifying traditional "pay-as-you-go" system, provide for annual legislative sessions, and add conservation, consumer protection and anti-discrimination measures.

Help Wanted; Experience Essential

Though the official agencies are doing their best to find jobs for the victims of RIF and OPRED, some of you might be interested in a few suggestions Mike Causey of the *Post* recently tucked into his "Federal Diary":

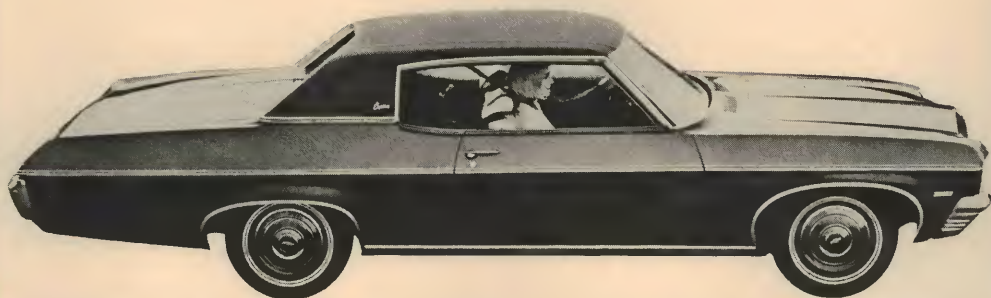
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Forty Plus of Washington, Tel. 638-2125.

While we're on the subject, we keep wondering why those "Dear John" letters—anyway, some of them—were posted just in time to give the recipients and their families a very

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unmerry Christmas. Couldn't the bad news have waited at least until Boxing Day?

Publishing Is a Precarious Business

The FREE PRESS is no more. Washington's first "underground" newspaper in fact suspended publication last December, after three years of turmoil and harassment, but it wasn't until March that the regular—meaning square—press got around to printing its obit. Maybe they just hadn't noticed its disappearance. More likely, they were waiting to make sure that this time it really was "thirty." There had been interruptions before, but somehow the embattled staff had always scraped together money enough for another issue and found a printer willing to put it out.

But the hippie community is not voiceless. The QUICKSILVER TIMES, whose competition contributed to the demise of the FREE PRESS, has snatched up the torch of dissent and is brandishing it bravely, so far without interference from the fuzz—at least, the newspapers haven't reported any.

Also there's TASTY COMIX, which, after two issues, has been ruled to be a magazine and therefore to require a license for distribution. Its promoters are talking of turning it into a newspaper, or establishing one to wrap it in and thereby qualify it for street sales. And finally the TIN DRUM, organ of the Washington Area Free University, about which we hope to tell you more when we get time to investigate.

Certainly there's no lack of journalistic enterprise in our town. At the opposite end of the financial spectrum we now have the NATIONAL JOURNAL. It covers much the same ground as the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, but comes out weekly; annual subscription \$450 for just anybody, but only \$200 for persons in government and education, which means you. The NJ is published by the Center for Political

Research, which digs up data on what government agencies are up to. The man behind both enterprises is Nelson Poynter, Florida publisher.

Capital Culture: News and Comment

The National Symphony, like nearly every other orchestra, is hard up. When the annual fund drive started, its president, Lloyd Symington, warned that the 1970-71 season might have to be cancelled if \$700,000 wasn't subscribed by June. The figures he cited made this seem more than the scare talk often employed to make contributors add a cipher or two to their checks. Washington lacks the affluent industries that help finance culture in bigger cities. A Ford Foundation loan of \$2 million has helped keep it going since 1966, but that's supposed to be paid back next year unless it can be renegotiated. And the United States is one of the few "western" countries that haven't yet recognized symphonies and operas as public utilities that merit national, state and municipal financing.

Washingtonians who missed the British-made film series "Civilization" at the National Gallery last fall are going to have another chance. It came to the gallery on a one-time loan, but so insistent was the demand for a rerun that a campaign for contributions to buy a set was oversubscribed by more than 50 per cent. Now it's our property, and presumably will be shown regularly until the demand is satisfied or the 13 one-hour color films wear out. The first round of reruns will continue through the week of June 14-20. One hundred thousand people saw the series the first time.

Apparently there are still a lot of people who like to see movies larger-than-life and all in one uninterrupted flow—

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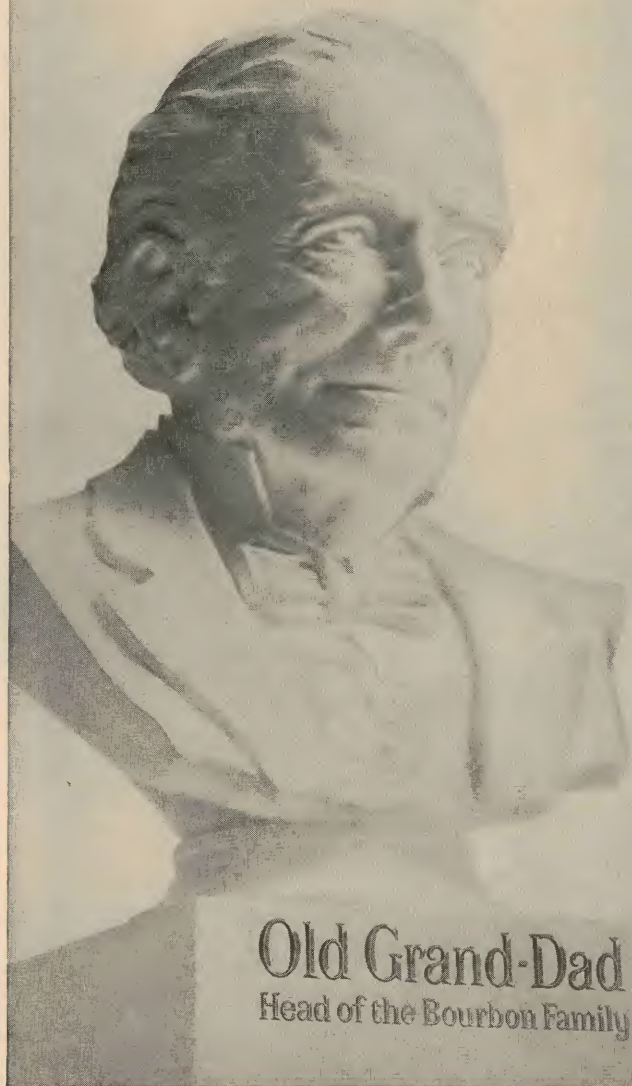
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like it enough to leave hearth and home, drive miles and miles into the night, shell out \$2.50 a head at the ticket wicket and another \$1.75 at the parking lot, and come home just too late for the top items in the 11 p.m. news.

If you've been away a couple of years you may be surprised at the number of new theaters. And we don't mean the sleazy holes in the wall featuring pornography; these have multiplied since the Supreme Court stripped off most of the figleaves. Of course, some old ones have disappeared, the Capitol on F Street and the Ambassador on Columbia Road, for example. The trend, like that of empire, appears to be westward—Connecticut Avenue, upper Wisconsin, Georgetown.

The latest addition, at this writing, is triplets—Cerberus 1, 2 and 3, opening out of one foyer, in a converted parking garage at M Street and 30th N.W. It started off with the same picture in all three—the French-Greek thriller “Z”—but can run three features at one time. (Janus 1 and 2, on Connecticut, somewhat older, has the same idea.) “Z” is well worth seeing, for sheer grue and excitement, but it's not calculated to make State Department folk happy.

Two of the smaller houses, the Key and the Biograph, also in Georgetown, specialize in revivals. If you keep an eye on their bills you may pick up a classic you missed a few decades ago, or would like to see again.

Things to See and Hear

Performing Arts Society: May 6 and 7—New York Philharmonic, Lorin Maazel, conducting.

National Theater: May 6—Art Buchwald's “Sheep on the Runway.”

Arena: Through May 24—Strindberg's “The Dance of Death,” with Viveca Lindfors, Rip Torn and Mitch Ryan. May 28-July 5—“No Place to Be Somebody,” by Charles Gordone.

Washington Theater Club: Through May 26, “Continental Divide,” by Oliver Hailey, which got good reviews. June 2—July 6—Eugene Ionesco's “Exit the King” and “The Projection Room.”

National Gallery: May 16-June 14—Smith College Collection, mostly French Impressionists. June 27-Sept. 7—Nathan Cummings Collection, more Impressionists, painting and sculpture.

National Collection of Fine Arts: Through May 10—“Exploration,” “an experimental marriage of art and technology” assembled by M.I.T.'s Center for Advanced Visual Studies, somewhat like last year's “Cybernetics and Serendipity.” June 12-July 26—Leonard Baskin.

Corcoran: Through May 17—Graphics by Vincent Longo. Through May 31—Paintings and sculpture by Alexander Liberman.

Oddments

- Remember that old carousel at what used to be the Glen Echo Amusement Park? Well, it's still there, and Glen Echo and the National Park Service would like to keep it there when the site is cleared and converted into a public park. Trouble is, it's been sold, to a fellow out in California, and it will take \$80,000 to buy it back. The mayor and the council are trying to wheedle the money out of one or more foundations, but private donations would be welcome. The deadline, though, is May 1.

- Another deserving cause: The D.C. Youth Orchestra's campaign to raise \$75,000 to send it to the International Festival of Youth Orchestras in St. Moritz this summer. It's one of two ensembles to be invited; the other is from Portland, Ore. The Montgomery County Youth Orchestra had the trip and the honor last year.

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And witness their wills
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Men answered as Man
To destiny.

Just a day past September
Deep drums remember
'Mid thunder, the splendor
Of harmony.

Under dark clouds rain-bringing,
Crowds dancing and singing
Set Cameroon ringing
With ecstasy.

So does West meet the East,
East complement West—
None last nor yet least
In unity.

MOUNT CAMEROON

Implanted stolid under tattered mists
It squats, enseoned in history and time,
Majestic molten mountain catalyst
Astride a hinterland of hope sublime.

From Carthage, Hannon's hulls—like missiles hurled
Past other magic mountain's gaping gate—
Once dared Gibraltar's strait for strange new worlds
Which waited, dark, for life illuminate.

Through eras many came then, in a race
For pow'r and wealth and prideful proof of sway,
And each applied fresh makeup on this face
Of Africa—and wed her for a day.

How mountain-like these people stood their ground
Through thrill of worship, shock of searing hate,
Before exploding, spewing all around
The lava of a will to liberate!

Cameroon Sketchbook

JEFF CORYDON



YAOUNDE RAINSONG

Tuned to a drumbeat
Showers fall—
Three rainy moons while
Monsoons call.
Finger the fabric,
Feel the air,
Wet as a washcloth
Clinging there
High by the crest of
Cameroon,
Over her breast-round
Hillocks strewn.
After the bath she
Squints both eyes—
Three sunny moons now
While she dries.

WITCH DOCTOR

Black man, blacker mask—
What does it mean?
Dare not ask.

Scare head, skull in hand,
Centuries make us
Understand.

Tom-tom tom-tom,
Antedated the atom bomb.

Dust-shod, dagger-sheathed,
Weaving in cireles
Interwreathed;

Black jack, magic black,
Hit me again and
Break my back.

Tom-tom, tom-tom,
Micromate of the atom bomb.

Fire pow'r, flower pow'r,
Opposite spires
Of our hour;

Mankind, manunkind.
When can the past be
Put behind?

Tom-tom, tom-tom,
Who created the atom bomb?

To us, everybody's the Ambassador.



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It doesn't matter whether you're just coming home from the Peace Corps, or you're with the Public Health Service, or you really are the Ambassador.

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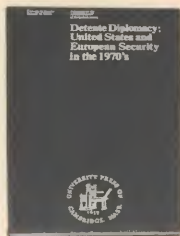
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Detente Diplomacy: United States and European Security in the 1970's

By Timothy W. Stanley and
Darnell M. Whitt

With a Foreword by Livingston T. Merchant
Published for The Atlantic Council of the United States

Dateline Spring 1970: The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. resume their crucial talks on strategic arms limitation. NATO Foreign Ministers meet to focus the "detente" aspects of East-West relations. West Germany's Ostpolitik foresees exploratory negotiations on critical subjects with East Germany.

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The authors examine the long-term interests of the major actors on the postwar European scene and review the complex background of the German question and the Berlin problem. They discuss the contemporary military balance in Europe, offer some suggestions for mutual and balanced reductions of the forces which confront each other there, and carefully explore other possible areas of further movement in East-West relations while evaluating the policy alternatives for Western diplomacy.

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Over an African Cliff

SALLY WATERS FISHER

Mrs. Fisher is a free-lance writer whose adventures with four sons in off-beat areas have appeared in a variety of family and children's magazines. Ralph H. Fisher is with AID/Kampala.

ONCE when the boys were small, I heard them discussing me. "She's burned the toast again," muttered Tim. "She's really a bad mommy." "No, Timmy. She's not a bad mommy," croaked three-year-old Tony. "She's just careless."

This apt observation was far from my thoughts six years later when we started off across Central Africa after a brief holiday in Rhodesia.

"Drive carefully, dear," my husband warned as he always did. "Take care of your mother, boys."

In eight hours our almost-new Mercedes covered the good tarmac route from Salisbury to Lusaka, my sons singing offkey from the back seat shared with Tiki, their beloved "sort of" shepherd. I rode up front with Mary Jane, a fellow AID wife keeping us company on the three day drive to our Malawi mountain home.

Early next morning we tackled the Great East Road, an unpaved winding track frequented only by a handful of government officials. Most tourists flew over that part of the continent since a breakdown might mean an indefinite stay in the wilderness. We were not tourists however, and after four years in Africa, took a stubborn pride in traveling by road, no matter how terrible.

That morning's choice was no gem by American standards. At one moment we were gliding past the comfortable brick homes and neat gardens of Lusaka's small European population. Then we were back in the great bush country of dusty hills crested with thorn trees, the monotony of the landscape relieved only by flashes of iridescent bee-eaters. An occasional daub and wattle hut appeared by the roadside, a woman balancing an overzealous market basket. That was all.

My sons were following the map as

The Cellarmaster



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we progressed towards Kachalolo where a government "rest house" provided the only shelter in nearly four hundred miles. "We're almost to the Luangwa River," Tim reported at noon. "It runs through the biggest game reserve in Central Africa. Hope we see some lions."

"I'd rather see the rest house before dark," I said. "A bath will certainly feel good." I stretched away from the sticky wheel and pressed on the accelerator.

That was when it happened.

Perhaps I was going too fast on the winding washboard road. Perhaps the steering mechanism failed. All I remember is suddenly coming upon an unprotected hairpin curve and the car not responding to my frantic efforts to turn.

"Hold on," I cried as we skidded through loose dirt and stones. "Get down."

Over the cliff we plunged at an incredible angle, through thorn trees and elephant grass. "Get down," I repeated.

My voice sounded shrill and far away. I was standing upright on the brake, my hip jammed against the steering wheel. Boulders scraped. Trees flashed past. As we gathered momentum, I realized we would surely somersault.

But we didn't. Abruptly a great boulder came up beneath the front of the car and caught us in mid-air. There we balanced half way down the escarpment, a short distance above the thin line of acacias that bordered the Luangwa River.

For a long moment no one spoke. Not daring to move, I saw from the corner of my eye that Mary Jane was on the floor wedged beneath the dashboard. Agonizingly I turned towards the children.

Tim was sprawled across the back seat, his head hidden under a portable radio. He sat up slowly with a bewildered grin. "Wow," he said.

"Where's Tony?"

"On the floor on top of Tiki, Are you okay, Mom?"

"I think so." I tried to control my trembling hands as I leaned over to touch Mary Jane's tousled hair.

"You kept shouting 'get down,' " she said hoarsely. "So I did."

"We shouldn't be alive," I murmured. "I don't know why we are."

Mary Jane was silent a moment. "Can we get out without rolling any further?"

I looked up through grass higher than the roof and decided to try the door. After I had squeezed through, the boys followed and finally Mary Jane, easing herself painfully under

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the steering wheel. Above us on the sheer slope hung the black Mercedes, my husband's pride. "Look what I've done to your father's beloved car," I told my sons.

"It won't roll any further," Tim decided after a quick assessment. "Hood's smashed in, all the tires are flat and one wheel's hanging off." He shook his head in awe. "You really did a job on it, Mom."

"But no one's hurt, It's unbelievable. Can you climb the cliff, Tim, in case anyone comes along?"

"It's a long way up," Mary Jane protested. "We'd better take our bags. But hurry!"

I realized she shared my dread of a night alone in the bush. "Just yours and mine," I suggested. "The boys' are wedged under the typewriter and cameras."

My sandals slipped off as I followed Tony, scrambling ahead of us pointing our footholds. "Keep away from that prickly euphorbia, Mom. Watch that loose rock. It might roll back on the car."

"It's almost hidden in the grass," panted Mary Jane. "No one would have seen us if we had been hurt." She crawled around a dried anthill towards Tony's outstretched hand.

Up on the road we settled on boulders next to our belongings: two suitcases, a Boy Scout canteen, a bag of sandwiches. Buzzards circled ominously above the dusty acacias. Flies covered our bare arms and matted our eyelashes. Even my ebullient sons hunched silent, scanning the sunbaked hills.

Suddenly the sputter of an engine shattered the afternoon stillness. A flash of gray metal darted through the African bush. We sprang to weary feet as the distant churning of a motor grew closer, spreading ourselves at intervals along the rock-strewn road. At last around the curve lumbered a Land Rover truck, faltered a moment and screeched to a stop. Through its duty windshield came a blur of faces, black and white.

A blonde fellow in khakis leaped from the driver's seat. "What's up?" he asked in clipped Rhodesian accents. "Why are you here? Where's your car?"

We pointed over the escarpment to the Mercedes shining faintly through the elephant grass.

He took a look and whistled. "Anyone inside?"

I shook my throbbing head. "But now we must get back to Lusaka

somehow. Do you think any more cars will come through today?"

The young man shrugged. "Sometimes no one comes for days, Ma'am. You can't stay here, you know. There are elephants, lions, leopards. . . I'm heading in the opposite direction, but I could take you to Kachalola rest house. You might get a ride back tomorrow."

"We'd be terribly grateful."

"It won't be roomy." He indicated the four Africans peering over the cliff. "But we'll manage. You ladies and the small lad climb up front. The other boy and the dog can ride back with my work crew."

As the Land Rover lurched forward, I looked over the escarpment, but our car was completely hidden.

"A lorry went off this road last week," our rescuer remarked. "They didn't find the driver till yesterday. Too late."

"We were terribly lucky," Mary Jane agreed, rubbing her stiff neck. "I don't suppose there's a phone anywhere on this road?"

"A public works camp ten kilometers from here has a radio," replied our good Samaritan. "They might notify the Lusaka police."

We were old friends by the time we

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reached the work camp where Piet radioed a message for the American Consulate: "Car broken down. Returning Lusaka tomorrow." The phrase "car broken down" was Piet's idea. As he said, it certainly was.

In the sweltering Land Rover rear, Tim shared dustfilled sandwiches with the workmen, while up front Tony plied Piet with questions. Did he carry a gun? What kind? Had he shot any lions? I clung to the molten metal seat and reflected on our incredible escape, squeezing Tony from time to time for reassurance. I was eternally grateful to be alive in a bucking Land Rover on the Great East Road in Central Africa.

At dusk we reached Kachalola, a cluster of whitewashed cottages huddled against a wooded hill. The boys, lacking a change of clothes, established themselves at the dart board outside the rest house pub. There after a welcome bath Mary Jane and I joined Piet, the proprietor and his wife over a lively game of "whiskey poker" and recounted our narrow escape.

"You shouldn't be alive to tell it, luv," the proprietor's wife repeated. "Lord knows, 'twas a miracle."

Next morning Piet drove us back

the dusty route to Lusaka where the American Consulate took over and arranged our flight back to Salisbury. The once-proud Mercedes was located five days later, stripped of wheels, battery, radio and personal belongings. The pathetic skeleton was trucked to Salisbury for my husband's appraisal.

I, the culpable cause of it all, awaited the verdict anxiously.

To my surprise my husband showed little concern except for his family. It might have been any old car that I wrecked.

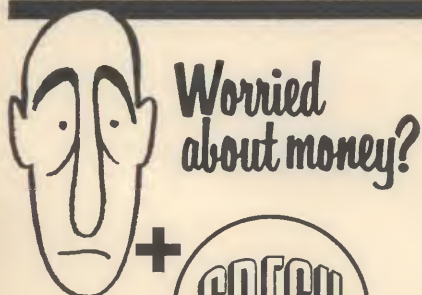
"It was too demolished to tell what caused your accident," he consoled me, after a post-mortem at the Mercedes garage. "But they'll try to put it together again. They said that any car that took such a beating deserved to be saved."

He gave his sons a man-to-man wink before continuing. "Congratulations, dear," he said. "Not every woman could drive over a fifty-foot cliff and..."

I realised the boys were wearing the "good old mommy" expressions which I had merited so often in the past.

"You know, Tony, she's not really a bad mother," Tim began.

"Just careless," Tony agreed. ■



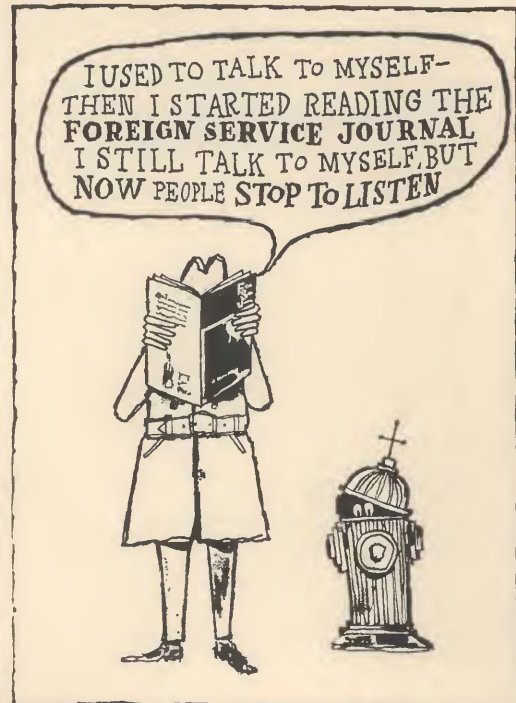
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"Youth is always surrounded by heroism. It is disinterested; it is pure. It has not yet had time to contaminate itself."

Student Activism in the Americas: A Comparative View

It's about time you Yankees finally decided to join the struggle against imperialism and follow our example. After all, we began it all in Cordoba in 1918 and it's taken you fifty years to catch up.

THE above thought is being expressed with increasing frequency by Latin American student politicians about their fellow activists to the North. After all, student protest in the Americas and elsewhere is so similar—massive demonstrations, confrontations with the police, building seizures—that it appears to be the same phenomenon caused by the same grievances. The Latin American student, inheritor of a tradition of political activism, sees his North American cohort coming to the game late. Despite the burgeoning and now voluminous body of literature on rebellious youth, few authors have addressed themselves to comparing student movements. This article attempts to begin such an effort by comparing the form and bases of student activism in the Americas.

In the context of this article, "activists" are those university students preoccupied with the political issues of their universities and societies, and willing to devote the time and effort necessary to actively advance their causes. Although they form only a small percentage of their contemporaries, and range from the radical to the moderate, they are the tone setters of the student movements and student politics in both hemispheres. "Latin American students" refers to those

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The authors have both recently served in Latin America as USIA student affairs officers, their combined experience being in Nicaragua, Peru, Bolivia and Chile. Mr. Canning is in USIA's Office of the Assistant Director, Latin America, and Mr. Cecere presently runs the Seminar and Youth Programs Office for Latin America in USIA.

politically motivated students in urban national universities in the large Spanish-speaking countries. Brazilian student political history is different enough to have produced several major exceptions to some of the generalizations made below, still, many of the statements made are pertinent also to the Brazilian situation. The US student activist treated is white, since militant black students form quite a distinct class of student rebels. The account of students given is necessarily impressionistic, and the authors hope that further study can illuminate the themes presented here in general form.

One obvious similarity in student activism in the Americas is the form of the demonstrations and protests: masses of students in plazas or quadrangles, chanting, sign-carrying, orating, disrupting. This identifies student demonstrations the world over; this is the vision the world shares via television, and the vision students share with each other. Taking to the streets may in part be a self-admission that students in this hemisphere sense they



are largely ineffectual, generally removed from the political processes and impotent without political allies. There is the consistent attempt to seek solidarity, at least rhetorically, with off-campus groups. The sought-after allies are the antithesis of the power elements student rebels oppose: the workers and peasants in Latin America, the poor and the black in the United States.

When student political activity involves issues with little appeal outside the university, the latter becomes the obvious target for protesters. The university, with limited means of defending itself and with its ethic of tolerance, is appropriately vulnerable, able to be disrupted or closed by a comparatively small number of dedicated rebels. Even when protests have little chance of achieving their goals, disruption for its own sake might be employed as a confirmation of political commitment.

Throughout the hemisphere, student dissidence is voiced against local, national, and international targets. Still, as a reflection of the complexity of contemporary society

and the persistent strength of the "establishment" or the "interests," student protesters stand a better chance of victory when they direct themselves to very local and limited objectives. It is much more likely that student protests will accomplish the installation of a black studies department or achieve a greater share of *co-gobierno* (co-government) than they will end the Vietnam war or throw out "Yanqui imperialism." Among student radicals, an authentic and lasting university reform is thought to be possible only within the context of a total reform of society; the remaking of the university comes with the broader revolution in the entire nation.

The backgrounds from which American student activists come are probably more similar than they are different. In the spectrum of classes in both societies, activists seem to come predominantly from middle sectors. In the United States, this means the reasonably affluent, white, suburban-bred youngster whose father has been college educated. His counterpart in Latin America is "middle class" in his own society, likely to be from a family of steady income, non-Indian, educated in urban secondary schools. His father is likely to be a lawyer, doctor, teacher, shopkeeper, or white-collar worker. Few students in Latin America associated with radical politics come from the extremes of the very rich or very poor.

Student activists have always been idealistic; their impulses grope towards the absolute. Student politicians in the Americas consider themselves the uncorrupted moral conscience of their nations, the harbingers of new and better times, the generation untainted by adult compromise. The famous Cordoba Manifesto of 1918 announced: "Youth is always surrounded by heroism. It is disinterested; it is pure. It has not yet had time to contaminate itself." Such sentiments in more earthy phrases could just as easily be heard on campuses in the United States today. In Latin America, this student-as-conscience role has undergone little change in fifty years, its message having been repeated in countless mimeographed tracts. Student activists view

the world in absolutist and adversary terms. The changes in society can and must be instant, total, and successful. These desired changes in society are seen as almost mechanical in nature: "If only President X is removed and Law Y enacted, then. . ." Given their absolute vision and rhetoric, tolerance of dissidents within the ranks of the protestors is low, factionalism endemic. The enemy is seen as both vague and diabolical, in one case it being the "power structure" and "fascism," in the other, the "interests" or "imperialism." In North and South, the military is repression personified, the handmaiden of corrupt politicians and oligarchs.

American student activists generally have at least the trappings of a leftist stance (Marxism, socialism, communism, etc.). There exists a strong sentiment of international solidarity among a student class. Student movements become linked world-wide. Youth begins to acclaim the same heroes—Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Che—, begins to quote, if not read, the same writers—Marx, Mills, Marcuse, Debray.

Underlying all of the above similarities is the broadest identity among this hemisphere's student rebels: the overriding *fact of their rebellion*, the fact that they reject a society they deem inadequate for whatever reasons. Existing authorities are not to be suffered, any "conventional wisdom" is not to be believed. The shape of their society demands refusal.

Yet it is precisely in this rejection of their societies that the vital difference between activists in Latin America and the United States are revealed. The Latin American student rejects a society of scarcity—a dependent, too poor, materially underdeveloped social order that alienates its young; the North American student condemns a society of abundance—a dominant, too affluent, materially overindulged nation that dehumanizes its children. The essential goals of a Latin American student radical might look suspiciously "reformist" to the US rebel. The Latin American student, if he really gained an understanding of US student protest, might see it as ideologically confused and culturally nihilistic. Most of the differences among student protestors in the Americas derive

from this different view of how their societies have failed.

Some differences in student protest are attributable to the distinct histories and socio-cultural legacies of the two regions. A major disparity comes from the educational heritages of the two areas. Despite the fact that university education in Latin American countries is generally free, compared with the substantial economic burden of higher studies in the United States, only a small percentage of Latin American young people of university age have ever been or are now in universities. Among these, the attrition rate is high. The unique mass availability of higher education in the United States offers a sharp contrast. Admission to Latin American universities is fiercely competitive and restrictive, whereas entrance to a US college is almost assured to most members of a certain economic and social level. University graduates in Latin America, with some exceptions among lower class students who can rarely shake the stigma of their heritage, enjoy a position of great prestige merely by virtue of their degree. This is a privilege not fully granted to their US counterparts, if only because of the massive quantity of graduates in the latter's society. In the United States, post-graduate studies are increasingly required to guarantee positions of prestige and authority. The elite status of the graduate is rarely felt in the United States.

Physically, Latin American universities are almost always located in urban settings, while the tradition of rural and small town universities, complete with relatively isolated campuses, is more the norm in the United States. In Latin American cities, the urban university student is more likely to become politicized out of a frustration generated by the disparity between his expectations of university life and his often inadequate academic setting. The relative isolation of US campuses creates fertile ground for a whole student sub-culture, a place where activism can be encouraged by the insularity and example of student existence.

Politics, on or off campus, has been a traditional concern of students in Latin America. University politics has naturally led to local

and national politics. Student identification with established political parties in Latin America is frequently strong. In many countries, student political groupings have been little more than dependent adjuncts of national parties, with leftist-radical groups being overrepresented. In the United States in this decade, campus protesters have found the traditional national parties increasingly lacking in appeal. There can be no regular continuum from campus to national politics when students graduate and leave academic life, uncommitted to any party of prominence. Existing parties, especially within the range offered by the traditional two-party system, are seen as too "establishment." Loyalties are extended to particular candidates, not to impersonal political organizations. The singular popularity of Senator Eugene McCarthy during the 1968 Presidential campaign was a manifestation of the North Ameri-

The style and substance of Latin American student activities have been almost totally political. Politics for the Latin American student can be the equivalent of the sports, clubs, and dormitory life not offered by his university situation. The climate of student activism in US universities is less political and is certainly linked with the creation of a whole new and alienated style of life, what Theodore Roszak terms a "counter-culture." The atmosphere of US campus politics is inseparable from the elements of a new sensibility: drugs, rock music, Eastern religions, commune experiments, psychedelic art, new sexual attitudes, and exotic garb. None of this alternately sincere and fad-laden "youth culture" manifests itself in Latin America in any way, except perhaps in revolutionary poetry.

In Latin America, politically motivated university professors and administrators have traditionally had a heavy influence and leadership

for intellectuals as formulators of the ideologies of protest and as the spiritual definers of national goals. Recently in the United States, only a few ideological mentors have aroused wide student interest, and even these pass from the scene once they are deemed increasingly "establishment" and "bourgeois" by a movement that is constantly radicalizing. Mentors cannot be trusted because their prominence in a corrupt society implies moral compromise. The ideology of protest in the United States is rarely articulated from above; it is felt existentially from below.

Paradoxically, despite the greater concern for academic excellence in North American universities, its student protesters seem more likely than their southern counterparts to be "anti-academic," anti-academic in that they reject the prevailing academic structure. With these protesters, the "rational" man is often easily equated with the rationalizing one, and there is instead a call to return to the primacy of "feeling." Academic reform *per se* is rarely a motive for protest in Latin America. Protest on the Latin American campus is more often aimed at the maintenance of on or off-campus political power. In the United States, academic issues themselves are more often the subject of protest, with the main question being whether curricula are "relevant" to the students' idea of a worthwhile life, "relevant" in that they should deal with the social and ideological problems of society. This difference in attitude towards academic issues can be partially explained by the fact that students used to a highly authoritarian, fully-defined curriculum don't argue about it; students that have been introduced to "electives" argue strenuously about what their choices should be.

The issue in Latin America of university "autonomy"—where the campus is seen as a sanctuary, off limits to the coercive forces of government and as sacred in its context as the church—has long been the custom. Historically, the existence of this custom is a reflection of the almost cloistered, church-affiliated medieval Spanish university transposed to Latin America.



can college student's politics. While there is not at present a charismatic figure such as President Kennedy to identify with their ideals and champion their causes, his successor is sought. Given the traditional interest in politics among Latin American students, their political organization and party discipline is tight, in sharp contrast to the present near anarchic tendencies and ephemeral leadership of US student politics.

role in student politics. Politicization can exist to such an extent that some professors attempt seriously to build a political power base in university centers. In North America, university faculty and administration have no comparable history of politically active involvement paralleling that of their Latin American colleagues. Related to adult leadership and its role in student protest movements, Latin Americans have a reverent respect

Practically, autonomy means the need for refuge in a political and legal system seen as unjust. Despite the sacredness of the "private property" concept in American law and tradition, an autonomy issue is non-existent in the United States. The Latin American concern for university autonomy and the personal security it implies is constantly being reinforced by police violence against students. Violence towards students is still far more widespread—and accepted—in Latin America than in the United States, at least insofar as firearms against demonstrators are utilized. The martyrdom of the fallen student has been a constant theme of Latin American student protest but has been little reflected in US campus activism.

In the United States, the period that one studies, now often extending into one's middle or late twenties, has been termed the period of "extended adolescence," a new stage of life in developed societies which is often cited as one of the principal factors encouraging student rebellion. It enables students to be critical of society while deferring their responsibilities as employees or heads of households. In Latin America however, the university student is considered fully an adult. He is identified with a distinct "student class" which is not yet recognized in the United States, although there are some tendencies in that direction. When asked what he does, the Latin American student will reply "I am a student" while a North American student is likely to say "I am in school" or "I'm taking political science." The difference is between a role orientation rather than a "procedural" one.

In Latin America, much has been made of the phenomenon of the "professional student," the individual who remains in the university for years, often changing his field of study, to maintain the politically protected position his university status confers on him. His existence is closely tied in with the more intense political nature of the Latin American student milieu. The phenomenon of the professional student is changing, however, as more restrictive academic regulations are adopted. The phase of extended adolescence in US univer-

sities bears a superficial resemblance to the situation of the professional student. The essence of these two roles, however, is different: the first is socially and culturally rooted to the university community while the second uses the university for personal political ends.

Student activists throughout the Americas consider themselves "pure" and "disinterested" and the true consciences of their nations but in Latin America this feeling takes on a stronger condescending tone, especially as it refers to the lower socio-economic classes. The university student, a very special being in Latin American society, assumes the traditional role exhibited by his country's elites, that of the *patrón* in relation to the *campesinos* (peasants) and *obreros* (workers). North American student activists and their sympathizers form too large a group to be elite and have inherited a historical tradition that rejects pretensions of nobility. They see themselves ideally in the role of the participant-democrat, with an active personal commitment to identify with and help society's downtrodden. The large number of inner city help projects and the popularity of a political public service organizations like the Peace Corps and VISTA, are a reflection of this concern.

Political style in Latin America puts much weight on verbal competence. Student leaders, like their older political models and many Latin Americans, are strong believers in the primacy of rhetoric and the solid point well made. The fluency of debate reigns over its content. The values US student activists see in language offer a sharp contrast. They identify rhetoric with political mystification and rationalization. Many US students seem to have cultivated inarticulateness or made a deliberate effort to create a special in-group vocabulary as part of their counter culture. The street talk of blacks becomes token in this student culture, one of its enriching sources. Latin American students taking on the patois of their countries' rural or urban poor seems inconceivable. The Latin American student is more word-oriented than action-

oriented; the North American the opposite. To many Latin American young people, the exhortation is equated with action. To many North American student rebels, action or process is so vital that verbal justification often follows the act.

Latin American student activists seem to concentrate more on targets outside the university than do their US brethren, although both find that the university is a safe platform from which to attack. Scapegoatism, especially linked to real or imagined foreign dominance, is common in Latin America. The enemies are seen as the United States and its "imperialistic" designs, and the local oligarchy and military which collaborate with them. In the United States, the enemy is the demonic American "system," which not only impersonalizes life, but is as inherently unjust as it is totally reformable. The university so dominates the lives of US students, that any outside enemy is linked to the institution and the battle is waged there. Latin American students are vehement exponents of an idealistic and even mystic nationalism, today more so than ever, whereas their northern counterparts reject domestic nationalism as foul (although they would firmly support nationalism in liberation countries, especially if liberation forces could be identified). Public opinion in Latin America is more consistently on the side of student protesters than is the case in the United States. Much of this is because Latin American students, at least verbally, champion the rights of the underdog majority of their population, while in the United States, student protest calls into question and threatens the basic premises and style of life of the middle class majority.

All of the above differences come back to that cruel and essential paradox mentioned before: the Latin American student's hatred of a society without enough for all and the North American student's hatred of a society which has so much that it criminally indulges itself. The Latin American clamors in his spirituality for the material more; the North American wrestles with an omnipresent materialism to secure his spiritual deliverance. ■

The name of the game is crisis management
versus the judge-advocate system

How We Do Our Thing:

Crisis Management

It has been argued (see FSJ, January, 1970) that the process of policy formulation and execution in the Department of State (and probably in other major components of the national security apparatus as well) operates on the basis of cumbersome areal and operational advocacies within advocacies. It has been argued that decisions in this system are made downward within a sphere of advocacy, and that the decision-maker in such cases keeps in mind the effect his decision will have on his upward-directed advocacy functions. How can such a system possibly act with reasonable despatch in periods of keen international crisis? The system attempts to prepare itself for such eventualities by quasi-judicial decisions aimed at the future: contingency plans. Do they work?

We find a difference between reality and the formal image. The self-image of the institution is that of a small-unit military staff coping with a quickly-unfolding crisis situation. One thinks of carefully systematized channels of crisis intelligence, being narrowed down through ascending levels of intelligence analysis until the top decision makers get only the distilled essence. One thinks of orderly arrays of contingency plans—of sub-plans within plans. One thinks of staffs presenting carefully reasoned lists of alternative grand strategies and lists of implementing specific actions. One thinks of the crisis decision maker contemplating such impersonal, even Olympian staff

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work, choosing course of action "B" over courses "A" and "C," then ordering this single-minded staff to implement all necessary lines of action consonant with the decision, and finally going off to an ivory tower to think long thoughts, plan grand strategy, watch intelligence condensations, and wait for his faithful trusted staff to present him with another list of alternatives at the next decision point.

This is the way it might work if the national security apparatus operated in its self-image—its formal image. But the idea of such a staff existing or a top decision-maker being either able or willing to use it is of course as erroneous as the belief that the day-to-day policy formulation mechanism is anything other than a quasi-judicial one of clashing advocacies. An instant judicial decision is a contradiction in terms. Judicial decision-making requires the marshaling of evidence, the marshaling of arguments, and contemplation on the part of the judge. Time is an indispensable element in the process if it is to work.

Crisis management is real, however. The apparatus makes quick

crisis decisions. They may or may not be the best decisions, but they are much too fast and too good to have come out of the advocacy system used in day-to-day policy formulation. Crisis management bypasses the standard policy formulation mechanism and is a separate process, with only marginal overlap with the policy formulation process described previously in this journal.

The existence of two separate decision-making systems does much to explain some of the paradoxes which have hampered the development of scholarly theories of decision-making in international relations. Using such crisis decisions as the US decision to defend South Korea and such non-crisis decisions as the US decision to launch the Marshall Plan, different processes seem to emerge, with a disappointing paucity of common features on which to check and build theories.

Crisis management is accomplished largely by men above the level of assistant secretary of state—crisis management as herein defined. But not all officials of exalted rank are crisis managers—there are usually not more than six in the Department of State and not more than ten in the rest of the national security apparatus. The chosen know who they are, as do those who have not been chosen. Membership in the crisis manager set is determined partly by rank, partly by capacity, partly by personality and partly by connections. Those who are not of the elect often pretend, even to themselves,

that they are, but the "crises" they are "managing" turn out on close examination to be "judging" within an area of operational or real advocacy, as a normal part of the standard advocate-judge process of policy formulation.

It is inaccurate to think of high-level crisis managers as men yearning for surcease from demands thrusting in upon them. Actually, they eat up crisis management; they are usually ambitious, and almost always energetic and capable. Without crisis management the routine of the advocate-judge system would drive them out of their minds. They might even be driven to try to act like a Continental judge—to ascertain the facts and marshal the arguments themselves in routine functions. The system can withstand a few isolated ventures of this type, but repeated efforts by ignorant judges to play the advocate would weaken or even destroy the existing real system of policy formulation without putting anything coherent in its place.

The number of crises being managed at any one moment in time does not depend on the international situation. It can rather be determined by the formula— $\frac{ax}{y} \pm 1$, in which *a* represents the number of crises which each manager would prefer, for personal reasons, to handle at one time, *x* represents the number of crisis managers in the government, and *y* represents the group of crisis managers' mean preference for the number of managers to be ideally assigned to manage an average crisis. Thus, if sixteen security crisis managers are available throughout the United States Government, each manager prefers to work on two crises at once, and the preferred number of crisis managers to work on any one crisis is eight, one would multiply 2 by 16 and divide by 8, and, following the formula, one could expect to find four crises, plus or minus one, outside the everyday judge-advocate system and in the crisis-management system at any one time. The factor of plus or minus one in the formula reflects some slight flexibility in the system for adjustment to periods of extreme placidity or extreme turmoil in the international situation and the wan-

dering of minds and interests in the Christmas-New Year period and in August.

During periods of peak disturbance in the international arena, the crisis management system, even with the "plus one" factor operating, may be overloaded, in that one, two, or even three problems of a gravity and quick-reaction nature that would normally put them into the crisis-management category are still in the standard advocate-judge system, bobbing like gas-filled balloons against the closed trapdoor which opens into the world of crisis management. In quiet periods, however, when the number of crises drops below the formula even with the "minus one" factor operating, the trapdoor opens and a kind of suction draws into the crisis management sanctum matters which would under normal circumstances be left below in the advocate-judge system.

In other words, there is a constantly shifting "critical mass" which, if reached, will pull any problem out of the hands of the massive advocate-judge bureaucracy. The problem might be one which the bureaucracy had been plaintively attempting to call to the attention of crisis managers. But, if by virtue of its own significance and/or a shift in the degree of suction/resistance from the crisis

management system, it reaches that critical mass, a vast qualitative change in decision-making occurs. The advocate-judge bureaucrat discovers that the string holding this balloon to his hand has been severed, the balloon shoots above the treetops, and he is reduced to racing madly through the alleyways of the bureaucracy to try to keep it in sight; he no longer controls it at all.

Aside from the resistance or suction related to the formula, there are intrinsic elements in a national security problem which contribute toward its ultimate mass in the decision-making complex. At least three elements compose this intrinsic mass: the number of deaths which have occurred as a result of the problem within a 30-day period, the number of deaths which might result in the 90 days following, and the importance ascribed to the problem by the attentive public in the United States (largely a function of news media treatment). If any problem involves relations between the United States and Russia and/or China, the weight of all the factors above roughly doubles.

The most significant element of crisis management decision-making as compared with the standard advocate-judge system is its almost total divorce from the latter system.



It is significant that this barrier tends in organizations like the State Department to become formalized in such mini-staffs as the Operations Center, which may co-opt *individuals* from time to time to serve on the mini-staff of crisis management, but which in organizational terms acts as a nearly watertight organizational bulkhead between the two systems.

From the time a problem enters the crisis management system, the information input to the responsible crisis managers tends to be most remarkable. Most crisis managers, despite their protestations, want to devour and do devour absolutely raw intelligence. Most crisis managers are eager to score a "beat" on their colleagues by learning of a development a few minutes or hours before the others know about it. Any processed intelligence which they will consume is usually limited to one page in writing or five minutes of oral briefing. They are impatient with details and nuances. The totality of ordered information in the minds of crisis managers with respect to any given crisis is remarkably small. What they have at any moment is often the result of the perusal of flash indicator telegrams, raw policy recommendations from chiefs of missions, and five-minute back-seat-of-the-sedan briefings from aides who may be only slightly less aware of all the facts than they are. Luckily, the typical crisis manager is brilliant, energetic, aggressive, and the possessor of a finely honed intuition in which he has great confidence.

Which crisis managers handle a given crisis? The determining factor is not, as one might imagine, expertise or specialized experience. It is rather the simple matter of who is not already seized of too many crises—of who is available. Of three equally qualified State Department crisis managers, the one who ultimately ends up managing a given crisis may be the one who happened to have an open spot on his schedule one afternoon when a worried Assistant Secretary trots upstairs with a problem which, unbeknownst to him, has just reached critical mass and is ready to bump up and through the trapdoor in the ceiling.

The process by which crisis deci-

sions are reached (the role of the President himself is excluded, of course) is centered in the informal committee of crisis managers. Its membership fluctuates, and its authority appears vague, but when such an informal group speaks, lesser mortals listen. The group tends to physically exclude staff other than the specialized mini-staffs of crisis management. Written records of these deliberations are usually non-existent or untrustworthy. Personal charisma and salesmanship may influence the ultimate decision to an even greater degree than such human factors affect the decisions of a jury. The tendency toward compromise so characteristic of the advocate-judge system is greatly diluted in crisis management. Strong and irreconcilable differences of opinion at the crisis management level are more likely to manifest themselves in a practice of pretending to reach an agreement on principle when no such agreement actually exists. The crisis management habit of doing without written records becomes pernicious here, because four crisis managers are capable of leaving a conference room with four different versions of what has been decided. The aversion of crisis management teams to the recognition of a chairman or rapporteur in these informal meetings multiplies the opportunities for confusion.

One of the strangest aspects of crisis management is in the output, or implementation, process. One might imagine that the one task which could safely be kicked through the barriers into the advocate-judge system and the massive bureaucracy which it commands would be the preparation, despatch, and monitoring of the detailed instructions arising from a crisis decision. But the crisis managers are peculiarly unwilling to so delegate authority. Almost without exception they waste vast amounts of time in dictating, re-dictating, and arguing over the language of individual messages of instruction. This peculiarity flows from the one mentioned above: subconsciously they know they have perhaps not reached agreement, and the decision-making process is often postponed in part to the stage of the

preparation of detailed instructions implementing the decision.

The termination of a crisis and the transfer of the problem back to the standard advocate-judge system does not work according to the book. The formula set forth above on the movement of problems into the crisis management sphere can be applied in reverse—low-mass problems will tend to be kicked back into the standard system because of the intrinsic mass of the problem and the application of the formula to determine the system forces which will kick the problem out of one system and into the other at any given time. Thus, depending on circumstances outside the crisis itself, we may find problems of a heavy crisis loading dumped suddenly into the hands of advocate-judges even though important decisions remain to be made. More often, the problem remains in a dormant state with the crisis managers until they become preoccupied with newer crises and the problem gradually drifts through the bureaucratic barrier into the standard system.

The interesting characteristic of the transition is that for a surprisingly long time, the problem may lie neglected by the crisis managers, but not yet picked up by the standard bureaucracy, which has received no signal from the crisis managers. Thus, for periods of a few hours, a few days, or even occasionally a week or more, the government is for all practical purposes non-reactive. It is disquieting to note that such periods are not markedly conducive to catastrophe.

The advocate-judge bureaucrat is in a delicate position during the transition period. Not being able to do more than guess the extent to which the crisis managers still have a proprietary interest in his problem (he is lucky if he has been able, by listening at doors, to have other than a vague idea of what has been happening in terms of crisis management decisions), he is tempted to steal a move on his competitors from other advocacy teams and launch some initiative under the assumption that the crisis managers are no longer interested. If they are still interested, he will have his head taken off at the

(Continued on page 48)

A brief account of what happens when
an Embassy has to close down in 48 hours

A Break in Time

IN both North and South Yemen most important decisions are made Thursday afternoon. Family members, business partners, government cabinets and cliques of friends recline together to chew *qat*, a mildly narcotic leaf much appreciated by a large percentage of the male population and not disdained by many of the gentler sex. According to its users, *qat*, unlike cannabis, seems to stir up the mental processes and give the user the sensation of omniscience, the feeling of political (or economic) infallibility and the ability to see complex problems in a new and clear light. Secrets are poorly guarded under its benevolently democratic influence. The small groups of political leaders who have the dominant voice in decision-making and who have every intention of protecting their interests through the device of secrecy (among others), once they have a healthy cud of chewed leaf tucked into the right cheek, share cheerfully and in the most democratic manner their views, opinions and reasoning. As a result in both Yemens political decisions are often "openly arrived at."

The People's Republic of Southern Yemen, rather like the Holy Roman Empire being neither holy, roman nor an empire, does not belong to the "people," is not a republic and is really not much inclined to be part of the Yemen. It is, however, quite appropriately south of North Yemen and usually hot enough for good measure.

The "conspiracy theory of politics" is much favored in this little country and the added stimulus of

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qat makes the complex simple and the sweeping view of a diabolic force in all developments very attractive. The devil for an aspiring "people's republic" cannot be the Soviet Union or Red China, for the time being at least; the better candidate is "American imperialism" or "British colonialism."

Thursday, October 23, 1969, in Aden, the capital of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, was a day to be devoted to discussion of the big problem—Palestine. Concern over the actions of the Lebanese Government against the Palestine fedayeen was linked with South Yemen's attitude towards the United States.

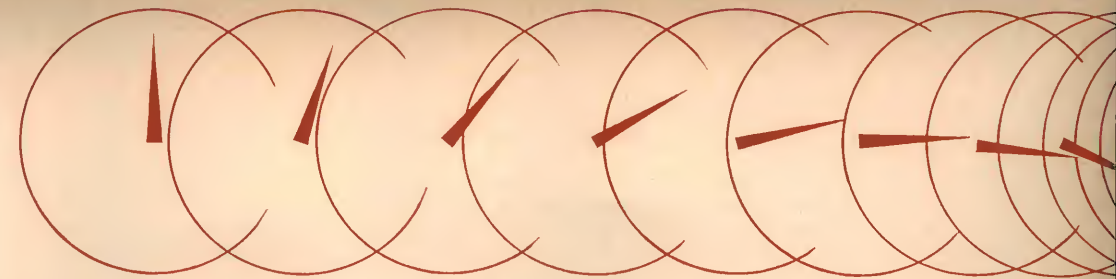
This Thursday's *qat* sessions evidently resolved the troublesome issue of whether or not to break with the United States. Those pushing for a rupture argued that South Yemen which had aspirations of being the most radical of the Arab States and possibly even a full fledged member of the "Socialist Camp" should not have an American Embassy in Aden. South Yemen on this point would always be out-

flanked on the left by the Baathist Syrians and Iraqi. Simpler minds probably found appealing the charge of American plotting up country. Finally, the Arab-Israeli dispute, though far from Aden's barren rocks, was always a useful emotional issue with which to give dimension and force to criticisms of the Americans.

So it was that on Friday mornings, a day in which Embassies and Government offices are closed, our Chargé, William L. Eagleton, who had only returned to Aden the previous day following home leave, was summoned by Ali Salim al-Baydh, the Foreign Minister. This young Hadhrami foreign minister had never made a secret of his suspicion and hatred of the West and of its democratic institutions. It was with genuine enthusiasm that he informed Chargé Eagleton that he had only 24 hours to leave the country. The rest of the staff would magnanimously be granted 48 hours to quit Southern Yemen.

For the Americans the ensuing two days were ones of febrile activity. By prearrangement the Embassy contacted the British Ambassador, Mr. John Phillips, informed him of the news and asked him to obtain his government's consent to assume the role of Protecting Power. This would not be an easy task for the British in Aden. They had more than their own share of headaches in their relations with the South Yemeni Government.

The second order of business was clearly the destruction of classified files and of all the carefully hoarded notes, jottings and clippings plus the incomplete and the



pending which always seemed to sink to the bottom of in-boxes to nestle forgotten for weeks at a time. All members of the staff turned to on this exercise with more than usual enthusiasm. Files representing months of work were gutted in less than five minutes. Our Marines succeeded in burning and breaking down the ashes of all the files not being pouched to Washington in about three hours by using the regular Embassy incinerator.

I find it difficult to explain the zeal with which officers who had drafted these reports, secretaries who had typed them and staff members who had transmitted, filed and protected them, put them to flame. The abstract concept of security is too obvious a reason but it was true that a pile of ashes was just one less thing to worry about. Perhaps too some of us subconsciously thought of this as destroying our mistakes along with our more useful contributions. In a sense also we were slamming a door shut on an episode in our lives and on the existence of Embassy Aden. Henceforth the Department could never reference a telegram or an airgram to us or to our possible successors without an answering shrug of the shoulders.

The heavy use of the Embassy incinerator caused an incident which could have been serious. Backing up to the chancery and towering directly above the incinerator chimney is a six story apartment house owned by British Petroleum and housing Indian and South Yemeni employees of the company. Sometime after one o'clock on Friday afternoon the Public Security Forces mounted a machine gun emplacement on the

roof of the BP building with the gun pointed down into the Embassy's back yard. The incinerator and a large rotating wire barrel (much like a huge squirrel cage) generated much smoke and fine ash which seemed to favor the apartment house as it billowed forth. The Armed police in their sixth story aerie, their eyes streaming only partly from rage, were most unhappy. As the Marines became more proficient in maintaining an intense fire, a heavy updraft, and, with the addition of a second wire grid over the top of the chimney, even finer ash, the inhabitants of the building and the Armed Police apparently lost their patience. At first shouting down complaints and threats at the Marines who were preoccupied with their work, the police finally dumped a heavy sandbag from their emplacement down six flights where fortunately it merely burst in the empty yard of the apartment building, just a few feet from the enclosure wall of the Embassy. Shortly thereafter, a Southern Yemeni official who was present to "facilitate" our departure gave instructions that the incineration of files was to stop forthwith because there might be a fire hazard. He did not, however, make allowance for the ingenuity of our staff. While some of us engaged him in prolonged "discussion," the Marines hastily jammed the remaining two pouchloads of shredded papers into the incinerator and the rotary cage. Once we knew that all was well ignited we gave our assent to halt the destruction of our files.

The South Yemen Government assigned a heavy contingent of guards to "protect" the Embassy and individual residences because it was concerned that the Ameri-

cans were in danger from the aroused citizens of Aden. It soon became apparent however that the real purpose was to imprison the staff. At no time was there the slightest indication of any wish by the Aden community to demonstrate against or in any way to harm the Americans of the Embassy. The police's main responsibility was to keep us in a sort of quarantine until our departure on Sunday.

On Saturday morning the streets around the chancery were crowded with a large, friendly but anxious mass of the local citizenry. Some were creditors and landlords, others were friends willing to run the risk of later trouble by coming to offer their help, and still others were the Embassy's local staff members who were blocked from entering the compound. The largest group of all represented some of the 500-odd visa applicants who feared to see their aspirations collapsing about them with the departure of the Embassy's hard-working consular officer, FSS Richard Rauh. Indeed, Rauh attempted to pass out several visas which had already been issued and to return a number of Yemeni and South Yemeni passports which happened to be in the consular files on October 23. The police guards blocked him physically from handing these documents to the outstretched hands of their owners.

These police guards who were with us constantly from Friday until our departure on Sunday demonstrated the inherent courtesy so ingrained in the Arab character in spite of two years of vicious anti-American propaganda spewed out by South Yemen's controlled press and radio. Riding with us in our automobiles and carrying their

rifles clamped between their legs and the muzzles pressed against the car roofs, the security police invariably sought to express their sorrow and regret at seeing the Americans so ill-treated. Most wished for our quick return although some qualified this expression with the hope that the United States would change its policy in the Middle East. They often sought within possible limits of interpretation of their instructions to be as lenient as possible. Being simple and honest chaps they did occasionally swing to the opposite extreme of rigid inflexibility. For example, on several instances they prevented foreign diplomats and their wives from assisting the Americans in packing and following through on last minute chores.

All of us were struck by the clear evidence that courtesy and reasonableness were in inverse order to an individual's rank in the regime. Events on Saturday evening supported this conclusion.

The Embassy's Administrative Section under the taut direction of FSS Joe Babin and with the smooth assistance of FSS Frank Holeva and FSS Bob Scott pulled together outstanding invoices, billings, rental contracts, inventories and the many other necessary files and books to turn over to the British Embassy. Earlier I had obtained agreement from the Army lieutenant in charge of the detachment guarding the chancery to permit me to carry these files to the British compound, about a mile and a half distant from our Steamer Point location. He gave a ready assent when asked his assistance in lending me two guards to protect the files while in transit between the two Embassies.

Unfortunately by the time the five cardboard cartons were filled and sealed, a new representative of the Foreign Ministry arrived at the chancery to "facilitate matters." He, however, possessed no authority whatsoever and, being very much the timid civil servant, referred every matter to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry. This referral procedure became much more complicated since all our telephones had been cut earlier in the day. Negotiations for the transfer of the administrative files consumed about

two and a half hours with long "time outs" for trots down the street to the telephones of the Rock Hotel.

When it became obvious that we were getting nowhere fast, I chose a new stratagem somewhat removed from patient reasoning. Adopting a lighthearted tone, I told the official it was perfectly all right with the United States Government if we were forced to carry out of the country all of our administrative files, or better still if we destroyed them, because then we could probably save our government close to ten thousand pounds (a figure definitely out-of-the-hat). No landlord would be paid, I said, no contract would be honored and not an outstanding bill would be settled. We would merely ask the British Embassy to refer all creditors to the Foreign Ministry for satisfaction.

We drove into the British Embassy compound ten minutes later with the six boxes of files and ledgers.

An amusing incident took place a few minutes later while we were sitting in the British Embassy chancery. I remembered that some weeks previous I had been invited to dine with HMG's Ambassador for that very evening and it was close to the dinner hour. Since I assumed that the packers and my cook-houseboy under the guiding hand of Mrs. Patrick Eyers of the British Embassy had packed my personal effects and that there would be no food at home, it seemed a good idea to have one decent meal, sandwiches being the standard fare otherwise. I so informed the official after checking with my extremely obliging British colleagues to be sure that the dinner was still scheduled. The official shifted nervously from one foot to another and then said that he would have to telephone his Permanent Secretary. One call proved insufficient since evidently the Permanent Secretary had to refer this formidable question to Foreign Minister al-Baydh. A few moments later, the official his face flushed and obviously deeply embarrassed, turned towards my British colleagues and myself and stated:

"The Foreign Minister says that

Mr. Keller needs his rest. He may not dine with the British Ambassador."

An explosion of anger, indignation and then laughter greeted this ruling. I quickly agreed to fast in the best Gandhi fashion if that was the wish of the Foreign Minister but added that I planned to remain in the British chancery building for some time in order to make a number of important telephone calls since, as the official was well aware, our own chancery switchboard had been cut. He at first objected but when he saw that there was little he could do to force me to return to our own chancery, shrugged his shoulders, mentally washing his hands of the whole affair, and left, not to be seen again until the following morning. The phone calls completed, I thanked the British and left, accompanied by my driver and my friendly rifle toting policeman.

Our final morning in Aden was a paradox of confusion, quiet and seemingly vast amounts of free time. The chancery building by eight o'clock in the morning was chock-a-block with Government furniture moved in from the leased apartments and houses. With hundreds of chairs and dozens of couches jammed into most offices there was scarcely a place to sit down. Buyers for our personal cars descended on us with wads of South Yemeni dinars and in some cases with hard American dollars. The police tried half-heartedly to stop this capitalist commerce but some of them or their relatives or friends began suggesting that they too were interested.

Our Marines, their work largely completed, broke open two bottles of champagne to celebrate the sealing of the chancery compound. Final cables were dispatched, some letters and brief notes were jotted down and forwarded to their destination, and one last look was cast around the offices and in desks for any personal items forgotten until then. Our six Marines and three communicators loaded twenty-two diplomatic pouches into two Embassy vehicles, and as the British placed a seal on the main door of the chancery, we left for our houses and then on to the airport. ■



Open Letter to the Staff Corps

This is the first time in many years that a member of the Staff Corps has been elected to the Board of Directors of AFSA. Such an action is long overdue. It is evidence that the new Board wants to represent all levels of personnel in the foreign-affairs agencies. The overwhelming support you gave in the recent election demonstrated the importance you attach to Staff representation on the Board. But its significance will depend not only on the role the Staff Corps member of the Board plays in Washington, but, even more, on the kind of support she receives from fellow Staff Corps members in the field.

One of the new Board's first actions was to create a Staff Corps Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of the Staff Corps Board member, Barbara Good. This newly formed Committee plans to make a thorough report on the present status of the Staff Corps in the State Department and recommend solutions to any inequities it reveals.

It is also interested in receiving suggestions from the field and will gladly examine any questions you may wish to submit.

At the present time the Committee is particularly concerned with those activities and recommendations of the Macomber Task Forces which will directly affect the Staff Corps. For example, there might be no FSSO category after the implementation of reform proposals now being considered. If that were to be the case, the Committee would be extremely concerned about the future career status of those Staff officers. Would the Mustang concept really provide the necessary ladder for recognition of outstanding Staff employees?

The question of duty free entry for Staff Corps personnel at certain posts is also of vital interest to the Committee.

Since so much compensatory time is

lost by Staff Corps personnel serving in the field, a recommendation was made in the Department in 1965 that all posts should pay them overtime.

But this is only the beginning of the list of grievances from which State Department Staff personnel have long suffered. The special inequities of USIA and AID Staff Corps personnel must also be studied. Again, it will be up to you to identify these current problems.

So often in the past, overseas personnel (as well as those in Washington) have felt there was no one in Washington to turn to with problems that seemed insoluble. Through the efforts of AFSA, ombudsmen have been named in State, USIA, and AID. It is their function to hear your gripes and help you solve your problems. The AFSA Members' Interests Committee is working very closely with them in identifying legitimate problems. Your Staff Corps Board member is also personally interested in seeing to it that Staff Corps personnel get a fair shake. She is prepared to consider any questions you may not wish to submit directly to your Ombudsman. It is easy to restrict gripe sessions to the post and not to forward legitimate problems to Washington. But if we are ever going to close the communications gap, it is up to you to pursue the dialogue.

With the membership drive coming up, it is essential that members of the Staff Corps realize the new, significant, and revitalized role they can play in the Association. The Board is anxious to reach those members of the Staff Corps who dropped out of the Association because they felt it did not truly represent their interests. If you have any suggestions on ways to bring them back into the Association, or if you are Washington based and are willing to contribute some time on these problems, get in touch with your Staff Corps Board member.

Membership in a Year of Action

AFSA is kicking off its 1970-71 membership campaign this month. We are streamlining the campaign in order to give members better service and are concentrating on increasing membership in all three agencies: State, AID, and USIA.

This year we will change over our membership records to a computerized system. This allows for quicker, better, and for more complete information available to the Board and to AFSA members generally on the composition and location of members. As we shoot for a membership of 10,000 this year, the new system reflects AFSA's concerns with up-to-date management of the Association.

Second, we are asking existing members to *renew at the first notice* if possible. This not only saves your Association expenses on second mailings, etc., but even more important it allows us to concentrate our membership drive on bringing in new members.

Third, we want a big increase in membership. State membership is only about half the eligible people, USIA a little more than one half and AID slightly less. Yet this year, State is undergoing a major personnel reform and AID is facing a major reorganization. AFSA is already deep into these matters and will be representing its members on every major issue involved. But to be effective, AFSA needs to have big membership backing from all areas of the foreign service. If we are to speak for the professional foreign service, we need to have all the professionals with us.

Finally, we are asking *every member to be a personal representative of AFSA*:

1. Renew early
2. Speak to your friends about AFSA
3. Please get at least one new member to join this year.

This year, *AFSA means Action*. Be there with AFSA. It's going to be a big year.

FOREIGN SERVICE



Club

NEWS

Herewith some more photos of the Club. Come on in.

By this time all AFSA members in the Washington area should have received the membership renewal or application form.

Those whose annual membership dates from April, May or June 1969 received a bonus three months membership. We extended their membership in order to permit them and new members to elect the monthly dues payment plan if they wished.

New members joining in May get a bonus too since their membership will date from July 1. In the meantime, they may use the club as full-fledged members through the purchase of

scrip (instead of signing order checks) pending receipt of their club cards.

Those who want to look over the situation first are warmly welcome to do so. They, too, may purchase scrip for food and beverage orders.

Miss Blue, the Receptionist on the second floor, will sell scrip in almost any amount and will make refunds for any amount unused.

Fair enough?

FLASH! Prices reduced! New menus are being printed and when they are ready members will see quite a change—especially in prices. Beverages have been reduced about 5 per cent (with your raise that's an 11 per



cent step forward) as have several food items, with some increases in others. The increasingly popular Executive Special has been expanded to offer you a wide choice of sandwiches every day, made to order, in addition to hot soup and a beverage—still only 99¢. The Club special martini or manhattan is reduced to 70¢—and most other cocktails are down to 95¢. The Daily Special can be expanded to a



full course luncheon for only \$2.55.

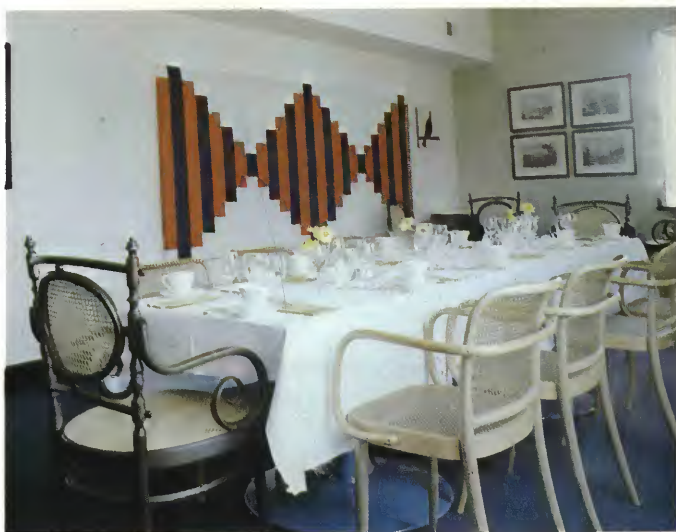
Farewell parties—punch, coffee, sandwiches, cookies—all for \$1.00 per person. The Do-it-Yourself Sandwich Bar with beer, soft drinks and coffee at \$2.25 is a painless way for Task Forces to get together after hours.

More and more members are inviting their foreign diplomat colleagues for luncheon at the Club—several were observed last month. One made a charming addition to the Club in her national dress. Mrs. Rogers and Undersecretary Richardson were also luncheon guests last month.

Why don't you plan to use the Club to entertain your foreign colleagues at lunch, cocktails or dinner? Special arrangements can be made.

We still have room for art works for exhibition or for permanent display—paintings, photographs, sketches, objets d'art, curios—all those valuable and sentimentally invaluable items we bought here and there over the years and somehow put in a closet back home. Why not share them with your friends at the Club? Courtesy credits, of course, to all exhibitions and donors.

Have you been to *your* Club lately? Or brought your wife in for lunch?



AFSA's Former President Receives Award

Philip C. Habib, president of the American Foreign Service Association from January, 1968 to January, 1970 was honored recently by winning one of the ten National Civil Service League's 1970 Career Awards. Those receiving the awards came from seven departments of cabinet level and three agencies that rank equally.

Mr. Habib is currently a member and senior advisor to the Paris Peace Talks, a position that gives him an opportunity to draw on his 24 years of service (including military).

He is an FSO-1 with the personal rank of Minister.

Mr. Habib has some special qualifications for his present post. He served in Saigon with the personal rank of Minister under Ambassadors Lodge and Bunker. Secretary of State William Rogers signed a memorandum saying that "his performance and sophisticated grasp of political factors proved extraordinary. He carried out US policy in Vietnam with intelligence, leadership and grasp."

In April 1968, Mr. Habib was the natural choice for chief of staff for the Paris peace talks. He has been described as "the brain, the spokesman, the prod, and the heart and soul of the delegation." Virtually every move of the delegation goes through his hands.

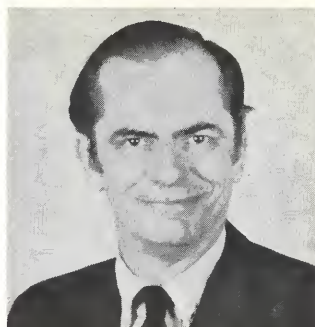
A Brooklynite, born in 1920, Mr. Habib earned his bachelor's degree at

the University of Idaho, and his doctorate at the University of California. He also attended the Sorbonne. His specific field has been economics, but he has served as a political officer abroad, and in Washington as Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Mr. Habib has spoken out for the Foreign Service Association. A memorandum about him, attached to Secretary Roger's communication about him, says that "His leadership and spokesman role for the Association have been immensely important to the new and potentially constructive role that the Association has now assumed in the affairs of the Department." He inspired and guided the "Young Turks" in their revitalization of the American Foreign Service Association.

Others who received the same award as Mr. Habib were: Vernon D. Acree (Internal Revenue Service) Dr. Beatrice Aitchison (Interstate Commerce Commission) Neil A. Armstrong (astronaut) Dr. Ned D. Bayley (Department of Agriculture) Henry Geller (Federal Communications Commission) Lawrence R. Houston (Central Intelligence Agency) Henry L. Newman (Federal Aviation Administration) William J. Page Jr. (Health Education and Welfare) William B. Ross (Housing and Urban Development).

New Board Member



Michael Pistor was born in Oregon on April 29, 1930. He served as a first lieutenant in the Army from 1952 to 1954 and received his BA from the University of Arizona in 1955. Before joining USIA, Mr. Pistor was an announcer-writer for radio stations (1954-56) in Arizona and a magazine editor in New York (1956-59).

After entering USIA in 1959, Mr. Pistor served for one year at USIS Tehran. From 1960 to 1964, he served in Africa, first as Public Affairs Assistant in Kampala (1960-61), and then as Branch Public Affairs Officer at Douala in Cameroon (1962-1963). Mr. Pistor was assigned to USIS London as Student Affairs Officer in 1964 and remained in that position until September 1969 when he assumed his present position as Program Coordinator in the Office of the Assistant Director (Africa).

JFSOC NEWS: Report on CORDS

The leadership of JFSOC has learned that the Department has renewed its commitment to fill CORDS posts in South Vietnam on a regular basis with Foreign Service officers on detail.

JFSOC officers met with the Director General of the Foreign Service, John Burns, on April 14 to obtain clarifying information and to urge that the Department examine the CORDS assignments closely regarding their benefits to the individual officer and to the Department. JFSOC also made clear that it believed that the Department had failed not only to fulfill its past promises to officers assigned to CORDS, but had in effect discriminated against CORDS veterans, particularly junior officers, regarding ongoing assignments.

The Director General informed JFSOC that:

—Incoming officers would no longer be assigned to CORDS or any other outside agency on their first tours.

—The Department has realized that there have been difficulties in the ongoing assignment of CORDS veterans.

Special efforts have been made to insure that officers returning from CORDS receive assignments tailored to their career needs. Bureau personnel officers have been instructed to make every effort to find slots for CORDS veterans.

—A new position will be created in CMA which will, among other duties, make certain that officers in CORDS are fairly treated. It will be filled by a CORDS veteran.

The Director General emphasized that one of the reasons for his recent trip to Vietnam was to make certain that CORD positions to be filled by FSOs were both necessary and responsible, and that he was convinced that these conditions existed.

The Director General welcomed the opportunity to discuss junior officer problems with JFSOC and asked that the dialogue with JFSOC be continued in the future.

JFSOC officers expressed their intention to continue to monitor the problem of CORDS assignments and represent junior officer interests with regard to them.

With the Artists of the Foreign Service

Our May cover shows "Brokkelof-tet," a Norwegian *hytte* (house) dating from the sixteenth century. Quarters for house servants and farm hands, it was originally located on the Brokkefarm in Hylesad, Setesdalen. It is now part of a private museum of nineteen old houses, assembled by Dr. Anton Rabbe, an eminent surgeon, at Bjornsgaard on the north shore of the lake Bogstadvannet in Sorkedalen, a northwestern suburb of Oslo.

The artist, R. Gordon Arneson (FSO retired), served at the Embassy in Oslo as Counselor for Economic Affairs from 1956 to 1958.

Result of Mail Strike

A last-minute correction on a price in the Rutgers University Press advertisement failed to reach the JOURNAL in time for it to be made.

Those interested in ordering "First American Ambassador to Guinea" by John H. Morrow from the advertisement in April should note that the price is \$9.00, rather than \$10.00.

Michael Michaud's article on foreign service reporting triggers both communication and controversy

The Foreign Service Officer: OBSERVER OR ADVOCATE?

IN Michael A. G. Michaud's stimulating article on "Communication and Controversy" (October, 1969 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL), he proposed that Foreign Service officers could best exercise their reporting role by "becoming advocates of positions instead of being passive observers." Michaud's hypothesis was that the quantum increase of information available in Washington from sources inside and outside the Government, and the growing rapidity of its transmission, made Foreign Service informational reporting redundant. According to Michaud, the Foreign Service officer will increasingly have to justify his relevance not simply by reporting information, but by making "judgments and recommendations."

Clearly, Michaud believes that the Foreign Service officer, in his reporting function, should be an advocate. But an advocate of what and why? He declares that the Foreign Service "may (and should) have the resources to make superior judgments on the implications of a given set of facts, and to recommend policies and actions best suited to advance American national interests in these circumstances."

However, it could equally well be maintained that the Foreign Service may not in fact possess the resources to make "superior judgments." Michaud's apparent belief in the intrinsic superior wisdom of the Foreign Service (a new Master Race?) is the most debatable aspect, and one of the central assumptions, of his argument for the virtue of increased advocacy in reporting.

In spite of the leap from uncertain foundations, Michaud's recommendations deserve scrutiny. This examination must focus on how the reporting system functions now, what are the consequences of this functioning, and what should be done to rectify any shortcomings which may exist.

Are We Now Observers or Advocates?

If Foreign Service officers are advocates now, Michaud is suggesting only more of the same. If, on the other hand, FSOs are detached observers, his ideas represent a fundamental change in orientation.

At the present time, in preparing an airgram or deciding to send a telegram, the officer involved makes a judgment. Sets of facts to be communicated are

JON D. GLASSMAN

Mr. Glassman is Third Secretary of the Embassy in Madrid. He writes, "I have been a member of the Foreign Service for only two years, and thus have only observed the reporting system at first-hand for a short time. However, as a student of comparative foreign policy decision-making (see my article on 'Soviet Foreign Policy Decision-Making' in Andrew W. Cordier, ed., 'Columbia Essays in International Affairs,' Volume III), I thought I could take an analytical look at our own reporting system."

seldom, if ever, "given." Out of an array of events and statements, the reporting officer *selects* items which he *believes* are important. The practice of selection of information to be communicated is not unique to the Foreign Service. The journalist does not transmit all information, rather he only reports items which appear to be "newsworthy." The scholar generally establishes a research hypothesis and only searches for information which is relevant to prove or disprove his hypothesis.

Because the quantity of information that could be obtained on any subject in all its ramifications is probably infinite, any real world communications process must confront the necessity of selection. This process of selection eliminates items of information which are considered unimportant or unnecessary in accordance with the criterion of selection used. Thus, the FSO now is, and probably always will be, an advocate in the sense that his reports will present only a selected portion of reality.

Analysis—The Second Level of Selection

After having related or considered a selected set of facts, the Foreign Service report will usually offer comments or interpretations of this data. These interpretations may represent the ideas of one man or may be the "cleared" product of several individuals. Regardless, however, the possible interpretations of the data which the report offers will not likely be exhaustive. An explicit or implicit *choice* will be made of the interpretation(s) which seem most correct. Again, a criterion of selection eliminates interpretations which seem unsound. On the level of analysis also, then, the Foreign

Service officer, or group of officers, is an advocate by eliminating alternative explanations, whether the interpretation of events is least common denominator "cleared pabulum" or the ideas of a single man.

Bias—The Pathology of Selection

The selection of both data and interpretations depends on an explicit or implicit criterion of choice. Clearly not all criteria are equally good. The choice of a suitable criterion depends on the task to be performed or the objective sought. The definition of appropriate criteria for Foreign Service reporting is a key problem which has not yet been solved.

One criterion, however, can be said with assurance to be absolutely dysfunctional in all cases. This is the criterion known as bias—a selection mechanism through which a rigid preconceived judgment selects only information which is acceptable to it to be communicated. This phenomenon recalls Adlai Stevenson's jocular phrase, "On these conclusions do I base my facts." An unbiased criterion of selection must choose any information or datum which is *relevant*, not just the information which is *acceptable* or *pleasing*. While the incidence of bias in Foreign Service reporting may be relatively low in comparison to other information media, it is still important to be aware of aspects of the reporting system which potentially could permit or encourage bias.

The Ultimate Level of Selection—"Clearing"

At the present time, data to be reported and interpretations of this information are selected by a drafting officer and are subject to a "clearing" and approval process. (I will use "clearing" as a shorthand for both "clearing" and approval.) "Clearing" is the final pre-communication selection mechanism, and is executed vertically through the chain of command and horizontally between agencies, offices, sections, and so forth. When differing views exist, "clearing" is essentially a bargaining process between the drafting officer and "clearing" individuals and agencies. The process of "clearing" is often said to produce a consensus at the least common denominator, the maximum shared value. Indeed, agreement at the least common denominator is the logical result of bargaining between equals—be they individuals or agencies. However, the bargaining involved in the "clearing" process is often not between equals.

Vertically, the power structure of the Embassy chain of command is clearly hierarchical. Individuals higher on the chain can refuse to "clear" information selected by persons below them and are able to sanction or reward these individuals. In contrast, individuals lower on the chain of command have no power *vis-a-vis* those above them. "Clearing" vertically is not a bargaining process between equals. Rather, it is a process whereby a comparatively small number of individuals (relative to the number of FSOs engaged in reporting) can exercise decisive control over the content of information to be communicated. This is clearly not the situation of least common denominator compromise, rather one of potential or actual *diktat*.

"Clearing" horizontally between agencies and sections

also often involves a disproportion of bargaining power. Relatively greater power is in the hands of the agency or section granting "clearance" since it is able to withhold the desired objective ("clearance") unless the changes it demands are made in the information to be communicated. The only power which the initiating agency has over the "clearing" agency or section is the implicit threat of demanding reciprocal treatment in the future. This is an empty threat, however, in cases where the "clearing" agency or section does not submit its own reports for "clearance."

The present process of "clearing," both vertically through the chain of command and horizontally between sections or agencies, is a mechanism of information selection characterized by the inequality of bargaining power between the initiator of reports and the "clearing" individuals or agencies. This disproportion of power allows a comparatively small number of (or single) individuals or agencies to exercise an important, and perhaps decisive, control over information to be communicated. The possibility of bias or "conventional wisdom" taking hold in such a system controlled by few is obvious.

Michaud's Mistake

Functionally, the present Foreign Service reporting system consists of various levels of selection of data and interpretations. While ideally the reporting officer and "clearing" system are supposed to produce a detached and objective product, the present reporting system, by its elimination of alternative data and interpretations, is functionally a process of advocacy.

At first glance, then, it would seem that Michaud, in suggesting that the FSO become an advocate rather than an observer, was calling for only more of what already exists. Michaud, however, in making his recommendation, was evidently not referring to the *functioning* of the reporting system, rather he was focusing on the FSO's *philosophy* of what constitutes his proper role. The maladies of the present reporting system, however, will not be corrected by a change in the philosophy of FSOs. Indeed, there is good reason for assuming that the present philosophy of detached observation is one of the few factors which lessen the tendencies toward bias inherent in the present reporting system.

The Solution

The shortcomings in the present system of reporting will be overcome only when there are changes in the functioning of the system. Michaud's proposals for altering the present "clearing" process are useful in this regard. The elimination of "clearing" in favor of a "coordination" system in which alternative data and interpretations could be spelled out would be a great advance. As Michaud suggested, the persons, agencies, or sections through which the report would be "coordinated" could place their dissenting views on a separate attachment to the report rather than altering its contents. This system would permit a wider range of alternative interpretations to reach the decision-makers in Washington, and would present a less deceiving picture of a situation by eliminating the specious image of authoritativeness which often emerges from the con-

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Dezinformatsiya as a secret weapon of governments and methods of circulating same

Forgery in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATALIE GRANT

Miss Grant, a former FSO, has in recent years been studying communist misinformation techniques. She has published articles and monographs on the subject (among them, "The 'Zinoviev Letter' Case" in SOVIET STUDIES of October, 1967; and "Soviet Diplomatic Maneuvers: an Episode in the History of the Far Eastern Republic," Research Institute on the Sino-Soviet Bloc). She is now working on a book on "Disinformation, the Secret Weapon."

IN May, 1969, *NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO*, an outstanding Russian language daily published in New York, carried a letter stating that the author (S. Woyciechowski), through association in the 1920s with a "white" emigre group in Europe (the so-called "Kutepov organization") had come across innumerable documents received from Moscow over secret channels, and that these documents later proved to be forgeries serving as tools "of Soviet provocation and deceit." The letter then suggested that all documents coming clandestinely from Russia be treated with extreme caution as they too could be forgeries.

The forged material to which the letter refers is a part of the so-called "misinformation" technique.

"Misinformation"—or "dezinformatsiya" to use the Russian term—has long been known in military doctrine. It now applies in international politics. The Moscow "Politicheskii Slovar" (Gospolitizdat, 1958) edited by B. N. Ponomarev, defines the word: "dezinformatsiya is the intentional presentation of inaccurate information with the aim of leading someone astray." Experts on our side of the Iron Curtain see "dezinformatsiya" as false, incomplete or misleading information passed, fed or confirmed to a targeted individual, group or country.

Misinformation should not be confused with propaganda, which is biased information circulated by an identified source. A slanted TASS communique is labeled TASS. All know that it mirrors the Soviet viewpoint. But misinformation appears under the guise of objective truth and masks the origin of the message by a false source.

The channels circulating misinformation vary, depending on the target and objective of the initiator. Misinformation appears even in scholarly studies. Victor Alexandrov, an author of some renown in France, wrote a biography of Nikita Khrushchev entitled "Khrushchev the Ukrainian." Analysis of this work has shown that some fifty per cent of the reference material he cites is false. Yet he hoodwinked United States officials sufficiently to have the forged biography briefly placed on the recommended reading list for United States Government personnel.

Forged political documents occupy a place of honor among channels of misinformation, but serious analysts have given them little attention. Single cases of political forging and misinformation, the parent technique, have been examined with greater or lesser skill. The Memorial allegedly submitted to the Japanese Throne in 1927 by General Giichi Tanaka, Premier of Japan, awakened interest in political literature since it contained what

was purported to be Japan's plan to crush the United States, conquer India, Asia Minor, and even Europe. Much ink was also spilled over the so-called "Zinoviev letter" that still remains in the public eye. Neither of these forged documents has ever been thoroughly researched or analyzed.

Political forgeries take the form of official acts, circulars, instructions, minutes of meetings, memoranda, or letters exchanged between officials. Among them are resolutions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as classified State Department directives, secret cables to Washington sent by ambassadors, and Moscow communications to agents abroad.

By Soviet definition, a forgery is a document in which the genuine has been replaced by the false and the authentic by the imaginary. We consider that any text that has been altered even slightly is a fabrication. But seldom is a document completely forged. Accurate information or information viewed as true by the target must appear in the text to give it credence. The Tanaka Memorial deceived public opinion because it reflected aspirations already attributed by rumor to the Japanese.

To succeed, a political forger usually selects a subject of vital interest to the target. Only then is the forgery likely to produce an effect. In 1925, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE carried a Comintern "instruction" to a mysterious "Executive Committee of the Northern United States of America" which showed Moscow to be spending large funds "to paint the United States red." Fabricated by Soviet agent Druzhelovskii in Berlin, the document contained serious factual errors obvious to

readers lacking experience in Soviet affairs. So great, however, was American concern over Moscow that the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, blinded by its interest in the subject, purchased the forgery.

Forged material plays on wishful thinking, a weakness often encountered among observers. False evidence confirms the target's hopes. The early 1920s illustrate the point. Moscow aimed at preventing Western Europe from interfering in Soviet affairs. While discussing plans for an armed intervention against Moscow, political leaders in Western Europe lived in the hope that internal tension would cause the Soviet regime to collapse. It was then that false reports from Russia led the West to believe that a Monarchist Association (MOTSr), an important opposition group, was planning to overthrow the communist regime. Western observers (members of the British, Polish, and other intelligence services and government officials) were only too happy to accept the story. Some even met MOTSR representatives who were actually Soviet agents masquerading as monarchists, and accepted from them abundant material, containing just as abundant misinformation, on conditions in Russia.

The interest of a political forgery lies in the source which set it afloat rather than in the identity of the technician who forged the document or in the circumstances under which it was forged. To learn that an emigre in the presence of his pregnant wife forged the "Zinoviev Letter" and that a reception at "Berlin's most fashionable restaurant, Monico's" followed the fabrication, may add piquancy to the tale but is merely a colorful smoke-screen diverting attention from a vital issue—the reason for the fabrication. The "Letter's" travels from office to office, the signatures, the letterhead, all underwent minute scrutiny, but the forgery was hardly ever examined in the proper perspective.

The Tanaka Memorial is another case where minor details were analyzed, but no effort was made to study important factors—the timing, errors of logic, and the forger's role in international relations.

A suspect document—and here we side with Soviet scholars—must be examined in "indissoluble relationship" with its place in history; in other words, against the political background existing at the time of its appearance.

But what political material should be considered suspect? First on the list is any document alleged to have originated in a highly guarded milieu where documents are closely protected, for example, the Politburo or the United States President's personal files. Also suspect are documents that show errors of logic in the text or those that transmit information that should already be in the hands of the addressee.

The timing of a suspect document often sheds light on the motive for the forging. For example, the forged "Politburo resolutions" circulated in Europe in the mid-thirties coincided with the communist effort to launch a popular front; the aim of the forgery was to change the image of the Comintern and the Soviet Government.

A trait remarkable in many political forgeries of recent years is their direct or indirect link with Moscow. To the question: whom does this profit? Soviet foreign policy is almost invariably the answer. Raymond L. Garthoff, an authority on Soviet military doctrine, notes

that Soviet interest and accomplishment in deception are traits characteristic of military operations as well as Soviet political affairs.

Time and again political forgeries have been traced to Moscow or to Soviet agencies operating outside Russia. Soviet services in Moscow supplied the MOTSR forgeries of the twenties, and today Moscow sources confirm the fact. Druzhelovski, a Soviet agent, produced the Comintern instruction published by the CHICAGO TRIBUNE and other similar material. Both sets of forgeries helped Soviet foreign policy.

Well-founded suspicions involving Moscow exist about a number of other forgeries. Serious evidence leads to Moscow in the "Zinoviev letter" affair. So do certain facts in the Tanaka Memorial case. One of the sources that furnished "Politburo resolutions" to the German authorities is known to have been close to Soviet agencies. Extensive scholarly research is needed, of course, before a final conclusion can be reached on the origin of these forgeries.

The doctrine supported by the Soviet government is largely responsible for this Soviet penchant for forged material as a tool in foreign policy. Lenin's "left wing communism: an infantile disorder" dominates Moscow's actions. This "encyclopaedia on the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement" as it is described by Soviet scholars, recommends stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, evasions, and subterfuges to the communist, and suggests that military techniques be transferred to politics. Leninism thus paves the way for the introduction into political relations of methods which in the past belonged to military tactics, such as misinformation, camouflage, and the utilization of forgeries.

The use of these new methods has created a new "socialist" art of diplomacy that differs from the diplomacy practiced by non-communist countries. The United States regards diplomacy as a method of adjusting international relations by harmonious means in the interest of the country practicing the method. In Moscow's eyes, diplomacy is a method of advancing the cause of the ruling class of the country practicing the method, that is, in the case of the Soviet Union—the communist cause. It follows that diplomacy influences the international environment in the interest of the "toilers" and "socialist" foreign policy aims at provoking dissent and conflicts in the enemy camp. As expressed by Lenin, "if we are obliged to put up with scoundrels such as the capitalists, each of whom is ready to knife us, it is our prime duty to make them turn their knives against each other." In this effort forgeries have become a major instrument.

The conviction that deceit, camouflage, and forgery belong in the field of intelligence rather than politics may explain the indifference of scholars toward the study of forged political material. The technical aspects of forging and the selection of agents and channels for the circulation of forged material have, for many years been subordinate to Soviet security services. The London WHITEHALL GAZETTE AND ST. JAMES REVIEW reported as early as 1926 that the GPU foreign department was engaged in falsifying "all kinds of documents of a financial, governmental, and political nature." Many sources have confirmed this report and it seems

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"Some outsiders say that we cannot do the job from within. Implicit in my remarks today is the conviction that this is wrong."

—William B. Macomber, Jr.

Reform from within:

The Importance of Attitudes

IN conducting State Department personnel on a *tour d'horizon* of deficiencies and needed reforms of the Department, Deputy Under Secretary William B. Macomber, Jr., displayed an impressive knowledge of the terrain. He rightly pointed out that not only is skilled personnel needed, but also organizational reform, deep seated changes in procedures, conditions of service and attitudes. He emphasized that "changes in tables of organization are never final and never finally solve basic management problems. More fundamental to management success are: first, the attitudes and approach that managers at all levels bring to their jobs and instill in those about them; and second, the management tools we are continually developing and making available throughout our organization."

As an instance of this, one might look at the Foreign Service entrance requirements. Far from constituting a management tool, they completely ignore the organizational dimension of foreign policy and diplomacy. No candidate for the Service is required to have the vaguest glimmer of it.

State's attitude is that whatever officers need to know about the foreign affairs establishment they can learn on the job. This is General Electric's and General Motors' position. They tell prospective applicants to acquire a good college education and that they will learn about the organization, its operations and problems once employed. But is not our calling more akin to a profession than to the manufacturing and sale of refrigerators and automobiles, so that candidates should know at least something about it as well as having a sound general undergraduate education?

Private companies swiftly and systematically train newly employed personnel. Our attitude, on the contrary, is that knowledge of the Department, the Service and the foreign affairs community in Washington is not really necessary. Hence, the Department neither orients the newcomer in depth nor provides special courses to all officers at various stages of their careers. We take the same position in the orientation of novitiates as we take in entrance requirements: they need not be well prepared about problems; they need not be forewarned; they will learn little by little, assignment by assignment, experience by experience. They will grope, make unnecessary mistakes, acquire all sorts of limited and parochial impressions and opinions, pick up all sorts of prejudices and fancies. But never mind. They will "learn." Our attitude is such that we receive applicants as amateurs in the organizational dimension of foreign policy and diplomacy, and we turn them out to their first assignments still as babes in the wood.

Twice in the last eight years I have sat through our "orientation" of newly commissioned officers. The first was on my own initiative. Horrified as an oral examiner to find how little successful candidates know about the bare bones of the organization to which they apply for admission, I felt

SMITH SIMPSON

As a Foreign Service officer, the author served in both diplomatic and consular posts, concluding his overseas assignments as Consul General in Lourenco Marques. He is currently chairing a group of scholars and diplomatic officers to study diplomacy, define it and encourage college instruction in it.

I should find out whether this gap might be filled by our induction process. So I attended "The Basic Officers Course." That was in 1962. The gap was not filled.

Three years later I was called back as a full-time consultant to put in a year of searching inquiry into some of our basic personnel problems. One was morale. We decided to tackle this through case studies of one manifestation—the drop-out of promising young officers.

This led to similar studies of young officers who had not dropped out but were considerably frustrated. These probes strongly indicated that one source of low morale centered on a total lack of preparation for the environment of our diplomatic organization. So, again, I audited our orientation course; with the rotation of officers, it undergoes a perpetual tinkering; and to make any recommendation one had to be thoroughly *au courant*. Little had changed. It was improved in some areas but not in teaching the environment of the nation's diplomatic corps. Both the materials and the lecturers dealt with our organization and its functioning in gingerly generalities. There was lacking a hard, realistic analysis of the problems that a diplomatic establishment presents to formulators of foreign policy and practitioners of diplomacy. At no point were the crucial organizational, operational and personnel problems frankly laid out and dissected.

Just as in diplomacy we approach disagreeable matters in a way to allay their unpleasant features, so in orientation we play down the unpleasantness of our establishment. No one leveled with the young officers; consequently they encountered the disagreeable problems with bewilderment and sometimes with shock.

If it is expecting too much of government officials to tell the facts straight for fear of quotation reaching superiors or Congressmen, then at least neophytes can be required to read some of the material that is written from independent vantage points—material that tries to tell the truth. Neither of the orientation courses that I attended had a reading list of such material. However, shortly after my second exposure, an officer took over the course and produced one. It was of recommended, not required, reading, however. No survey was undertaken or even a show of hands requested

to indicate to what extent any of the reading was done. Orientation, I might add, has traditionally exacted no evening study. It has been strictly a 9:00 to 5:30 proposition.

One of the interesting points made by Mr. Macomber in his January 14 address was that various studies of the establishment over the last quarter century have been "very helpful," "reflected a great deal of thinking" and provided "much preparatory work" for reforms. If so, why have they not been made required reading by every officer? Does not the attitude to which such a lapse attests, suggest that reform from within lacks a broad base of study and understanding? As a result, will not such changes as may be effected in the next few years, as have so many in the past, wither away as soon as their producers are rotated?

One positive impact this lapse does have is to convey to every officer the impression that we do not have serious problems, or, if we do, they are not problems for Foreign Service officers. They are for someone else—"administrative types," for instance. As Mr. Macomber said, "Management has not been our bag." A deeply embedded attitude has made it this way and it will continue so until orientation, education and training are designed to root it out.

These lapses, of course, explain why officers must rely on their own experiences in judging the nature of the Service and the Department. Experience is the yardstick in identifying problems and suggesting alternative solutions. Hence the existence of as many images of the Department and Service as types of officers and experiences. These myriad conceptions, their contradictions and the confusion bred by them are a fertile source of frustration, poor morale, inadequate testimony before Congressional committees and glib replies to Presidents who ask what is wrong with the Department and are told by one of us: "You are." How much reform can such an establishment nurture and carry out for how long a time?

The Department has aggravated this situation by failing to conduct research on organizational and personnel problems, either in the Department or contracting for it to be done on the outside. There is a notable exception: when William J. Crockett was Deputy Undersecretary for Administration. Mr. Crockett tried to do something along this line.

Under the inspiration of Crockett, John E. Harr, author of "The Professional Diplomat," when an officer of the Department initiated as a personal project a questionnaire addressed to FSOs to ascertain their views, attitudes and motivations with respect to their calling. The Junior Foreign Service Officers Club has also done this once with junior officers. The only examination in depth of attitudes of which I am aware, however, was that done through the case studies mentioned above and that exercise proved of short duration. Does not all this say a great deal of the seriousness of our interest in this factor which germinates many of our personnel and organizational problems?

But does this situation not say something of the depth of Department officers' interest in the germination of problems that continue to plague the organization? It does. Also, continuous research and planning are obviously essential.

One of our attitudes strongly inclines us to pragmatism. We depend so heavily upon information gained on the run, instinct and hunch, that we are something less than profound. Indeed, we boast that diplomats are born, not made, and we, of course, pride ourselves on being diplomats, not "organization men," planners, researchers or managers. We say that foreign policy and diplomacy are essentially political processes and hence involve simply the art of the possible. We shrug off the suggestion that diplomacy may contain scientific elements by saying, irrelevantly, that it can never be "an exact science." So we are much given to tinkering. This is why so much "reform" developed from within is just that. We call it reform but it is generally pragmatic juggling and adjusting.

Another attitude that handicaps genuine reform by ourselves is a distrust of "outsiders." We view the State Department and Foreign Service as wholly *sui generis*. So we feel little is to be gained from engaging management consultants, scholars or almost anybody outside the clan. This is why every reform that has involved a "public advisory board" has withered away as soon as its innovator disappeared. Those "modern practices in public administration" which the Foreign Service Act of 1946 extolled and which were intended to be applied sweepingly to the diplomatic establishment were applied only fragmentarily and spasmodically until William J. Crockett made his great push from 1963 to 1967. We simply do not trust those who can best advise us on "modern practices in public administrations." Until this distrust is rigorously rooted out of officers through suitable educational and training devices, reform from within will never prosper.

Some of the reforms now proposed may fail to take adequate account of attitudes and wind up not as advances but regressions. For example, the proposed five-category personnel system. One of the categories is to be consular, separate from the political and economic staffs. Its officers, generally speaking, will be expected to serve only as consular officers—i.e., "consular specialists"—and will be assigned, judged and promoted as such. This reflects an attitude long extant in our establishment that consular work is concerned only with passports, visas, protection and welfare and can be divorced from other work. This, indeed, is how the "consular" part of our orientation for new officers is structured. The divorce has thus become embedded in our attitudes from the start of our careers.



But consular work has from time immemorial been political, informational, cultural, economic and commercial. Other nations so view it, and every other nation uses its consular posts accordingly. If for no reason other than to get our money's worth from our consular posts, we must go conduct ours. This demands consular officers of as good background and instincts in political and other areas as political officers, and with just as thorough a familiarity with our foreign policies and diplomacy. Is it conceivable that such officers will be content to serve only in consular posts? It is not to me. If they are capable in a consular position, I would expect them to want other assignments in their careers.

Such a system conjures to my mind the problems, including morale, that afflicted us prior to 1924, when we had two overseas services, diplomatic and consular. True enough, the proposal now is not to return to separate services. The categories or "tracks" are to be developed within a single service. But do we have clearly in mind the ease with which prejudice and morale mischief lurk in diplomatic passports, diplomatic immunities, tours of duty limited to capitals, and hobnobbing with the leading, "elite" personalities to be found in national capitals? These were some of the subtleties

(Continued on page 47)

"I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments."—Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson's Last Special Agent to Mexico

FROM his inauguration in March, 1913, until the completion of his second term Woodrow Wilson was troubled by diplomatic problems arising from a social revolution that had begun in Mexico in 1910. On frequent occasions Wilson had bypassed official channels of the State Department and dispatched special agents whom he thought he could trust to provide him with an accurate on-the-scene observation and analysis of the intricate web of cross-currents inherent in that revolution. These confidential agents more often than not were non-career diplomatic personnel whose understanding of Mexico varied sharply from satisfactory to ignorant. A major criterion for appointment was personal friendship and service to the Democratic Party or agreement with Wilson's policies. The credulity and incompetence of some of these men Wilson did not seem to question.

Wilson's Mexican problem had commenced with a question of diplomatic recognition (that of Victoriano Huerta) and ended with a similar issue. In the spring of 1920 a coup d'état had overthrown President Venustiano Carranza whom Wilson had reluctantly granted *de jure* recognition three years earlier. The interim government of Adolfo de la Huerta (and official presidential candidate Alvaro Obregón) proved conciliatory towards the United States and eagerly sought *de facto* recognition.

Washington, however, was not prepared to act hastily. The Mexican problem by 1920 had

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broadened for both countries. For Mexico mere political reform had been expanded into socio-economic goals. In the United States Wilson's theory of constitutional legitimacy had blossomed into the larger pic-

ture of the claims of injury and death to American citizens and damage to their property as a consequence of a decade of revolutionary turmoil. Moreover, the wording of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 suggested an expropriation policy that seemed to threaten all existing property of foreigners in the country whether it had been legitimately acquired or not.

Carranza's fall from power temporarily eliminated the bugbear for Washington on the issues of diplomatic claims and valid property rights of American citizens. Tensions were eased, but for the



George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information during World War I

United States at least certain obstacles remained to handicap the resumption of normal diplomatic relations. Washington would postpone recognition of the interim government until a four point package was accepted by Mexico City: 1) internal order and stability were to be restored; 2) indemnities to foreigners for injustices and claims established; 3) financial obligations of governments prior and subsequent to 1910 assumed; and 4) no retroactive application of Article 27 of the Constitution for the arbitrary confiscation of privately owned property.

Mexico City expressed its willingness to accept the State Department's recommendations, and Obregón's election to the Presidency in September hastened its efforts to initiate formal proceedings toward recognition before the American election in November. Although Obregón would not take office for his four year term until December 1st, Mexico City regarded the *de facto* recognition of the interim de la Huerta government as an important precedent for such recognition being automatically granted to Obregón. The American political scene was obviously considered. As an outgoing President, Wilson had nothing to lose by granting recognition while a Republican victory in November, as indicated by Senator Albert B. Fall and other antagonists of Mexico, might mean much harsher demands and possibly intervention. It was imperative that Obregón, who advocated a policy of pacification and reconstruction of his war-torn country, eventually receive the recognition of the major powers which held the domestic capital Mexico needed for investment and reconstruction.

As the November election drew near, Wilson was urged by friends to salvage some respect for his Mexican policy. In late September campaign supporter Henry Morgenthau, Sr., emphasized a changing attitude in Mexico towards the United States and alluded to political advantages to be derived from restoring diplomatic relations. Simultaneously George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information (CPI) during World War I, was approached for a similar purpose in early October by

Roberto Pesqueira, a "dear friend" and de la Huerta's representative in Washington. A high level conference was held by mid-October in which Creel agreed to visit Mexico City as Wilson's confidential agent. Creel's understanding of the Mexican problem was perhaps as satisfactory as might be expected. The CPI had maintained a branch in Mexico, and Creel probably made reference to his distant cousin, once a Governor and a cabinet official in the latter days of the Porfirio Díaz regime. Creel's motivations, however, were more personal in that he wished to vindicate Wilson's policies. He hoped by his mission to thwart the Republicans in their platform pledged to a firm stand on Mexico and to remove the sting of American oil interests in Mexico, the most powerful lobby in the United States demanding intervention in Mexican affairs and non-recognition of any government unfavorable to their interests.

Creel met with the faction in power and reached agreement within one week on the terms Wilson required for recognition. By October 26th the Mexican representative Pesqueira delivered a letter to the State Department basically encompassing the four points in question mentioned above. Pesqueira was empowered to sign a protocol between the two countries if the United States were to resume formal diplomatic relations. The Department responded favorably and drew up a memorandum based on the letter of October 26th, and Pesqueira signed it. This information was released to the press by October 30th.

No action, however, was taken on the memorandum, and the negotiations which had been slowly progressing toward de la Huerta's recognition were suddenly cancelled. Creel returned to Washington dismayed and irritated at their collapse for which he blamed jealousy in the State Department at his success and renewed attacks by the lobbying American oil interests in Washington.

In the State Department other reasons were given. Consular reports from Mexico in early November indicated a revival of banditry. A circular from Mexico City to its diplomatic personnel abroad caused

concern in Washington because it rejected the acceptance of any preconditions for recognition from the United States. Although Mexico City was undoubtedly attempting to refute charges of unconditional surrender to the United States, the State Department was skeptical of the sincerity of de la Huerta (and Obregón).

Wilson concurred in the Department's inaction. Devoting his attention to Europe after 1917, he had allowed the Secretary of State and the Division of Mexican Affairs to consider Mexico's problems. Wilson likewise had grown considerably cautious toward any involvement in the southern republic. Both he and Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby were suspicious of the continuous agitation of American interests for diplomatic interposition, and disgusted with the members of the administration who had resigned to join the staff of the American oil companies in Mexico.

It is conceivable then that Creel was too successful in reaching an immediate agreement. Wilson and Colby apparently believed Creel had either misrepresented Washington's position or had credulously accepted promises from Mexico City. Colby maintained that Pesqueira's letter of October 26th could serve only as the basis for a preliminary step toward recognition, and not recognition itself. In an interview in April, 1921, with Harding's Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, Wilson admitted that he had not found any hope of improvement in relations between the two countries.

The hesitation and delay in Washington in early November and the Republican electoral victory doomed de la Huerta's chances for recognition. Within a few weeks his successor, Obregón, entered office to painstakingly reopen channels for negotiations. Wilson's three remaining months in Washington brought no change in the status quo. The prestige for a settlement of the outstanding controversies between the two countries since 1910 went to the Republican administration—but only after a tedious two-and-a-half year prolongation until Obregón was recognized in August, 1923, and diplomatic relations with Mexico were finally normalized. ■

Roger Cunningham traveled far but his later travels required no passport

The Cunningham Saga

KATHERINE H. RAMSEY

Mrs. Ramsey joined the Department in 1940 when it had 1200 employees, as a fugitive from the teaching profession. During the ensuing years, she was involved in the Departmental end of consular work. She spent a considerable portion of World War II (after turning down a commission in the Lady Marines) in helping keep the men in the Foreign Service out of the Armed Forces (90% successful). Before retiring in January of this year, Mrs. Ramsey was liaison between other Federal agencies; in the United States and the Foreign Service posts.

I HAD not thought about Roger for years, and might never have thought of him again, had I not seen in a recent issue of TIME an obituary of his nephew and namesake, a prominent New York businessman and philanthropist. It brought back to me that July day in 1943 when I returned from lunch to find Roger on my desk in the Department.

I did not know at first, of course, that it was Roger. What I saw was a heavy package about 14 by 14 by 18 inches, wrapped in brown paper and addressed to Jonathan B. Porter, Esq., American Foreign Service Officer, in care of the Department. The postmark showed it had been sent from Smithville, Nebraska.

A check of the records showed Jonathan Porter to be assigned to the American Consulate General at Vladivostok, USSR; and I was about to forward the package to the mail room to be transmitted to Jonathan in the Soviet Union when my better judgment reminded me that before I sent the package halfway around the world, I had better check to make sure it really should go. And well I did!

Peering into a break in the brown paper, I found that the package contained a polished mahogany box, in the center top of which was affixed an oblong silver plaque. By tearing the paper a bit more, I could see the inscription: "Roger Woodrow Cunningham, 1858-1941."

I started then on a quest to find out who Roger was, how he arrived on my desk, and where he was to go. It was nearly a month before I was able to unravel the mystery completely. As the story unfolds, you will understand the necessity for using fictitious names, for Roger's family is an old and prominent one. The facts, however, are authentic.

I shall not go into the details of how I tracked down the facts, searching through old files, corresponding at length with Foreign Service posts, talking with officers in the Department, slowly putting two and two together, and coming out finally with the whole saga of Roger and his globe-trotting adventures. With the pieces sorted out and arranged chronologically, the story finally emerged. Ordinarily, cases such as Roger's just don't happen. But with a world at war, anything can be expected.

To start at the beginning, in 1924 Roger, then about 66 years old, decided to join that group of rich Ameri-

cans who choose to live out their declining years abroad. Switzerland appealed to him and, being well endowed with this world's goods, he set up an establishment there, where he enjoyed life for many years. Came rumors of war. Many of Roger's friends, gathering up their treasures, ran for home. But Roger stayed on. After all, an octogenarian in poor health does not lightly uproot himself.

Then, in November of 1941, the frail old man succumbed to pneumonia. As is customary when an American citizen dies abroad without the presence of next of kin or someone legally empowered to act, a consular officer took temporary charge and cabled Roger's brother for instructions. The brother cabled back that he wished Roger cremated and the ashes returned to New York City.

So far, the story was clear, but where had Roger been between his death in November 1941 and that day in July 1943 when he appeared on my desk?

By the time the consular officer had Roger ready to be shipped home, we were at war. How to send Roger back to the United States? Various plans were discussed and discarded. The problem was not resolved until April, 1942 when, to the relief of the consular officer (who was by now more than eager to be relieved of the responsibility for Roger), transfer orders arrived for Consul Alexander W. Finley. The orders specified that Mr. Finley, together with his wife and effects, was to proceed to Washington immediately for a three-year

assignment in the Division of European Affairs in the Department. What better than to have Mr. Finley bring Roger along as part of his effects?

The Finleys arranged to proceed by car from Switzerland across Southern France and Spain to Lisbon, where they would board a plane for New York. Household goods were crated and shipped, farewell parties were attended, and one morning Mr. and Mrs. Finley, in an old-fashioned open touring car, left for Portugal, the back seat piled with personal belongings—and Roger, who should have gone into a packing case, but had been overlooked.

All went well until the travelers were almost across Spain. The roads were narrow and twisting at that particular point, night was coming on, and there had been a shower. Consul Finley miscalculated on a turn, the car skidded, slid against a culvert, and came to rest at a tilt. Luckily, it had been going fairly slowly, so that neither Mr. nor Mrs. Finley was injured beyond minor bruise. Many of the contents of the back seat, however, were scattered down a ravine.

A score of local inhabitants, attracted by the crash, righted the car and assisted the Finleys in retrieving their belongings. With less than an hour's delay, they were on their way again.

About ten minutes later, Mrs. Finley suddenly said, "Alex, I don't remember seeing anyone put Roger back in the car!"

A quick check of the load confirmed the horrible fact. There was nothing to do but return to the scene of the accident. With the help of a flashlight, Roger was located, partially hidden under a bush, where he had slid when the car tilted. Back into the car he went, and on to Lisbon without further misadventure.

At Lisbon, Roger was squeezed into one of the crates of furniture to be loaded into the hold of the ship leaving shortly for New York. Mr and Mrs. Finley drew a sigh of relief and proceeded to forget Roger, settling down to enjoy a day or two in Lisbon before the plane on which they were to fly to New York was due to take off.

Alas, their relief was premature, for there arrived at the Embassy a set of amended travel orders. Consul Finley would not proceed to Washington for duty in the Department; he would proceed instead directly to Sydney, Australia, for duty in the American Consulate General there. The United States Despatch Agent in New York would arrange to have the household effects transferred in New York, from the ship on which they would arrive from Lisbon, to an Australia-bound ship. The Finleys themselves would arrange to proceed directly to Australia by the Eastern route, without coming to the United States.

"Good Lord!" said Mrs. Finley, "What about Roger?"

What about Roger indeed. It proved impossible for the Despatch Agent in New York to obtain access to the crate, which was in due course put on a ship for Australia. The ship made its way safely through the submarine zones, to dock finally, several weeks later, in Sydney. But after the unloading, the crate containing Roger could not be found.

Four months later, the wife of another consular officer at Sydney said to Mrs. Finley, "Madge, I was

down on the dock today and saw a crate over at the back of the loading shed. Could it be your missing one?"

Investigation proved it was indeed the missing crate, which had somehow been left behind in the transshipping operation in New York, and had been put on a later ship. Roger took up residence in Mr. Finley's office in Sydney, having at one point been as close to his home in New York as the docks at Hoboken. The problem of getting him to his waiting relatives was as acute as ever.

About that time, Vice Consul Porter arrived in Sydney, following a series of harrowing experiences in getting himself and a group of Americans out of an East Indian port just ahead of the invading Japanese army. Soon after his arrival in Sydney, Vice Consul Porter received orders to proceed to Washington for consultation, prior to traveling via Siberia to his new assignment in the American Consulate General at Vladivostok. He had permission to spend two weeks en route at his father's home in Nebraska, the first time he had seen his family in some years. The earliest means of travel was by troop transport, bound for San Francisco after bringing a load of soldiers to Australia. Passage was arranged for Mr. Porter, and the Finleys thankfully gave Roger into his charge. It was by now late spring of 1943, and Roger had been ashes for almost a year and a half.

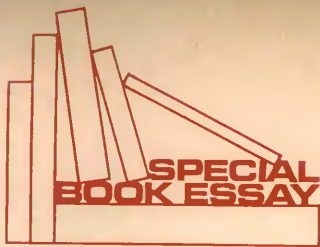
In San Francisco, Mr. Porter was met by an old friend. Since it was Mr. Porter's intention to travel fast and light to Nebraska, he asked the friend to send the personal luggage by express to Smithville, Nebraska and to express Roger to the Department. The friend, however, was the procrastinating type, and it was several days before he realized that he really should do something about it. He made the decision while well into a cocktail party, and rushed off to take care of the matter right away, a most laudable step, except that he sent Mr. Porter's personal luggage to Washington and Roger to Nebraska.

Meanwhile, Mr. Porter haunted the Smithville express office in vain. Finally he had to leave, but he told his father that when the luggage arrived, as it no doubt would in time, it should be sent to him in Washington at once. Upon his arrival in Washington, Mr. Porter was pleased to find his personal effects, just arrived from California, awaiting him. Glad as he was to get them, however, he was concerned at Roger's absence.

The day following Mr. Porter's departure from home, a box had arrived for him at Smithville, and his father, assuming it to be the missing personal effects, readdressed it to Washington and sent it on its way. Upon its arrival in the Department, Mr. Porter thankfully recognized it, drew a sigh of relief, and told the mail room what it contained.

The mail room, consulting its distribution list, exclaimed, "Aha! Remains of an American who died abroad. That would be handled in the Division of Foreign Service Administration."

And that is how Roger arrived on my desk, just one year and eight months after his death in Switzerland. A telegram to his brother resulted in a reply which asked me to send Roger to his home town. I sent him, express collect, to his waiting relatives; and so far as I know, he still rests in his family mausoleum, in peace at last, I trust, after his wanderings. ■



Two Images of the Nation State System

THE INSECURITY OF NATIONS: *International Relations in the Twentieth Century*, by Charles Yost. Praeger.

THE INEQUALITY OF STATES: *A Study of the Small Power in International Relations*, by David Vital. Clarendon Press.

Reviewed by
Frank Ralph Golino

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Deputy Under Secretary of the Department of State, observed in a public address on January 14, 1970, that: "In the decades remaining in this century relations among nations will offer greater opportunity and greater peril to the occupants of this earth than ever before." Both of these books address themselves to this national security paradox of the Twentieth Century but from opposite ends of the telescope. Both authors are "practitioners" as well as analysts of international relations; both have been involved in the formulation and execution of the foreign policies of their respective countries, which are among the largest and smallest of state actors in the international system.

Ambassador Yost is a distinguished member of the American Foreign Service. His repeated association with the United Nations, which began at Dumbarton Oaks in 1945, was culminated by his appointment as United States Representative to the United Nations in January 1969. From 1966 to 1969 he was a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, which is the sponsor of his study.

Mr. Vital is a member of the Israel Government Service who was awarded a year's leave of absence in 1965-66 to prepare his study at St. Anthony's College, Oxford. The diverse nationalities of these two foreign affairs specialists is perhaps the causative explanation for the remarkable divergence of their perspectives concerning the nation-state system.

While Vital equates insecurity with inequality, Ambassador Yost is not as concerned with the inequalities of international relations as he is with the

insecurity of the global system. Ambassador Yost's world is a world dominated by the two super powers. It is a world in which Europe, the Far East and the so-called Third World are the three principal arenas of conflict for the United States and the Soviet Union. He expresses concern that despite the enormous technological and other progress in human affairs during the past half century man is as insecure if not more insecure than ever. He notes that wars are still fought in the name of national security and that the means statesmen and soldiers use to promote national security "do more on the whole to promote insecurity." In this regard he believes that human nature and habits, scientific progress, traditional nationalism, nuclear weapons, new political ideologies (faiths) and systems, and economic change and expectations all play their part in the insecurity of nations. But, the primary cause of the insecurity of nations is, according to Ambassador Yost, "the very attribute on which nations pride themselves most—their sovereign independence, their 'sacred egoism,' their insubordination to any interest broader or higher than their own. The tragic character of their condition lies, moreover, in their habitual failure to understand what their own interests really are, to recognize that the interests of all are in the modern world so bound together that those of one nation cannot be imperiled without all being imperiled." In other words, for Ambassador Yost international relations is a game of loaded billiard balls where states are constantly banging into each other and where the greater the number of states the greater the chances are that conflicts will occur which might destroy the entire system.

He therefore sees the assimilation of nation-states into a more coherent and functional international system as the only reliable escape from the insecurity of nations, indeed from eventual disaster. Such a system, based on the rule of law, implies the existence of "some impartial and effective international authority, expressing man's best instincts and common interests, designed and empowered to keep the peace, restrain aggressive governments, control national armaments, negotiate and enforce peaceful settlements, facilitate peaceful change, and assist new states to develop and modernize. When single states or coalitions take it upon themselves to perform these tasks in their own way, they inevitably raise up rival states or coalitions which insist on performing them otherwise."

While he rules out the possibility of

a pax Sovietica or pax Americana as intolerable and anachronistic, Ambassador Yost states that the solution he recommends depends on a significant measure of Great Power cooperation. In Southeast Asia and the Near East, for example: "What is necessary. . . is that both the Soviet Union and the United States, with their principal allies, should conclude (1) that the absence of more effective means of peace-keeping is creating unacceptable risks to their national interests, (2) that unilateral and competitive peace-keeping seems likely to magnify rather than reduce those risks, and (3) that a gradual reinforcement of multilateral peace-keeping through the United Nations offers a mutually acceptable and mutually manageable means of limiting those risks."

In sharp contrast, Vital sees the insecurity of the nation-state system not in the absence of great power cooperation or in the multiplicity of membership in the system but rather in size. "In other words the smaller the human and material resources of a state the greater are the difficulties it must surmount if it is to maintain any valid political options at all and, in consequence, the smaller the state the less viable it is as a genuinely independent member of the international community."

Vital's study successfully attempts, therefore, to answer three questions:

"(a) What are the practical consequences for the small power of the material inequality of states?

"(b) What are the limits of the small power's strength and, in particular, its capacity to withstand great external stresses?

"(c) Given its limited resources and the ease with which overwhelming strength can be marshalled against it, what national policies are open to the small power to pursue?"

Thus, while Ambassador Yost reflects a basic anxiety concerning the adequacy of existing collective security arrangements and for the preservation of international order as well as the existence of mankind, Vital is more concerned with the existence and freedom of the individual nation-state. His analysis of the political viability of the small state is cast in terms of "the isolated maverick, unaligned power, the small power *alone*—the state which can rely least on outside help and sympathy and which, by virtue of its situation, is compelled to make its own decision on the basis of its own understanding of that situation and such resources as are available to it."

Vital seems to agree with Yost's observation that the higher levels of most governments are not able easily

to gain a comprehensive view of the affairs of other states. He also concurs with Yost's view that "foreign relations continue for the most part to be conducted in a hurly-burly of hasty encounters." Vital adds, however, that the unending search for coherence impels the policy makers of large states to consider the problems of small states in the light of considerations which are not directly relevant to the small states and which they can only influence marginally. Vital is also critical of what he calls the "compulsion to view affairs in a very broad perspective where generalities count for very much more than details." He feels this puts the small states at a disadvantage since it ignores the highly differentiated circumstance in which each is placed. What Vital does not point out is that this is a two-sided argument since over-generalization can facilitate the gaining of consensus in a pluralistic society where foreign and other policies are determined through the competition of particular interests. It may be easier for countries such as the Republic of China or Israel to obtain military assistance from the United States if they are seen as "bastions of democracy" in their respective areas than it would be by pleading solely on the merits of their unique circumstances. It has been argued, for example, that President Truman may have exaggerated the Communist threat to Greece and Turkey in order to gain Congressional approval for economic and military assistance to these two countries.

In assessing the practical consequences for the small power of the material inequality of states Vital notes that with a smaller machinery of government and a narrower range of problems the small power can more easily attain coherence of policy. On the other hand, the preponderance of physical strength in the great power is "buttressed by inequality in the instruments of foreign policy and by a combination of indifference and deep-rooted reluctance to ascribe any practical significance to the doctrine of the legal equality of states." The margin of security available to great powers in proportion to their physical size and political influence is reduced almost to nought in the case of the small state. "In some respects the strategic problems facing the small power in conditions of conventional warfare are similar to those which would face all states in the event of nuclear war: There can be practically no recuperation from major defeat and very possibly none from major *attack* either." Vital points also to a set of practical military problems which grow in relative insolubility as the size

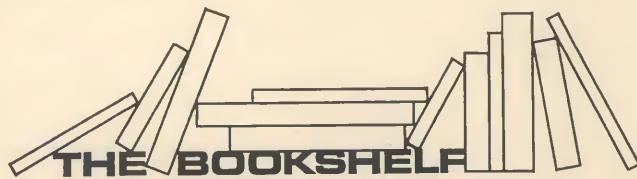
of the state diminishes. These include (a) those posed by the nature of modern weapons; and (b) those which arise out of the impossibility of maintaining a wholly autonomous defense industry.

Vital converges with Yost in observing that in all situations short of outright conflict, the modern defense establishment constitutes a source of weakness, an accentuation of the general vulnerability of the state, small or large. Citing a quotation from the *SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN*, Ambassador Yost observes, for example, that ever since shortly after World War II the military power of the United States has been steadily increasing while throughout this same period the national security of the United States has been rapidly diminishing. Despite this basic security dilemma, Vital argues that the small state "has the most profound reasons for attempting to offset limited numbers, limited supplies and small room for manoeuvre by acquiring weapons of the highest fire power, mobility and operational efficiency and which are consequently of the highest complexity and cost."

He cautions, however, that: "The small power can hope to operate freely within the limits set by two points:

"(a) the point at which it can safely maintain a defensive posture, i.e., effectively safeguard its status quo; and

"(b) the point at which it is likely to evoke excessive, counter-productive response."



United Nations Institutionalized

THE UNITED NATIONS AND HOW IT WORKS, revised edition, by David Cushman Coyle. Columbia University Press, \$7.50.

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, Volume I: Trygve Lie 1946-1953, edited by Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote. Columbia University Press, \$15.00.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, 1967, by Arthur Lall. Columbia University Press, \$10.00.

Although the number of books engendered by an institution is not always indicative of its importance, certainly there is some relation. After twenty-five years, the United Nations can look back on a wide number of volumes inspired by or growing out of

Thus, in analyzing the options which small powers have to pursue national policies, Vital concludes that with rare exceptions small powers are generally unable to inflict economic hardship on other states. It is equally difficult for the small state to maintain an effective military deterrent due to the asymmetry of relations between major and small states. Even the restricted number of highly industrialized small states which have the scientific, technological and economic capacity to acquire an autonomous nuclear force would face national suicide if they deployed such weapons against a major opponent. Nevertheless, "there may be circumstances—rare but not inconceivable and for which there are historic precedents—where anything less than a nuclear capability would invite conquest."

In summary, Vital's impression concerning the possibilities for survival of small politically isolated states is as disquieting as Ambassador Yost's view of the over-all international system. Both remain optimists, however, with Ambassador Yost placing his confidence in the strengthening of international cooperation through an improved United Nations and Mr. Vital relying on the cohesiveness and leadership capacity of the small state. If Ambassador Yost's hope for the revival and reinforcement of the United Nations is utopian or idealistic, then Vital is obviously the realist or Hans Morgenthau of small power politics.

it. Three books deserve a brief note:

"The United Nations and How it Works": A useful volume first put out in 1955, has been revised this year with an introduction by Arthur Goldberg. It is probably the most useful single handbook about the United Nations and has run through an impressive number of reprintings. Arthur Goldberg's introduction points up the importance of the United Nations and the United Nations family of organizations. He urges us to learn more about the United Nations' workings as we are drawn ever closer as neighbors whatever our color, creed, religion, or vocations. This book is highly recommended for laymen and practitioners alike.

"Public Papers of the Secretaries-

General of the United Nations, Volume 1: Trygve Lie 1946-1953": Perhaps the most prestigious indication of fame in public life is determination that one's name justifies putting out a volume of public papers. The first of a series of public papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations has been published by Columbia University Press. Volume I contains the papers of Trygve Lie 1946-1953. It is a formidable volume but essential for anyone wishing really to understand how the United Nations organization got moving. It is impossible to imagine the United Nations without the early influence of Trygve Lie. The papers are interspersed with thoughtful explanatory notes by President Andrew Cordier of Columbia University, former Under Secretary-General of the United Nations. It is a welcome addition to our libraries.

"United Nations and the Middle East Crisis in 1967": The third book deserving mention is a lengthy case study of the Middle East problem. Arthur Lall has given the story his own coloration. It is, however, a readable account, useful because of the collection of relevant documents which he appends to the book. Mr. Lall's solution is at least different. He suggests that each side in the conflict enter into an identical treaty with the United Nations, thus getting around the difficult solution of the refusal of one party to negotiate directly with the other. For a student of Middle East problems or for a person interested in the details of how one particular and difficult case has been handled in the United Nations, the book is interesting reading.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

Tribute from an Adversary

EUROPE AFTER DE GAULLE, by Lord Gladwyn. Taplinger Press.

THE post-war policies of General Charles de Gaulle are renowned for two goals that he unswervingly pursued. He sought to restore France to her pre-war position of supremacy in the affairs of continental Europe, and to restore Europe to a position of parity and independence between the two super-powers.

To achieve these aims, de Gaulle never hesitated to behave in a way that many Europeans and more Americans considered incompatible with the spirit of Atlantic solidarity. He opposed all forms of supranational controls; he took France out of NATO; he successfully blocked British entry into the European community; he rejected American military domination of the Atlantic Alliance;

and he did his best to undermine American economic and political influence in Europe.

Lord Gladwyn (earlier known to us as Sir Gladwyn Jebb) seeks to interpret the policies of the great man in this comprehensive but admirably concise volume—really about de Gaulle himself rather than the future of Europe. It is a thorough, painstakingly documented, step-by-step account of the evolution of de Gaulle's policies.

Both as Ambassador to France and in his other public and private capacities Lord Gladwyn has been a leading proponent of Britain's entry into Europe. He has also been one of the foremost advocates of genuine European unity. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lord Gladwyn was unalterably opposed to de Gaulle's European policy and is convinced that the future of Europe depends on the repudiation of de Gaulle's policies.

Lord Gladwyn contends that however changeable and even erratic some of de Gaulle's courses of action may have been since 1945, they have had an underlying consistency that in essence has been to associate France in combinations that assure her of maximum influence in European affairs. He believes that the key to understanding of de Gaulle's policy is to observe the fluctuating fortunes and relationships of the great powers during the post-war years and the way in which de Gaulle accommodated French policy to these fluctuations so as to give France political "leverage" far in excess of its actual political and military strength.

However much Lord Gladwyn may admire de Gaulle's tactical astuteness and iron determination in carrying his policies out, he believes that these policies are both pernicious and self-defeating.

Thus "Europe after de Gaulle" is a bill of indictment, but one cast in a mold quite different from the usual strident polemics of the anti-Gaullist journalists and bureaucrats on this side of the Atlantic. Lord Gladwyn is scrupulously fair in his recounting of the facts; there is no distortion, no suppression, no invidious inferences. He concedes the sincerity of de Gaulle's faith in European unity even though he considers it vitiated by insistence on French preeminence. Even more importantly, Lord Gladwyn gives due credit to the man himself—to his magnanimity, his culture, his historical insights, his uncanny political prescience, and the indomitable courage of his decisions on Indochina and Algeria.

In reading this tribute from a dedicated adversary, one is struck by how

fundamentally unqualified Americans are to give advice on European affairs.

As a cultivated Englishman with the same traditions and sense of values as his great protagonist across the channel, Lord Gladwyn can understand de Gaulle as we cannot.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

China's Asian Policy

VIETNAM AND CHINA: 1938-1954, by King C. Chen. Princeton University Press, \$12.50.

"U.S. deference to France after the war cost the United States a golden opportunity to save thousands of American lives in Vietnam in the 1960s. Had Washington insisted on granting independence to Vietnam, as Britain did to India, the American involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s might well have been avoided."

The rationale for this arresting quotation is cogently argued in a definitive study of relations between China and North Vietnam from 1938 to 1954, in which Dr. Chen of Brown University examines the background for United States involvement in the Vietnam war and traces Ho Chi Minh's rise to leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party and his relations with Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists.

The author covers Sino-Vietnamese relations from 300 B.C., through the French take-over of Indochina in 1885 and the Chinese Communist revolution of the 1940s, to the Geneva Conference of 1954. Much attention is given the negotiations at Geneva and the positions of the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, North Vietnam, and Communist China.

In the 1938-1954 period, Sino-Vietnamese relations—both in the time of the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists—were significantly conditioned by four outstanding influences: (1) geographical contiguity; (2) the long historic and cultural background that induces Vietnamese to look to China when the latter is engaged in political evolution, cultural movements, or social change; (3) racial affinity and similar socio-economic conditions creating natural ties between the two peoples (Ho Chi Minh in 1961 described Sino-Vietnamese relations as "particularly intimate" and "as one hundred favors, a thousand loyal affections, ten thousand loves"); and (4) a similar cause and ideology, notably during the Communist era, reinforcing the relationship.

"The Vietnamese nationalist revolution was modeled after and

benefited from that of China . . . Communist China's aid to North Vietnam from 1950 to 1954 was decisive in her victory over the French. . . . The significance of the Chinese revolutionary model for Vietnam lies in Peking's offer of material aid, which helped to implement the model, and in Vietnam's learning from the Chinese experience.'

China's attitude in 1954 and 1968 towards peace-making in Vietnam was vastly different. In 1954 China was a leading champion of peace, seeming at times more concerned for peace there than the Soviet Union. In 1968 Peking insisted on Hanoi's rejecting any peace talks on Vietnam, averring that conditions for negotiations were not yet ripe. The Chinese Communists denounced President Johnson's proposal of March 31, 1968, for peace talks as a fraud and urged the Vietnamese to "fight on to the end."

China's Asian policy has three main goals: "to exclude all Western powers from Asia, for Asians to settle Asian affairs, and to lead all Asian nations. China's policy towards Vietnam has been directed toward keeping the United States bogged down as long as possible in an attempt to drain US financial and man-power resources in order to compel her to capitulate—unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam."

Professor Chen's authoritative interpretations owe much to his analytical expertise as a political scientist and to his access to a large collection of unpublished Chinese official and private documents covering Sino-Vietnamese relations from 1940 to 1950. His scholarly study will surely be a standard work for years to come.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

More Fascinating than the Play

THE OPPENHEIMER CASE: *Security on Trial*, by Philip M. Stern. Harper & Row, \$10.00.

THE Oppenheimer case was one of the great dramas of our time. In recognition of the inherent drama, it has been drawn on for a play which was a success in Europe and will come to Washington shortly. The transcript of the case, however, in a thousand closely printed GPO pages, is more fascinating than any play for one who lived through World War II and the post-war period. It is one measure of the richness of this case that, where Philip Stern has written an absorbing book reconstituting the case and highlighting the damage done by the obsession with personnel security in the

'50s and beyond. Thomas Wilson of the State Department Counselor's staff has completed another book on the case (to appear shortly after the first of the year) which focuses instead on the dominant issues of peace and war and the control of weapons. Mr. Stern's book tells the basic story well and adds a helpful prologue and epilogue. While Mr. Stern writes with evident feeling and with no attempt to conceal his personal sense of involvement, his account is balanced and objective. The story is replete with personalities; Oppenheimer himself, Dr. Edward Teller, General Leslie Groves, John McCloy, George Kennan, David Lilienthal, Lewis Strauss, and dozens of others. These men and their personal relationships of friendship and conflict are interwoven with many of the great issues of the past three decades: Communism and anti-Communism, war and weapons and arms control, the tendency of the momentum of technology to dominate international power relations as well as the shape of our daily lives, the relationship of the individual (particularly the intellectual) to war and technology and changing society. Books about trials are generally fascinating. This one, where not a crime but loyalties and ideas are under scrutiny has perhaps no equivalent since Galileo.

—PHILIP J. FARLEY

The Lhasa Revolt Recreated

FROM THE LAND OF LOST CONTENT, by Noel Barber. Houghton Mifflin Company, \$5.95.

NOEL BARBER picks the subjects for his books the hard way. His formula: seize on one of history's great conflicts and then recreate it through the words of survivors and documentation.

His "Sinister Twilight," says the NEW YORK TIMES, "recreates the tragedy of Singapore as vividly and compelling as though the story had never been written before."

Now Barber has turned to the Lhasa revolt of 1959, that epic but fruitless effort by Tibetans to withstand the invading Chinese. The author interviewed dozens of Tibetans in places as widely scattered as India and the United States. He talked with a government clerk, with Tibetan monks, with the Dalai Lama's mother, and with His Holiness the Dalai Lama himself.

Not content with personal interviews, Barber went to the British Foreign Office to supplement his information with documents recording Chinese broadcasts, newspaper and magazine content at the time of the revolt.

The result—a day-by-day account of the gallant struggle put up by the Tibetans. Though they lost their capital and their country to the invader, they did—by their heroic efforts—allow the Dalai Lama to reach the sanctuary of India.

This book is the story of that struggle and that city: "Lhasa, the distant city unlike any other in the world, still stands. . . a symbol of defiance by the puny against the mighty, of the unquenchable spirit of men who, however far away from us are now welded by a common bond with their brothers in Budapest and Prague. For they also asked for freedom."

—JAMES O. MAYS

Penetrating Yet Compassionate

NOTES FROM AFRICA, by H. S. Aynor. Praeger, \$5.95.

FROM the title and the dust jacket, I assumed that this slim volume, by a veteran Israeli diplomat, was another standard collection of ambassadorial reminiscences of discreet trivia. Instead, it is a succession of penetrating yet compassionate vignettes of the political, social and economic problems of contemporary black Africa. Much of it is in the form of dialogue, reminiscent of Plato, with protagonists of the various elements: peasants, traditional chiefs, French-African career officers, a prime minister whose devotion to both *negritude* and the French cultural community makes one guess he is Senghor, an enlightened British Governor General in a self-governing African member of the Commonwealth, and several young European-educated civil servants seeking to reintegrate into the African life.

Aynor's experience of being accredited concurrently to adjacent countries, one ex-French and the other ex-British, gave him a unique opportunity to interpret the different approaches of the two colonial systems and the imprint made on their legacies. The French African finds fault with the British system for relying on and reinforcing the reactionary chiefs, leaving a heritage of divisive tribalism. The British African is critical of the lower level of literacy outside the elite, the disposition to extravagant "parade projects," the relative inefficiency and continued fiscal dependence on the ex-metropole which he observes across the border.

Why the continued corruption and nepotism? In place of a sociological essay, we learn to sympathize and understand, without fully condoning, from the comments of a French-educated district commissioner con-

NATION-BUILDING IN AFRICA: *Problems and Prospects*, by Arnold Rivkin, edited by John H. Morrow. Rutgers University Press, \$10.00.

scientifically seeking to serve the people under impossible tribal pressures. He concludes: "It is impossible to satisfy even their most urgent requests. So the art of statesmanship is the art of how to compromise in the division of a nonexistent cake."

Why do so many hopful aid projects go sour? What might have been explained in abstruse econometric equations is made vivid in concrete examples of an abortive resettlement scheme, a poultry project encountering a native reluctance to eat eggs, and a hospital located without regard to tribal sensitivities.

After a succession of such portraits and dialogues, set in a flowing narrative, Aynor concludes with what purports to be his annual economic report, and which emerges as a passionate plea for the developed countries not to lose heart but to increase both the volume and the quality of their assistance to Africa.

—ARMISTEAD LEE

Bolivia's Evolution

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by Robert Barton, published by EDITORIAL "LOS AMIGOS DEL LIBRO," La Paz-Cochabamba, Bolivia.

To set forth "an account of all that has taken place in upper Peru from earliest times to the present" is the challenging task which Cultural Affairs Officer Robert Barton set out for himself. Drawing primarily on secondary sources available in Bolivia during his recent assignment there, Mr. Barton has put together a most readable overview of the colorful but tragic history of this little known Andean republic. Explicitly refraining from personal evaluation of causes and effects, he has given us a much needed historical introduction.

Mr. Barton transports us over the high points of Bolivia's evolution from its tribal roots to the flowering of its Aymara culture, the successive invasions by the Inca and the Spaniard, the mineral wealth which gave the Altiplano special importance in Spain's empire, the bloody civil uprisings which sapped it during both colonial and republican times, the lost wars with Chile and Paraguay and the social revolution of contemporary Bolivia. A commendable job and pleasant reading. It is made more commendable and pleasurable by Bolivian-inspired illustrations by his talented artist-wife, Mrs. Nancy Hemenway Barton, two of which appear on this page.

—IRVING G. TRAGEN



At the end of World War II there were only four independent nations in Africa. Now there are 42. None of them, as we know, had been given adequate preparation for independence by the former colonial powers, and some not at all. Arnold Rivkin, the author of "Nation-Building in Africa," describes and analyzes with authority and clarity the problems these nations have faced in coping with the complicated problems of establishing stable governments.

It is doubtful if anyone better qualified than Arnold Rivkin could be found to make a study of this nature. He had devoted years of study to Africa, first while in the service of the US Government, then as Director of African Economic and Political Development at M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies, and finally at the World Bank. He had visited Africa on official missions countless times. His untimely death in September 1968 at the age of 49 deprives the United States of one of its greatest authorities on Africa. Fortunately he had largely completed this definitive work in manuscript form before his death. It, together with his previous two books and numerous articles on Africa, will assure his place as one of the outstanding American scholars writing on African subjects.

Fortunately also Mrs. Rivkin persuaded another of our leading Africanists, John H. Morrow, our first Ambassador to Guinea, to put aside temporarily his work at Rutgers in order to edit the manuscript and prepare it for publication. This he has done with modesty and skill.

Arnold Rivkin in this, his last book, starts with the premise that individual state sovereignty, rather than Pan-Africanism, is the almost universal desire of the new African states. He has no quarrel with this concept but does regret the current opposition to federalism, which he considers has the greatest prospect for nation-building among the large African states such as Congo(K) and Nigeria. He also concludes that the trend toward one-party unitary governments will diminish the prospects of successful nation-building in Africa. He does not go along with the political scientists who accept the theory that unitary one-party governments are better adapted to Africa

than the multi-party system, and who feel that such governments can or will remain democratic in nature. On the contrary, one-party governments are, he points out, with one or two exceptions, authoritarian in nature. Moreover, their weaknesses have brought about the numerous *coups* and military takeovers of recent years.

From this rather pessimistic picture the author concludes that the intertwined problems of economic development and nation-building are likely to be more difficult of achievement and take more time than most Africans appear to expect. This state of affairs—of expectations outrunning capacity—is, he suggests, likely to make the next several decades in Africa highly unsettled, and render the already uncertain nation-building and development prospects even more hazardous.

This frank assessment by an expert in government will not, it may be assumed, be pleasing to many African leaders. If however they read this book they would gain a more realistic appreciation of what the future may hold. They will at least be pleased to learn that the author considers the

prospects for successful nation-building to be better in Africa than they are in Asia or Latin America.

"Nation-Building in Africa: Problems and Prospects" can be highly recommended to the members of the foreign service community who have served or are serving in Africa. It should also be of interest to the remaining members of that community who are almost certain to serve in one or more of the growing number of nations of Africa sooner or later.

—J. C. SATTERTHWAITTE

A Powerful, Lyrical Work

A BEGGAR IN JERUSALEM, by *Elie Wiesel*. Random House, \$5.95.

ELIE WIESEL describes his novel, "A Beggar in Jerusalem," more eloquently than I can: "This tale aims to be all-encompassing, on all levels. It tries to show what cannot be shown (the holocaust), to explain what is not to be explained (the weight of history on dreams and dreamers), to recapture an experience that cannot be relived." The narrator, subject and witness of

the tale is David, a beggar, perhaps a madman, standing in front of the Wailing Wall one night immediately after the Six Day War, seeing and reliving his childhood in Transylvania, the horrors of World War II, the deadness of its aftermath, the feeling that the horrors of history were returning in May 1967, finally the Six Day War itself. Part of this life is relived through the tales of the Hassidim, part of it through a friend—a real one? an imaginary one? an idealization of himself? perhaps all of these? Katriel, to whom David bears witness as he bears witness to the whole tale.

It is a tale of blurred distinctions: distinctions of time, first of all, since David himself sees time as a blur; the distinction between individuals, too; and perhaps most important of all, the distinction between sanity and madness. Madness is the bearer of truth: first the truth of the hell that was the holocaust, and later—with the triumph in the war and the return to Jerusalem, does the madness of the new Israeli, the new Jew, the madness of self-confidence, triumph over the weight of Jewish history, over "the beginning of things" which David has related? Neither David nor, one suspects, Wiesel can quite bring himself to believe that it does. We are left with the question.

This is a powerful, lyrical work—a tale, a web of tales, its messages the more gripping because they are never made explicit. As one of the characters says, "only the unnameable is immortal." "A Beggar in Jerusalem" as Wiesel says of novels in general, "is not to be explained. It is to be read."

—TERESITA CURRIE

Vietnam Conflict in Pictures

13/13 VIETNAM: SEARCH & DESTROY, by *Gordon Baxter*. World Publishing Company, \$6.95.

IN his photographic essay, Gordon Baxter gives a dramatic account in word and picture of a battle in Vietnam that he witnessed and photographed. His purpose is to help his compatriots understand why we are in Vietnam and what we are fighting for. Besides a moving account of Americans in battle, he describes the Med-CAP operation, in which thousands of South Vietnamese receive medical attention, food and clothes.

Nothing but praise can be voiced for the purpose of this photographic essay and its stirring realization. The fact remains, however, that what Baxter has set forth in hard cover is also seen weekly in such periodicals as LIFE and LOOK and daily on American television screens.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN



"Sorry, we don't accept right wing manuscripts."

OBSERVER OR ADVOCATE

from page 30

temporary "cleared" report. The new system would also tend to reduce the much qualified equivocations which often result from the "clearing" process's reconciliation and homogenization of conflicting views.

Decisions on the impact of a specific overseas situation on United States policy must ultimately be made in Washington. Information is available there on the totality of the domestic and foreign environment in which our policies must operate. Any reporting system from the field which eliminates alternative data and interpretations before they reach Washington in effect makes decisions that should be made only in Washington. While it is true that there are other channels of information to Washington, both inside and outside the Government, in addition to Foreign Service reporting, there is no guarantee that these channels are not also eliminating alternative data and interpretations through their own formal or informal mechanisms.

In order to make a contribution to sound decision-making, Foreign Service reporting must illuminate, not suppress alternatives. The "clearing" system should be abandoned and control over the communication of information should be decentralized. This process would not only encourage the production of alternative data and interpretations, but also should correspondingly lessen the tendency toward bias inherent in the present communications system.

In addition, as Michaud rightfully suggests, changes should be made in the personnel evaluation system in order that persons expressing dissent or alternative views will not be sanctioned. More frequent post inspections and the evaluation of individual officers' reporting in Washington (as advocated by Michaud) would lend objectivity, at least to a limited degree, to the presently highly subjective process of personnel evaluation. Certainly, the worst possible system for producing objective information is the present one in which the officers who judge personnel performance also control access to communications.

Verdict on Michaud

In sum, Michaud arrived at some worthwhile suggestions based on partially inaccurate premises. The FSO should continue to strive to be a detached observer rather than an advocate, in order to protect himself against bias. But, in order to allow the FSO to be a truly detached observer, he must be freed from a reporting system which potentially can be the instrument for the advocacy of biased, partial, or inaccurate information, without the saving grace of competition or the free play of ideas. The so-called "information explosion," the quantum increase of information reaching Washington from many sources, is no excuse for preserving the present system. Indeed, rather than producing an avalanche of alternative data and interpretations the "information explosion" may only produce a more solidly reinforced "conventional wisdom." The Foreign Service, in order to contribute to sound policy decisions, must make a conscious effort to generate, or at least not to suppress, alternate points of view. The first step toward that goal is the modification of the present system of reporting. ■

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FORGERY

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conclusive, therefore, that a branch of the Soviet secret service specializing in forging material and in its dissemination has been operating for quite a while. The responsibility for planning the type of material to be circulated lies, however, with officials other than the Soviet secret service. Says Alexander Orlov, high ranking security officer who broke with Moscow: "The matter of deciding what information or rumors, if any, should be deviously planted within the earshot of a foreign government is a question of high policy itself and must be subordinate to the specific aims pursued by the highest Soviet policymakers."

Forged political documents traceable to Soviet initiative may be roughly divided into several groups.

Documents intended to influence the thinking of foreign governments fall into one group. The message they carry is carefully masked by authentic information since the targets are experts. The forgeries travel to their destination usually over intelligence channels and seldom receive publicity. MOTSR material which misinformed foreign services from 1922 to 1926 and was exposed in 1927, has received no publicity to this day.

A second group of forgeries complies with Lenin's suggestion that "if the least opportunity arises of aggravating the differences between America and other capitalist countries, it should be grasped with both hands." These documents are intended for a wider but still sophisticated audience. The documents are nonetheless more easily identified as forgeries. The "Fechtelor report" (Paris LE MONDE, May 10, 1952), a forgery intended to stir hostility toward America and among West European nations, follows the pattern.

Forgeries of a third type incite the people outside the Iron Curtain against all authorities in their countries. The target is the man on the street. The text of the material aims at trying to convince the unsophisticated that non-communist officials act immorally and criminally and that the Establishment should be opposed. The allegations made in the forged materials are often absurd, yet the forgery leaves a residue of doubt and hostility toward the Establishment in the mind of the reader.

Documents forged in order to be exposed as forgeries fall into the fourth category. Crude errors, usually of place, name or title which can be traced and easily verified, are consciously introduced into the text by the forger. They enable readers to recognize forgeries without the aid of experts. The crude errors in the Comintern "instruction" to the Executive Committee of the Northern United States of America easily identified the document as a forgery and led public opinion to doubt all evidence, including the genuine, that Moscow was aiding the revolutionaries.

Against this background, the warning in NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO has an ominous ring. We know that Soviet foreign policy continues to be built on Leninism, that communist principles have undergone no change, and that Soviet diplomacy remains "socialist." The possibility of deceit, camouflage, and political forging cannot therefore be denied.

It is for us to identify the fabrications and determine the value of these forgeries to Soviet foreign policy. ■

REFORM FROM WITHIN

from page 34

which contributed to the serious morale and operating problems we experienced before, and for some years after, the Rogers Act. Will they not reappear in the proposed track system? They almost certainly will unless concerted and vigorous efforts are made to change attitudes and values nurtured by attitudes.

Before a reader dismisses this point, let him answer this: what is our prevailing attitude today toward consular posts and assignments? Are they less attractive than embassies? Do we regard them as generally staffed with people of less political sensitivity, information, and judgment than those in embassies? Are they less capable of seeing the whole picture of a country and therefore viewed as making only fragmentary and superficial political assessments? Are they regarded as having less comprehension of the Department's policies and diplomacy about not only their country of assignment but to the whole range of our activity? Is this likely to increase under a track system?

Let us examine one other facet of this. To what extent do embassies bring consular officers within "the family" of officers now, even when the consular officers are posted within embassies? To what extent are they kept informed of the embassies' political, economic, informational and cultural activity and thinking so as to participate intelligently in them? To what extent do we view "consular activities" as germane to these others?

Present attitudes are an important consideration in weighing the extent to which a "category" or "track" system may reinforce a view that consular officers are somehow apart from diplomatic. This could reproduce an unhappy condition from which we were rescued by the Rogers Act. Would it not be better to broaden our conception of consular duties and correct adverse attitudes toward them than to introduce a system which may well reinforce them?

We like to believe, as Mr. Macomber said, that reforms and modernization imposed upon us from outside "will be neither as informed nor effective as those we initiate ourselves." But apart from a very few like Mr. Macomber, how well informed are we as to what needs to be done? How well informed are we as to past efforts and what went awry? To what extent, to paraphrase George Santayana, are we so unknowledgeable that we are condemned to repeat past mistakes and to innovate changes which will afflict us with evils earlier corrected? How well prepared are we to support and follow through on any of the sound changes to be made? To what extent will these be imposed upon us, not from the "outside" but by a few who perceive, while the rest of us, not perceiving, will let them evaporate when the innovators vanish from the scene? These are basic questions—basic to reform—and we had better recognize that a sizeable task of systematic education and training faces us.

The Foreign Service Institute must thus be envisaged in far bolder terms than heretofore. Its programs must be the keystone of any reform arch. If we do this, we must be prepared to confront the problem of numerical staffing. It is no good planning a better, more effective FSI if there are not enough officer bodies available for assignment to its courses. For years, our staffing pattern has been too tight to permit adequate programs in FSI, including correspondence courses. A disproportionate part of the time and energy of FSI staffers goes into trying to pry loose bodies from the bureaus and the Service. A staffing pattern more congenial to educational and training programs must be provided. This means more funds for an expanded staff. Are we reformers ready and willing to put that up to the Administration and Congressman Rooney? If we are and prepare our case thoroughly we may find them more than sympathetic. It is time, at any rate, we put them to the test. ■



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DO OUR THING

from page 21

shoulders for his impertinence. If the advocate-judge does not act, some representative of a rival advocacy may grab the loose ball and keep it for a long and costly series of downs.

The resumption of normal advocate-judge operations after an issue comes back down from crisis management is more complicated than a simple grabbing of the ball and running with it. The whole playing field is often profoundly altered. Sometimes the advocate-judge officials may not even be able to decide quickly which side of the field they are defending. One is reminded of rival tribes of ants trying to pick up their war again after a bulldozer has gone through the neighborhood.

Particularly disturbing to the advocate-judge is that he has only the vague idea of what the crisis managers have been doing. Their decisions *per se* are often not rec-

orded. Implementing instructions tend to be transmitted by limited distribution messages or by oral communication. It adds up to a re-shuffling of the deck from time to time in any conflicts between advocacies. But before long the advocacies are once more preoccupied with their multi-polar multi-dimensional tug-of-wars, and everything returns to its pristine state.

If the picture of decision-making conveyed herein is convincing to knowledgeable readers, it need not lead to condemnation of the crisis management system. It has its faults, but it is certainly, in terms of the security of the nation, infinitely preferable to the advocate-judge system for dealing rapidly and decisively with fast-moving problems. If the auxiliary crisis management system were not available, one can imagine three or four conflicting advocacies locking horns, piling up mountains of paper arguments, and letting the sky fall down on the national interest while they try to outflank their rivals in some cases

or seize the opportunity to leap for the jugular of a suddenly weakened opponent in other cases. The advocate-judge system simply cannot work in crises. A separate system is the only alternative to a series of national disasters.

For the crisis managers, no matter what their personal failings and no matter what the shortcomings of the crisis manager role, do at least make their decisions in terms of the national interest as they perceive it, and not with the advocacy of a sub-national interest clouding their vision. Is it possible that this characteristic of the crisis manager role explains why so very few otherwise well-qualified professional diplomats, professional soldiers, and professional overseas operators can reach and keep an active role in the crisis management system? Is it not possible that after two or three decades of the advocate-judge role they have become so habituated to it that they cannot shift to the role of crisis manager even if offered an opportunity? ■

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GLOSSARY FOR SPACE

ROBERT DEVEREUX

The space age has brought into common usage a host of new words and terms—astronautics, count-down, nose-cone, etc.—and, at the same time, has brought into prominence an even larger array of long-established words that were formerly more or less known only within the scientific community. This is especially true as regards the names of the various sciences that deal with the earth as a unit of the universe and with its phenomena and with the universe itself. A full understanding of current news stories on space developments requires an accurate awareness of what each such science involves, but the present writer submits that most readers lack such knowledge. The point is easily proved or disproved. Listed below are the names of 15 such sciences, together with a second list of their definitions. How accurately can you match up the two lists?

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---|
| 1. aerolithology | (....) | 1. systematic description of the sun |
| 2. aerology | (....) | 2. science of description and mapping of the heavens |
| 3. aerostatics | (....) | 3. branch of astronomy dealing with fixed stars |
| 4. areology | (....) | 4. science of the sun's energy and action |
| 5. astrognosy | (....) | 5. scientific observation of clouds |
| 6. astrography | (....) | 6. science of the equilibrium and motion of gases and of solid bodies immersed in them |
| 7. astrolithology | (....) | 7. science that deals with meteorites |
| 8. astrometry | (....) | 8. science or study of the planet Mars |
| 9. cosmogony | (....) | 9. branch of astronomy dealing with measurements of the celestial bodies, esp. those made to determine their positions and movements |
| 10. cosmography | (....) | 10. science dealing with the constitution of the whole order of nature or the figure, disposition and relation of all its various parts |
| 11. cosmology | (....) | 11. branch of systematic philosophy that deals with the character of the universe as a cosmos by combining speculative metaphysics and scientific knowledge |
| 12. heliology | (....) | 12. science dealing with meteors |
| 13. heliography | (....) | 13. branch of astronomy dealing with the origin and development of the universe and its components |
| 14. meteoritics | (....) | 14. science of the description and discussion of the phenomena of free air as revealed by kites, balloons, airplanes and clouds |
| 15. nephelognosy | (....) | 15. science that deals with meteorite stones |

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------|---------|----------|----------|
| 3. (6) | 6. (2) | 9. (13) | 12. (4) | 15. (5) |
| 2. (14) | 5. (3) | 8. (9) | 11. (11) | 14. (12) |
| 1. (7) | 4. (8) | 7. (15) | 10. (10) | 13. (1) |

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

On Recruitment

PLEASE allow me to respond, in your pages, to those parts of Ambassador Kohler's recent letter to the *JOURNAL* which relate to the recruitment and examination of candidates for junior Foreign Service officer commissions.

He forecast that "it will be found impracticable to examine candidates for admission under the category system." He did not "believe that the bulk of the candidates will know enough about the Foreign Service to make such a choice . . ."

Since 1962, the FSO examinations have included special options for candidates interested in performing economic/commercial or administrative/management work. Thousands have taken those options. In December, 1969, 264 candidates took Option B (Administrative) and 336 took Option C (Economic/Commercial).

Over 100 passed Option B, and are quickly being interviewed by the oral examining panel. These interviews, including a pre-examination "briefing" on administrative affairs in the Foreign Service, go deeply into the nature of careers in the administrative category of our profession, so that those who pass are fully aware of the work they have engaged to perform. These candidates include a number with advanced degrees in public or business administration who could easily get better-paid jobs in private industry. Indeed, several MBA candidates in New York were introduced to two men who had recently quit the Foreign Service, from junior levels, in decisions to move to better pay in private life. After the evening was over, every candidate maintained his application to the Foreign Service with even more certainty. (There is a rumor that they may even have persuaded one of the ex-FSOs to apply for re-appointment to the Foreign Service.)

On the economic/commercial side, 201 passed Option C last December and are being interviewed by their oral examining panel, chaired by Howard Parsons, one of our most distinguished FSO economists, who

has proven his managerial and political abilities in many demanding situations. The candidates have selected their category of professional development by taking Option C. The oral interview will be shaped to make sure that the candidate has a clear sense of what he will be doing.

There has never been a problem of choice for those candidates who want to become "political" officers. The great majority of FSO candidates have been—and still are—primarily interested in working in essentially "political" affairs. Frequently, a candidate will stress to an oral panel his deep and abiding interest in becoming an expert on Russia, for example. He often is already qualified in the language, has visited the USSR, and is concentrating his graduate studies on that subject. There is no doubt in his mind what "category" he wants to enter. Many are just like him, although their concentrations range from Africa to China to Latin America.

(I am not proposing, believe me, that such candidates will make the best "political" officers. I am only noting that most FSO candidates have made a choice about their career categories, often in quite specific terms, long before they take their examinations.)

The Consular category is more troublesome to staff from junior FSO ranks because there has never been a special option offered for their recruitment. Today, the Panel examining those candidates who passed Option A—the traditional generalist point of entry—is inquiring of those who pass the oral if they wish to enter the consular track. Our success, to date, has been reasonably satisfactory.

Ambassador Kohler urges us to place on the oral examining panels "officers who have demonstrated a mastery of . . . core skills as well as mastery of a specialization." This is also our objective. I am convinced that the Ambassador and our colleagues in the Service will note with approval such assignments to the oral panels as FSO-1 Robert L. Brown, recently Economic Counselor in Taipei, currently Deputy Executive Secretary of the Executive Secretariat; FSO-1 Normand Redden, an outstanding example of the best officers who have followed the consular track; FSO-3 William Woessner, one of the bright young political officers with proven managerial ability; FSO-5 D. Lowell Jones, a veteran of tough administrative jobs in Africa, with degrees in political science.

Furthermore, at the suggestion of the Director General, we have been inviting to attend the oral examinations such distinguished officers as

Deputy Assistant Secretaries Margaret Tibbetts, Emory Swank, William Sullivan, Rodger Davies, Chris Van Hollen, and Robert Hurwitch. They share in the judgments of the candidates they meet, and give counsel on the conduct of the examinations.

I sincerely hope that Foy will also join us some morning or afternoon when he is next in Washington.

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.

Washington

From Rhetoric to Policy . . .

DEPUTY Under Secretary Macomber's January 14th speech on "Management Strategy—A Program for the 70s" offered a number of interesting suggestions for "revitalizing" the diplomatic service. Wheels of change turn very slowly on Foggy Bottom, however, and one wonders how much of the noble rhetoric will become, in fact, new policy.

For example, we are told that political specialists will no longer be appointed Consuls General as consolation prizes if they fail to become Ambassadors or DCMs. We were also told that Section 519 of the Foreign Service Act permitting the retirement of former ambassadors for whom there are no longer "suitable" positions available may be employed (more precisely "we shall be prepared to use").

While both measures would certainly help to upgrade the Consular "cone," does anyone seriously believe that hard-working and capable consular types will really become principal officers in the near future at the traditional "out-to-pasture" consular posts in Italy, Southern France, and Spain et al.? It's hard to believe that past and present policy of sending senior political types that no one knows what to do with (including some ex-Ambassadors) out to retire at pleasant consular posts will really change very much in the near future.

WM. L. CARTER

Washington

To Pasturage?

I ENJOYED reading the address of Professor Galbraith published in the December issue of the *JOURNAL*, and agree with him that the Foreign Service must mobilize to protect itself. His talk was amusing, glib, and offered some good ideas. However, his glibness led him into error when he stated that the good climate of Palermo and Naples tend to make these posts pasture for older officers. I would like to correct this misstatement and point out that the consulates of Palermo and Naples have a work load much larger than many of our

embassies, that the presence of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and NATO south headquarters in Naples gives another dimension to these two cities and that good judgment and wise representation is essential. The two former ambassadors who are running these offices are serving their country well, and perhaps waiting until the President stops filling ambassador's jobs with amateurs and they will again have an opportunity to serve as chiefs of mission.

LILLIAN TOOTLE

Switzerland

Not Weaving, Embroidery

THE most important statement in John Bowling's interesting article ("How We Do Our Thing: Policy Formulation," January, 1970) occurs in the penultimate paragraph: "[Realizing] an approximation to identity between the formal image and the actual shape and process of the group is an adjustment to reality, and is usually worth the pain and discomfort over the long run." There is more at stake here than mental health, desirable though that may be in itself; a knowledge of what we really are and what we really do is essential in order to evaluate performance, determine whether improvement is required, and design and implement change. It is unfortunate that this crucial prelude to effective reform—a concrete and well-developed analysis of how the existing system works—is so seldom attended to properly.

If effective reform (or a defensible decision to let well enough alone) depends upon knowing "the actual shape and process of the group," has Mr. Bowling succeeded in describing the reality of the Department of State? He begins by asserting that, "A central, if not the central, function of the State Department is to assist the President in the formulation of foreign policy," and adds that younger officers tend to be occupied more with the execution of policy, while higher ranking officials spend most of their time in formulating policy. But is it not true that, like snake oil salesmen, we spend more of our time peddling the product (including pouring it into new bottles, redesigning the label from time to time, etc.) than we do tinkering with the formula? Perhaps Mr. Bowling would agree that much "policy formulation" by members of the State Department consists of interpreting available guidance, reworking it where necessary to suit a particular need or development.

At one point in his essay, Mr. Bowling mentions the "warp" and "woof" of a Foreign Service officer's work. So

far as policy-making is concerned, the appropriate analogy is not weaving but rather quilt-making or embroidery (parts of three telegrams from the file, two paragraphs from a recent Presidential speech, plus a little careful stitching: voila! a "new" policy statement).

In a system where policies grow rigid with time, tend to be self-reinforcing, and are difficult to change in any significant way (and so are rarely changed), I am not sure that Mr. Bowling's characterization of the policy process as a "judge-advocate" system fully captures the reality. This argument, which is carefully elaborated in the article, is true to some extent, but it does not seem to take proper account of the degree to which existing policies bound the process. Nor does it fully reflect the extent to which officers find it necessary, for a variety of reasons not to be explored here, both to anticipate the requirements of superiors up the line, shaping their actions accordingly, and to provide a framework for their subordinates that results in "realistic" decisions and reports. As the process appears to me, it requires judges, rather than advocates. (But it realizes it ought to want advocates. This explains the frequent references to the desirability of "creativity," "initiative," etc. found in promotion board precepts and the like. While promising

to reward them, the system itself assures that these qualities must remain in short supply.)

The Bowling article and the foregoing comments may appear to be idle chatter to some. However, dissatisfaction with the functioning of the present system continues to give rise to proposals for reform, both official and privately sponsored. In order to intelligently weigh these and formulate others in the future, we need to understand, articulate, and reach a consensus of sorts on how the State Department works. To give a trivial example of what I mean, the CASP system, despite the limitation of being cyclically oriented ("It's February, what are my policy alternatives?") makes a great deal of sense if we agree that the present system subtly but effectively discourages the development and consideration of policy options in the course of day-to-day operations. If Mr. Bowling's observation that the judge-advocate system "insure[s] that top decision-makers at or near the Presidential level have all the possible arguments for most alternatives brought before them" is preferred, then an important element of the rationale for CASP disappears. To say nothing of the refurbished NSC.

DENIS LAMB

Cambridge

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

By S. I. Nadler



"The former ambassador-designate deserves our understanding and sympathy, not censure. The press hailed his appointment, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did not even ask him to appear, and the Government of the Republic of Permissivia granted its agrément in record time. Then, three hours ago, he received word that the National Students Union of Permissivia had refused to grant its agrément!"

Pioneer Study

JOHAN BOWLING's "How We Do Our Thing: Policy Formulation" in the January JOURNAL was for me the wisest and most lucid statement yet made about the Foreign Service. It takes genius to describe a fact of life at once obvious and yet never isolated and made known before. May that legion of earlier Foreign Service diagnosticians feel an appropriate chagrin for having spoken so positively and at such length about a system its members understood so little! The Bowling article is pioneer work and should serve as the basis of further studies. Now we can begin really to understand ourselves and our problems.

WILLIAM H. HALLMAN

Washington

Should FSOs Marry?

WHILE on duty at the Embassy this Saturday morning, I happened to pick up the JOURNAL for September and leafed through it. There I came upon a letter from a Mr. Paul L. Good, a former USIA FSO, who criticized you for rather cavalierly dismissing married women FSOs in a footnote to an article in your May issue. Since this subject hits rather close to home for me, I dug through the files until I

found the May issue and the footnotes.

I would like to point out to you that despite the "semi-nomadic existence" of FSOs, it has not proved "virtually impossible" for a woman FSO (or FSIO in my case) to be married. I don't know how many (if any) other married women FSOs there are, but there is at least one. I was married in August, 1969, in Tananarive to a French citizen. I am sure that I have the complete concurrence of the entire USIS staff here that Mrs. Copin is a much better officer than Miss Clyde ever was. My husband has contributed enormously to the USIS program here, and I have not found that it causes any more problems for me to be married than it does for any male FSO. In fact it makes life much easier in many respects.

My tour here is due to end in October. At that time, in accordance with Agency regulations, we will return to Washington, so that my husband has the opportunity to become a US citizen. He is a journalist, adores to travel, and is ready to leave Madagascar after five years here.

Obviously, marriage for a woman FSO will not always fit in with her career, but neither is it always impossible. I don't know how many more years I will be able to combine my career and my family, or even how

many years I will want to do so. But I think it is rather clear that the US Government will have several more years of repayment on its investment in me than it would have if it had refused to accept a married woman officer.

SUSAN C. COPIN

Tananarive

Manning the Ramparts

LET'S have more book reviews and articles like Charles Maechling, Jr.'s "Anatomy of Error." I suspect that the author is going to have a lot of rocks thrown at him by the perpetrators of the Vietnam error, on the specious grounds that he is violating confidence, so I hasten to the defense of the author and the editors of the JOURNAL. This is the kind of article that helps historians arrive at some balanced views of events by hearing from opponents as well as the defenders on the inside, whom we have heard so far. It also helps the public form a more intelligent view of the issues of foreign policy. Let's have some more inside comments on past policy!

JAMES W. GOULD
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\$ 4,700	\$ 73.80	\$2,500	\$11.00
\$ 4,900	\$ 76.60	\$2,700	\$12.00
\$ 5,100	\$ 79.40	\$2,900	\$13.00
\$ 5,300	\$ 82.20	\$3,100	\$14.00
\$ 5,500	\$ 85.00	\$3,300	\$15.00
\$ 5,700	\$ 87.80	\$3,500	\$16.00
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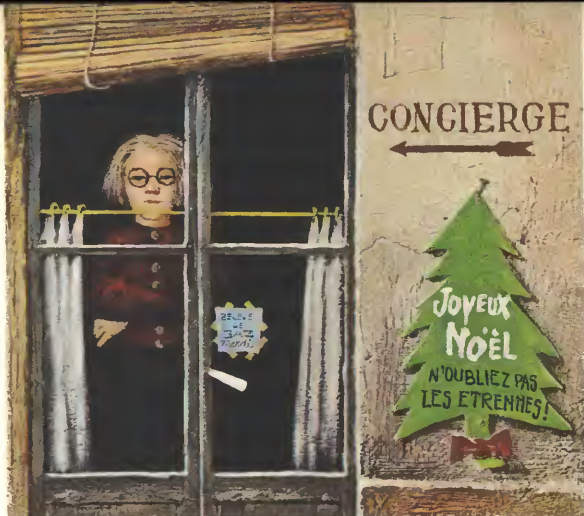
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