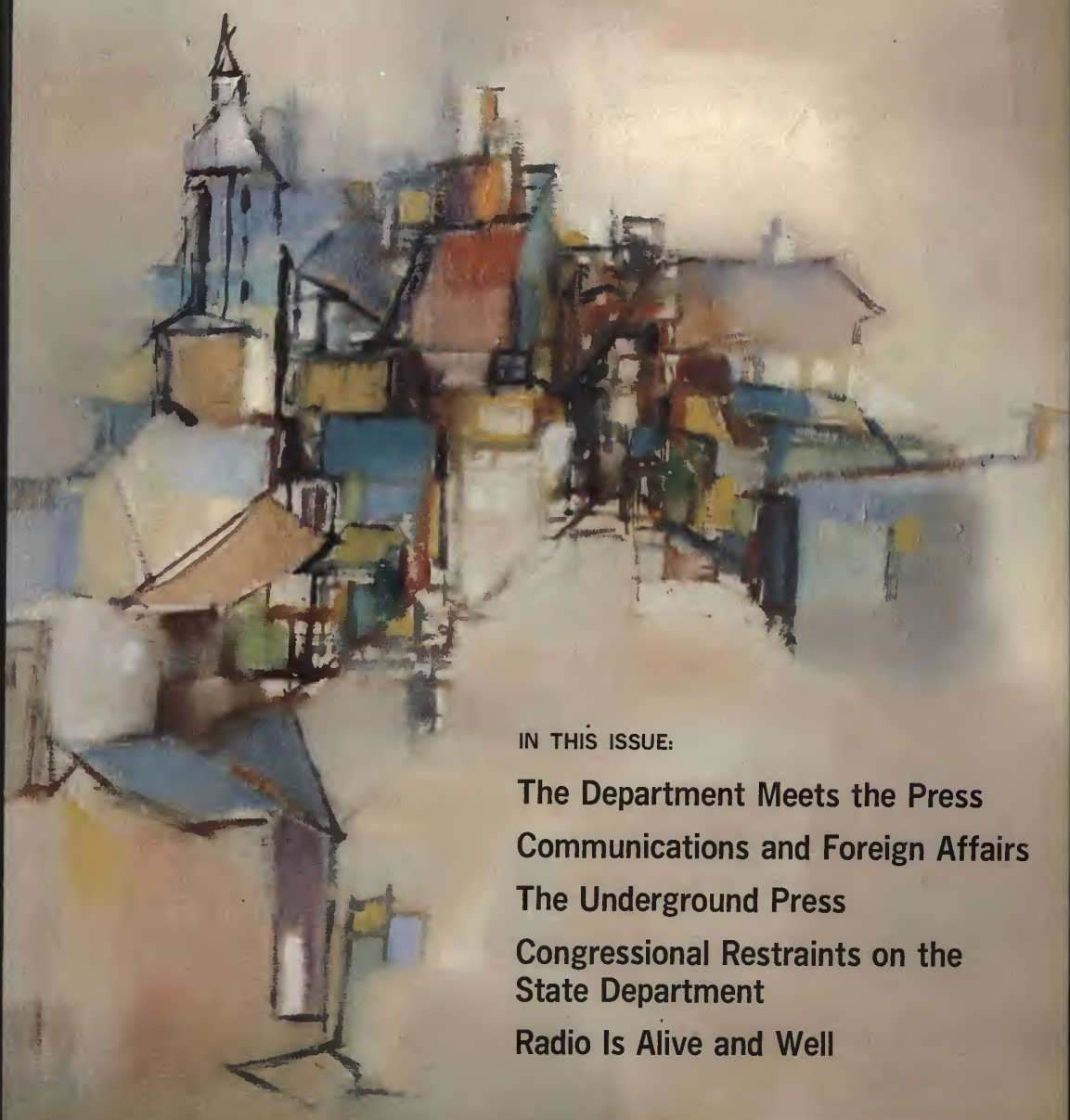


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Hippocrates said, "Extreme remedies are very appropriate for extreme diseases," and Dr. Q's ailment was an o'erweening ambition, hence his conference



WHILE thinking about how best to describe the following ridiculous event I pondered the question of whether or not I should reveal names and places. I am sorry to say that I concluded that it would be in bad taste to do so, even at the risk of making the story seem fictitious, which it is not at all. I am reporting it exactly as I remember it but I do not wish to embarrass my hospitable friends in the country we shall call Kyrulia.

As most auditors know only too well and every airline appreciates, jet transportation has made possible an incredible development in all types of international conferences. Although one may occasionally hear some discreet sarcasm in hotel bars and lobbies, seldom has anyone had the courage to put his honest thoughts on paper to the effect that, let us say, this or that conference was a stupendous boondoggle and was not worth—to the

E. ROSS JENNEY, M.D.

Dr. Jenney is Professor, School of Public Health, University of Hawaii and Medical Consultant of the East-West Population Institute. His long and varied career covered service in World War II, including testimony at Nuremburg, and work in the Public Health Service and with AID and WHO. Dr. Jenney accompanied Sir Wilfred Grenfell on a medical mission to Labrador in 1930.

taxpayer who stayed home to pay for it—the price of the postage stamps used on the invitations.

Some critics have observed that participants in international conferences are usually colleagues engaged in the same endeavor; they meet repeatedly in various parts of the world, greet each other effusively and, being of different nationalities, maintain affable smiles to show that no one bears anyone any malice. Being colleagues, there tends to be "agreement in principle"

among the authors of papers and among those who comment. This is natural, since the converted are talking to the converts, resulting in a sort of intellectual incest, expensive but enjoyable. Furthermore, the papers read will be published and will improve the chances of survival of an author who may belong to one of the publish-or-perish spheres of endeavor. But, of course, it is easy to be critical.

My purpose, however, is to tell you about my own experience as a participant in a more unusual international conference in Kyrulia. Returning to my office after lunch one day, I found my normally poised secretary partially hypnotized by a gentleman who was waiting to see me. He introduced himself with just the right amount of gravity and I found myself liking him in spite of the fact that he had everything I had always wanted—extremely handsome features, dark Charles

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Boyer eyes under beetling brows, an engaging charm and a touch of gray at the temple. Let's call him Dr. Q.

After the standard amount of introductory chit-chat he produced with a flourish an invitation requesting my participation in an International Congress on the History of Medicine, the invitation being under the letterhead of the Kyrulian Association of the History of Medicine, and signed by Dr. Q., President for Life. Now there is something about the president-for-life bit that marks the charlatan. Southern California has given birth to several sitters of the breed, although sometimes—as in the case of Dr. Q., I discovered later—the president is virtually the only member. It seems to be a desperate last-ditch attempt to achieve an organizational identity when any other kind seems impossible to achieve.

I disposed of the situation with the help of those handy platitudes with which diplomatic experience fortifies us and thought no more about it—at the time. However, it

was not long before a stream of Washington inquiries was pouring into the American Embassy. Having innocently admitted my background knowledge when visiting the Embassy, I was asked by the Ambassador if I "would be good enough to provide information upon which to base replies." Invitations, it appeared, had been sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service (and of each branch of the Armed Forces), to a score of prominent medical figures, deans of medical schools and directors of well-known medical institutions. All had been invited to attend the First International Congress on the History of Medicine, in Kyrulia. Apparently Dr. Q. had expected that the shotgun, high-level blast at the big birds would bring down one or two but alas, as I had suspected, the final outcome was that I alone was asked to represent the United States.

Dr. Q. had also been delving into the romance of ancient Greek

medicine. One of the chapters in pre-Christian medicine involves the Greek island of Cos, second largest of the Dodecanese. Here Hippocrates was born about 460 B. C., studied medicine at the temple of Asclepius and eventually taught at the famous seat of learning at Cos. There is today a plane tree or sycamore in the market place, so venerable that its branches are supported on cement pillars. Legend has it that Hippocrates, "the father of medicine," once taught under this tree.

The ingenious Dr. Q., neither daunted nor embarrassed by the difficulties he was imposing on others, requested the authorities in Greece to ship to him an authentic seedling of the renowned plane tree so that it could be transplanted in the soil of Kyrulia. The request was complied with and the little tree, properly boxed, arrived by plane consigned to the temporary custody of the Greek Ambassador to Kyrulia. This episode eventually put the Ambassador in the hospital, as we shall see.

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My suspicions and apprehensions were soon confirmed as to other countries invited, together with all the contemporary famous medical figures. There were a score of them and I could imagine each of them nervously weighing the protocol implications, just as one distastefully opens a wedding invitation, wondering whether an expensive present will or will not be mandatory in this particular case. But Dr. Q.'s invitations left no doubt, since each invitation to a government requested that a bag of earth, weighing ten pounds, be dispatched by air, so that the plane tree might be planted in Kyrulia in truly international soil. Now a bag of earth is one thing but in this case the request went on to specify that the earth be taken from soil that in some way had an established local significance relative to the history of medicine. I wondered how our Government would fulfill such a request and I regret being unable to identify the resourceful State Department employee who conjured up such an intriguing solution,

based on a somber moment in American history.

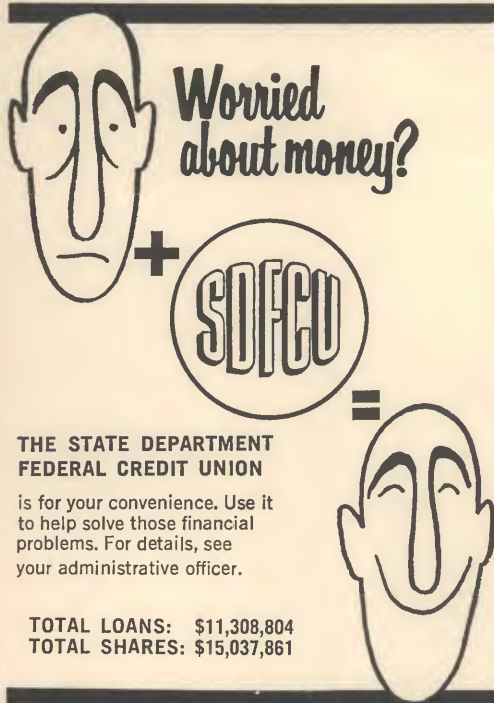
One of the physicians attending George Washington at his deathbed in Mount Vernon was a certain Dr. Elisha Dick, then 37. Washington died at 11 p.m. on December 14, 1799, his death no doubt facilitated by having been bled repeatedly by the two senior physicians, one of whom, Dr. James Craik, arrived at 9 p.m., just in time to draw more blood. On a thousand battlefields as well as in the abattoir, bleeding to death was certainly an event long understood in all its implications, yet in those days a hapless patient, even when expiring, was methodically deprived of life's fluid with no evidence of initial need or subsequent benefit.

The last words of George Washington are more than understandable: "I feel myself going," the poor man said. "I thank you for your attentions but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long." Dr. Dick's slender fame, which should be more than it is, is partly based

upon his suspicion of diphtheria and his fruitless recommendation that a tracheotomy be performed.

So there arrived in Kyrulia, by airmail, a ten-pound bag of earth taken from the garden of a house in Alexandria, Virginia where Dr. Dick is said to have lived at one time. It was consigned to the American Embassy and subsequently placed in my reluctant custody. I cannot remember the sources from which other samples were forwarded by other governments. The British sample may have had something to do with Sydenham or Harvey, or perhaps Lister; the French with Pasteur, and so on. In any event, no less than eleven bags of earth were eventually on hand in Kyrulia.

Except for the little tree and the eleven everlasting bags of earth, I could detect no evidence that the history of medicine had crept, even surreptitiously, into the two-day agenda as I saw it. With as much pomp as can be mustered in a busy airport, the arriving delegates were met and driven to their hotels. The



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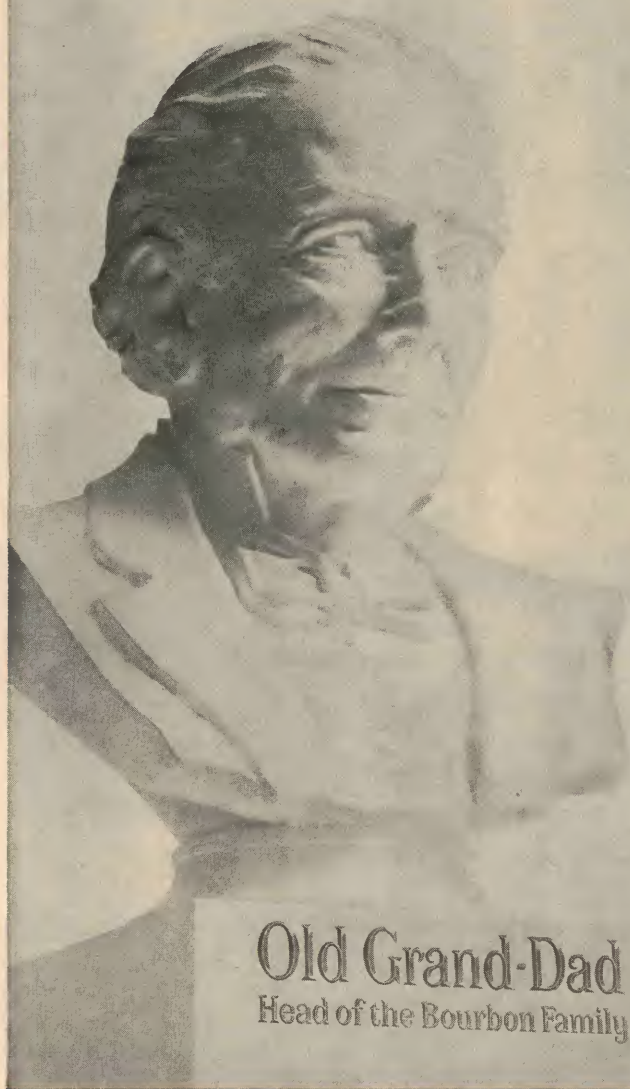
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advance press coverage was intense, as I had expected, because Dr. Q. was obviously a man who had connections everywhere. The opening ceremony occupied the finest auditorium in Kyrulia, with an audience of about five hundred. I was invited to join a group (graced by a sprinkling of ambassadors) which for some reason was assembled on the stage. We sat like chickens on a fence, flanked by an incredible display of flowers contributed, I noted, by agencies whose livelihood hinges somewhat upon their remaining in the good graces of the medical profession.

It was an occasion for empty oratory and full advantage of the opportunity was taken by Dr. Q. and a number of local dignitaries from whose tongues rolled the standard adjectives, among which "glorious," "illustrious," and "notable" seemed to form a sort of matrix in which the history of medicine was a vague component. We yearned for the coffee break like school children counting the minutes until recess. It was obvious that no one was quite sure as to what could be done about the history of medicine.

After coffee the ceremony dragged on, releasing its captive audience a little after mid-day. However, our friend Dr. Q. had no intention of plunging us headlong into the pursuit of objectives, whatever they might have been. The afternoon and the following day found us at diplomatic receptions, lunches, and dinners. Carried by chartered buses, we toured hospitals and places of interest and with suitable gravity we laid wreaths at the feet of the surprised statues of Pasteur and other historical figures which stood about in various city parks. At the social events there seemed to be a remarkable abundance of lovely Kyrulian girls whose attitude was distinctly on the affable side of sociability. Unaccustomed as I was to receiving so much attention from local beauties, I set about to find out to whom we were indebted. I learned only that their presence had been "arranged," another evidence of Dr. Q.'s connections.

The final event called for our assembling in a park for the planting of the tree from Cos. The sky was dark with celestial seemings

and forebodings of evil and the downpour which followed made it very clear that we were about to accomplish a submarine ceremony. Most of the delegates left but those burdened with bags of foreign soil waited for more than an hour for the arrival of Dr. Q., who finally stepped from his limousine, smiling as if to indicate that the torrential rain were part of the schedule of events.

A dismal semicircle of eleven drenched delegates, each holding his ten-pound sack of earth, stood obediently around a prepared hole, now filled with water. Workman splashed the forlorn little tree into its new home and then in rotation we each stepped forward to dump our little bag of earth, expressing suitable sentiments in one language or another. To the accompaniment of an understandable but alarming amount of international sneezing, Dr. Q. made a final speech. After mixing the donated soil, which was already mud, workmen wheeled a large bronze plaque into position. The tablet explained the tree and carried, in letters large enough to be legible fifty feet away, the name of Dr. Q.

The entire affair, culminating in the drenching, had been a bit too much for the patient Ambassador of Greece and he was taken directly to a hospital where he recovered from the history of medicine and a threatened pneumonia. The rest of us, feeling thoroughly silly, returned to homes and hotels for dry clothing.

If this story carries no tangible moral implication it is nevertheless worthy of some reflection on what demagoguery can accomplish by using protocol as a tool. Press coverage, thanks to Dr. Q.'s connections, continued unabated. Hence, from the outside the Congress seemed impressive; from the inside it was a farce. The deference accorded international protocol made it possible for a single individual to assemble a Congress at other people's expense and trouble, without paying any serious attention to its alleged purpose.

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COMMUNICATION

RE:

Another Approach to Dissent

JAMES R. BULLINGTON

RECENT events have increased attention to problems of openness in the Department and the Foreign Service. As the June FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL editorial pointed out, there is general agreement on the *concept* of an open Administration and open channels of communication, and on the *principle* that the nation's interests require increased attention to encouraging the presentation by knowledgeable officers of their reasoned and responsible individual views for consideration within the decision making system, even if dissenting judgments are involved. The editorial noted, however, that "the problem still before us . . . is that of defining the nature of openness, the means of insuring candor, and the character of useful dissent."

JOURNAL readers may be interested to know of one initiative within the Department which seeks to provide a path in the direction of what might be termed "institutionalized openness."

Early this year, a group of younger officers in INR, including several of the current leaders of the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club (JFSOC), found themselves discussing INR's lack of an organizational channel for the dissemination of analyses of current foreign policy problems which might be prepared by INR officers in their individual capacities, but which the Bureau, for one reason or another, did not wish to issue as an official publication. These officers noted that all of INR's published output is now presented as the considered judgment of "the Bureau," i.e., ultimately, of its Director. This, of course, necessitates a rigorous coordination and clearance process within INR and makes it improbable that opinions not shared at the higher echelons of the Bureau will be published.

These younger officers recognized the inevitability of such a system within any hierarchical establishment, such as the Department of State, as it is probably the only way in which top policy makers can get the research and intelligence evaluations which they need from their senior subordinates, while shielding themselves from a wholly unmanageable barrage of conflicting opinions and improperly balanced judgments. At the same time, these officers believed that this system has a tendency to stifle not only the badly written or poorly argued paper, but also the speculative, unorthodox, or dissenting view which senior INR officers might feel to be either quite wrong or, at least, untimely.

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A potential solution, it seemed, would be the creation of another category of INR publications, through which the individual analyst could be allowed greater freedom of expression, but which would be clearly dissociated from the formal judgments of the "Bureau" and its Director. After considerable discussion with other INR analysts, as well as with supervisors, a proposal to this effect was presented to INR's Director, Ray Cline, by the original advocates of the idea. Dr. Cline understandably felt that his Bureau was already quite open to the free interplay of divergent ideas, but he nonetheless endorsed the concept as a useful way to help ensure that complacency and stultification would not surreptitiously set in. Accordingly, he and others at the senior level of the Bureau worked with the younger officers to decide upon a specific method of implementation.

The end result, in June, is a memorandum sent from Dr. Cline to INR Office Directors, in which is authorized a new publication called "Viewpoint: A Working Paper." Each memorandum in this series will bear the following introductory notation, "The view set forth in this paper reflects a serious effort by a staff member of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research to describe an important pattern, trend or perspective in foreign affairs. It does not represent an official position of the Department of State or any of its organizational elements. It is circulated for consideration at the working level in Government staffs concerned with analyzing foreign developments affecting national security." It is anticipated that there will be few, if indeed any, occasions, when papers prepared by analysts as their personal "viewpoint" will cause publication problems for the Bureau. However, Dr. Cline has reserved the right to withhold dissemination in unusual circumstances.

Thus far, only the first vital step has been taken. It is now up to the officers of INR, both the younger officers and their superiors, to make "Viewpoint: A Working Paper" into the flourishing mechanism for expressing thoughtful dissent and creative new analysis, which it is intended to be. At the very least, however, another channel has been started, through which advocates of openness and change can attempt to operate successfully within the system when they find themselves with something different to say. Its initiators hope that their effort will suggest possible innovations elsewhere in the Department to accomplish the same ends. ■

The Heisenberg Effect in Government

But even if we didn't have an adversary system of government, the government's reporting system would probably contain a danger of self-deception. The physicist Heisenberg is famous for the so-called "principle of indeterminacy." It holds, not to put too fine a point on it, that, in the subatomic world, when you look for a fact the mere act of looking changes that fact. There is no room for a dissertation on the Heisenberg Effect in government. During my first months as Assistant Secretary I asked for information about our policies with regard to a number of subjects in a number of countries. My inquiries duly disappeared into the channels of communication within the Department and out to embassies halfway around the world. In the course of time, the answers came back. To my surprise, a large proportion stated that inherited policies were "under review," and that whatever it was that the Department had been doing, it was trying not to do it again. Merely in the effort to inform myself, I had apparently produced skepticism and a desire for reform; I had got back the emanation that there were no foot-draggers in the field.—from "High on Foggy Bottom," by Charles Frankel.



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The "friendly adversaries" discuss the problems of covering and uncovering what goes on here . . . and there . . . and there



The Department

The following discussion was recorded on April 23, 1970. In arranging and publishing this discussion, the JOURNAL hopes to contribute to a better understanding between members of the working press and government officials who share the foreign relations field, if often viewing it from different angles.

The JOURNAL is most grateful to the participants in this discussion and especially for the assistance rendered by Robert McCloskey of the State Department and his staff.

Charles A. (Pat) Kennedy, a member of the JOURNAL's Editorial Board, served as moderator of the discussion. The other members of the group will introduce themselves.

Mr. Kennedy: I think we'll start out by introducing the members of the discussion group and—Marvin, why don't we start with you?

Mr. Kalb: My name is Marvin Kalb. I'm the Diplomatic Correspondent for CBS, and I have been covering the State Department for seven years, and before that worked in Eastern Europe and have spent some time in the Far East as well.

Mr. Trewhitt: I'm Henry Trewhitt, Diplomatic Correspondent of NEWSWEEK. I've been in the State Department for two years for the magazine. Prior to that, I was Military Correspondent of the Baltimore SUN at the Department of Defense and immediately before

that I spent five years in Europe for the SUN.

Mr. Nickel: I'm Herman Nickel and I cover the State Department for TIME Magazine. I came here about a year ago after about twelve years as a Foreign Correspondent in London, Africa and Bonn.

Mr. McCloskey: I'm Robert McCloskey, official press spokesman for the Department of State. I have worked for the Department since 1955, and prior to that had about—all too short—three years' experience with newspapers.

Mr. Loy: I'm Frank Loy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. For the last four or five months I've been engaged in a panel of the Council on Foreign Relations dealing with the subject of the media and foreign policy.

Mr. Grose: I'm Peter Grose, a Diplomatic Correspondent for the New York TIMES—three years in Washington; before that Moscow, Vietnam, and ten years in other foreign parts.

Mr. Monsen: I'm Richard Monsen. My immediate position is that of chief of the National Security Advisory Staff of the USIA, and before that I held a number of positions overseas as Public Affairs Officer, Information Officer, Press Spokesman at the US Mission to the UN.

Mr. Kennedy: Thank you, gentlemen. Why don't we start off with the relationship between the press

and government officials which has often been described as an adversary one.

Mr. Grose: I would say adversary in only the most limited, tactical sense in that on any given day a government spokesman has certain information that he wants to make public and on any given day reporters have certain stories that they are interested in pursuing, and these may or may not coincide. I think the adversary relationship cannot be defended or maintained by either side farther than that, since the foreign policy establishment of this country knows that without a full, popular understanding of what it is trying to do, it cannot maintain any policy continuity. Vietnam experience in the last few years clearly indicates this. But there are still too many in the foreign policy establishment who don't realize the opportunities for public education that exist in their relationships with reporters.

Mr. Trewhitt: It seems to me that Mr. Grose's pragmatic viewpoint accurately represents the relationship between the press and the government. I suppose one could imagine an ideal state in which there would be no adversary relationship. The government would be pursuing a policy of full disclosure in international affairs as well as domestic affairs. The press would be dedicated to reporting and explaining, within reasonable limits, without necessarily presenting an



Meets the Press

editorial judgment of that viewpoint. Obviously, we don't have that kind of relationship, so I suppose adversary is as good a word as any to describe it.

Mr. Nickel: Well, it's certainly adversary in the sense that we usually want to know more than the government volunteers. It's up to us as reporters to try to get those additional facts. The public's right to know demands of reporters to tell as much as we possibly can. There are cases where journalists should exercise self-restraint, but these are the exception. For instance, all of us know of stories that were not told in the press because to do so would have jeopardized human lives, but I think the experience of the New York Times before the Bay of Pigs debacle should make us wary of official pleas not to jeopardize national security. We probably would be better off had that story been published.

Mr. Kalb: I think many more occasions occur when the government and the press cooperate, than when there is confrontation between the two. I would like to pick up a point that Peter made: that if one lesson is to be learned from the war in Vietnam it would be that a government cannot get public understanding unless there is a very good working relationship between the government and the press. The press is the vehicle by which the government informs the public. At a certain point, the government is

simply going to have to level with the public considerably more than it has in order to achieve public understanding and confidence. It certainly is essential for the success of any policy.

Mr. Nickel: When we talk about the government, one thing we should point out is that the government speaks with many voices, many of which have an interest in getting through to the press where it gets the President's attention. This is one of the basic tools of our trade. Our job, of course, is to be wise to special pleading and to find out whose input accounts for how much. For if you run around long enough, you can find an "official" source for almost any point of view.

Mr. Trehwitt: That, it seems to me, is one of the parts which is ill-understood at the highest official level in government or, let's say the highest operating official level on any given issue. Certainly if Mr. McCloskey is the official spokesman on any given subject, I'm sure he would be content if his exposition on that subject stood as the official word. I think it is the duty of the press to proceed from the assumption that the inputs that went into that official position ought to be laid out before the public, and this is probably one of the kernels of that adversary relationship.

Mr. Grose: It strengthens the ultimate position of the government; people understand the points of view that were accepted and those

that were rejected, and why they were rejected.

Mr. Loy: I think that what you say is true, Peter, but only in some of the cases with which the department and the government deals. For example, sometimes the government can do things if it is less than fully responsive to the questions of the press and it can't do those if it were more fully responsive. Sometimes that's good and sometimes not. For example, the United States perhaps could get very deeply involved in a relationship with a particular country only if that were not fully understood at the outset by the public. I think it's in this kind of situation that your remarks may be pertinent.

On the other hand the Department frequently is negotiating various current issues where the success would be imperiled if disclosure were total as the negotiations went along. Sometimes it is impossible for the other side to take an action which you want it to take if you make it public. That's a very real problem that everybody who's ever negotiated an agreement faces.

Mr. Kalb: This is the normal cant of bureaucracy but I think that in the last decade anyway there has been a great deal more sophistication about what the government can reveal and the way in which the press handles that kind of revealed insight and knowledge.

I believe that when blood is spilled in pursuit of a policy aim, the public deserves the fullest disclosure and, in no sense, should ever be satisfied with a small group of people presuming to know what is in the public interest.

I know from my limited experience in the government—and that was in the mid fifties, and just for a year and a half—that absurd things were classified which had no right to be classified.

Mr. Grose: Exactly, and the number of negotiating situations that you described, Frank, is really very small compared with the number of times in which this excuse, if you will, is cited as the reason for withholding information.

Mr. McCloskey: If there is an adversary relationship between the media and the government I would only say that it's a friendly adver-

sary relationship.

In my judgment, the role of the media is to make the reporting on foreign policy intelligible. It is also the responsibility of the government not only to make it intelligible but to make it work. The argument that the government withholds information is just a statement of the obvious. Of course it does. However, it is more often prepared to provide information on any number of subjects which it thinks the media is interested in, but we find very often that it's not, and it will be most interested in the most sensitive information. In the SALT talks, I don't think anyone here would disagree that it would probably be imprudent for the government to respond to that public inquiry by opening its negotiating position to the public.

Mr. Trehwitt: I don't think any of us would argue with that. I think probably, as a matter of fact, we would agree — objectively — with Frank's remark that premature disclosure could, in fact, nullify a negotiating process from time to time.

Mr. Kalb: Bob, on this point that you raised on the SALT question . . . that is a perfect illustration, and I think it does support a case for secrecy and against disclosure. It is quite obvious to anybody, whether he's a government worker or a newsman, that it is in the interest of the United States that the best possible deal be reached. However, I would get back to an earlier point, which has to do with the spilling of blood. When the spilling of blood is the result of a policy decision, reached in secret, and kept in secret, often for reasons which are at least questionable, I feel that the government has absolutely no right to withhold its thinking.

Mr. McCloskey: You are talking, obviously, about the war in Vietnam and perhaps some of the marginal situations around Vietnam, like Laos and, now, Cambodia. I totally support your argument that in the case of open conflict, it is absolutely incumbent upon any administration to tell all.

Mr. Trehwitt: But I would also suggest that that line isn't easy to draw either, and take the SALT talks as the example. Because if the implications of the SALT talks are

not only the spilling of blood but the obliteration of mankind in the ultimate, then you come right back to the original problem, which Marvin pointed out.

Mr. Kalb: But it's so obvious a point that everyone, I think, understands it.

Mr. Grose: And there is another complexity in that the SALT position is not just an abstract negotiating position and a bargaining process. Any administration is going to need public support for the agreement that is eventually reached, or for the bargaining position that was taken. Is there to be a moratorium on testing of one or another type of weapon? These are very controversial issues which, if you can't spill the position on the first day of the negotiation, you're going to have to give a very detailed explanation at some point along the line to get anyone to accept your judgment.

Mr. McCloskey: I agree, and I'm sure that will be done. It's been done in the case of previous negotiations, whether they are ones that end up in formal treaty commitments up for advice and ratification of the Senate or something less.

Let me raise a related subject again on SALT. The government has indeed stood silent since Helsinki and now that talks have been resumed in Vienna, but I've read at least a dozen different stories about the American negotiating position. Where does this leave your readers?

Mr. Kalb: It depends upon how good the stories are. It may leave them very well informed, or thoroughly confused; that has to do with how good the reporters' sources are.

Mr. McCloskey: That's not the fault of the government.

Mr. Trehwitt: That is really essentially part of the adversary process. I guess government would suggest that the proper time for public perusal of the results of the SALT talks would be when the proposed results are brought out for ratification by the public through the Senate. I doubt that any journalist here would agree with that, and so the process of ferment, speculation, trying to dig out by bits and pieces of what is happening in SALT, I think, is a legitimate one.

Mr. Nickel: Well, it seems to me, Henry, that there often is an ambivalence about the public interest, in that there really is more than one public interest. There is one public interest, which we as reporters represent, which is the public interest in an informed public that can exercise a constant control function over its government. There is another public interest, represented by the government, that the success of SALT or other negotiations not be jeopardized by premature disclosure. In our system, thank God, there is no great arbiter who sits down and decides what the correct balance should be. It simply has to work itself out in an adversary, dialectical process, rather like the constant conflict between the rights of the community and the rights of the individual has to be worked out in adversary legal proceedings.

Mr. McCloskey: Yes, not only is there no divine arbiter to establish or define the balance, there never will be an elegant arrangement in this relationship between the media and the government, and striving for it, or hoping that it will come about, it seems to me, is completely unrealistic.

Mr. Kennedy: Well, Bob, do you see any practical way this relationship could be improved?

Mr. McCloskey: Yes, I think it's possible and I think the burden of the responsibility will always be on the side of the government, meaning that people in positions like mine are going to have to keep prodding the organization, the bureaucracy, to be more responsive to public inquiry. The press has no problem with our using our public forums and press briefings to advocate our own policies and keep our best foot forward, but what they won't tolerate is the government standing silent on all things. The government is going to have to work harder, to be responsive in that way. The relationship can be improved but it will never become an ideal or elegant relationship.

Mr. Grose: I am sort of appalled, frankly, at the lingering, neanderthal mentality which is too often found on both sides—among reporters who regard any government official as a spineless liar, and among bureaucrats who regard any

Following are "ground rules" which govern conversations between Department of State officials and news correspondents covering the Department:

1. ON THE RECORD: The official may be identified by name and may be quoted directly either in total or in part.

Example: State Department Spokesman Robert McCloskey said today.

2. BACKGROUND: The source is identified as "Department officials" or "State Department sources." No direct quotation of the conversation is permitted. Whatever information is used may be paraphrased only.

Example: State Department officials said today.

3. DEEP BACKGROUND (sometimes called the Lindley rule): Information can only be used on the reporter's own responsibility without any attribution whatsoever to official sources.

Example: The United States has.

4. OFF THE RECORD: The information may not be used under any circumstances.

reporter as an irresponsible meddler. This is one way in which the relationship can be improved. These are caricature images which I encounter every day among government officials, old and young, and among reporters, old and young.

Mr. McCloskey: I'm rather disappointed to hear that because I rather felt that at least within the Department of State, more and more people take seriously the legitimate interest of the press in the things that we are doing. Now, we may become irritated that we're, in effect, monitored 24 hours a day, but that's just a fact of life.

Mr. Grose: Perhaps more and more, Bob, but there is still so much of the feeling in this building that if only the reporters would go away, we could carry on diplomacy in a sensible way.

Mr. Kalb: Well, this is natural because every diplomat enjoys talking to other diplomats with the security that everybody has similar clearances and you don't have to worry because everybody is sort of in the same boat together, and when you get into a conversation with a reporter, he's not in the same boat. This comes down to a question of education which I think Bob was trying to raise—that government officials simply will have to understand that not every reporter is out to do them in; is out to do

the government in; is out to uncover a sensational scoop every day, when one a week would be very pleasant (Laughter). But, this is the kind of educational process which, surprisingly, is still in its infancy.

Mr. Loy: You know, Peter, you may get some help from a strange source. I recently read of a statement by Herr Albert Speer, Minister for Armament and War Production under Hitler. He said that one of his difficulties in solving production problems was the lack of a critical press that would have pointed out a number of bureaucratic foul-ups.

Mr. Monsen: I think that we've overdone the antagonism and adversary quality between government press officers and the press, and I think we government press types have a sincere and real interest in seeing that the story is reported accurately. We don't want you to make mistakes any more than you do. Our reason for being here is to help you get the facts right. We recognize just as much as you that the success of the Government depends on a large degree of public understanding of the issues in the United States and abroad. This can be done only if you are enabled to report these things accurately.

Mr. Grose: Let me pick up a point Frank made at the beginning about SALT, or about a negotiating

situation in general. I wonder if there just isn't a kind of excessive sensitivity about whether public disclosure really would mess up a negotiation. I'd be willing to bet that in dealing with a fairly sophisticated adversary like the Soviet Union, a lot more could be done in explaining possible positions that could be taken. I think there is too much of a feeling that any disclosure along this line would upset the negotiation. I'm not convinced that public disclosure of positions will upset negotiations, because any negotiation is going to be reached for the interests of both sides, whether it's been spilled in the press in advance or not.

Mr. Loy: Well, I realize this puts me on the side of those that are sort of clammimg up. In most negotiations there are really two negotiations going on—one within, let's say the US side or the Soviet side, among the various contending forces, and one with the other country. A disclosure that would force the delegation to make a statement in a public way, refuting the disclosure or commenting upon it, that would make it subsequently harder to concede a point that you want conceded.

Mr. Grose: I would just like the burden of proof to be shifted. We're entering a negotiating situation; it's up to you to tell me why you can't explain things, rather than my accepting silence as your right just because you're negotiating.

Mr. Kalb: There is one issue here, purely technical, but if you're involved in a negotiation, you do not choose to let the other side know what your position is until such time as you wish to reveal it. That is different, I think, from the larger point that Peter is making, which has to do with a philosophical understanding of where the burden of revelation comes, and the other is the faith that the government has in the rightness of its policy.

Mr. Trewhitt: There's a real distinction there, particularly in the case of . . . to go back to SALT again . . . because to a large extent, and I don't really want to fall off on the side of the enemy here . . .

Mr. Grose: Who said adversary relationship? (Laughter)

Mr. Trewhitt: That's right . . . to

a large extent, the public posture of the United States in any negotiation such as SALT, is determined by the public posture of the negotiating partner, and when you have a negotiating partner such as the Soviet Union, you have a problem there which I can see. I'm not prepared to concede the right of silence on the part of the government in that respect, but I see the problem.

Mr. Kennedy: Let me interject something here and perhaps we can include another topic that I think might be of interest. That is the distinction between analytical pieces, background pieces and "hard news." There is a criticism that enough space isn't devoted to serious analytical background. Could this in some way help alleviate the problem where people are not particularly willing to give out hard news but might be willing to discuss background?

Mr. McCloskey: Before we do, can I just get in my last oar on this matter of silence during the negotiating process. Very often in my experience, we have come rather forward on at least the main lines of our negotiating position. Now, in some cases we are asked to state the position of the other government and we are asked to say what it said yesterday, and what we expect it to do tomorrow, and this is not easy for us. This will happen frequently in a negotiation or dispute with the Soviet Union. They can stand mute, and they don't have to respond to public opinion, and it, therefore, falls to the United States to outline not only its own position but, in many cases, to present the Soviet side.

Mr. Kalb: Isn't this an opportunity for you to fashion the public side of the Soviet position, if it doesn't wish to speak, and if it falls to you, you have that advantage?

Mr. McCloskey: You're leaning dangerously close to asking us to use the press and I don't think you mean that.

Mr. Trehwitt: Try, try. (Laughter)

Mr. Kalb: No, that is not the question. I think the question of the use of the press is something that is recognized by the press on every single occasion. It must be wary of being "used." It must be aware of the problem, but it is not necessarily bad.

Mr. McCloskey: I would have to say in all candor, I don't think that the United States, as a government, has learned to "use" the press the way other governments have done it.

Mr. Kalb: But that doesn't mean the effort hasn't been made.

Mr. Kennedy: How about this distinction between the hard news . . .

Mr. Trehwitt: I'm not sure that that distinction applies today to the extent that it did, even just a few years ago. I think the American press—most of the Western press—has become much more sophisticated. I think journalists writing on diplomacy and foreign affairs are far better qualified than their colleagues were in the post World War II period. The background is an extremely valuable device, but I think the press must approach it with the same reservations that it approaches the public position of the government.

Mr. Kalb: I think one of the implied points in this question is this: should the media provide more space and time to the presentation of analysis as opposed to hard news? Without any doubt the answer is yes. Infinitely more time should be devoted on the radio and television networks news analysis.

Mr. Loy: It's not only the question of the distinction between news and analysis, but also I think we may need a re-definition of what's news. For example, a story on the Palestine refugees living in Jordan—whether that's background or news or analysis, doesn't make much difference.

Mr. Trehwitt: That goes for the electronic media, of course. I guess, at least I hope, it doesn't apply to the printed media as much now as it did at one time, but I suppose I'm also too much insulated from most newspapers in the United

States that don't print the analytical material. The papers available to any serious reader on the East Coast, I think, pretty generally give a balance.

Mr. Grose: I don't think government officials and reporters disagree on this point. I think that there has been a revolution in the definition of news in the last five years and this, of all the problems that exist between us, I don't see as a very important one any more. We're on the same side.

Mr. McCloskey: We in government have great sympathy for you, because the writing and reporting on foreign affairs news is an extremely complex reportorial job. It is rarely a visible story, a who, what, when, today kind of event.

Mr. Monsen: You journalists are being criticized and I think some of our government officials are guilty of interpretation because any time one of you strays away from a hard recitation of facts, he is criticized for speculating. That's part of your job it seems to me, particularly in the field that you deal with.

Mr. Nickel: TIME Magazine does not claim to be a magazine that separates fact from opinion (laughter), but of course this is a fiction anyhow. To come back to the original point that you made, I think we should take our readers through the particular options that a government is faced with in a given situation.

Mr. Kalb: You have an illustration on the television side, for example, which might be of interest to some people. If you have to explain all of the options before the American government at this time regarding Cambodia, and do it in 45 seconds, I would literally defy you to do the kind of job that I know you would like, that I know the reporter would like to do. But there is no time on the air to do that; and just the other day the New York TIMES television critic wrote that a broadcast which is seen weekly on educational television, where four or five reporters sit down every week to discuss the news in an analytical framework, is a very desirable thing. You cannot get that kind of program on a network, however.

Mr. Grose: Why not?

Mr. Kalb: Because there is a



question of money, of listenership, presumed or otherwise, and there is not at this particular point, on any of the networks, a prevailing attitude that considers it important enough to get this kind of a program on the network, otherwise it would be on.

Mr. Kennedy: What's the role of documentaries, then, in filling this gap?

Mr. Kalb: Well, the role of a documentary is quite clear and there are many documentaries on the air. CBS as one network has had an hour documentary on the air every single night this week on a major topic. But this is clearly an extraordinary week. The problem is what most Americans see every single night, and what they are getting is headlines.

Mr. McCloskey: How much you can get on the air between 6:30 and 7:30.

Mr. Kalb: That's right, and it's a half hour.

Mr. Trehwitt: But the interesting point on that is that this program Marvin mentions has now become rather popular with a large viewing audience.

Mr. Nickel: But I think we must face the fact that television and radio are entirely different from the printed word in that they are truly mass media. Even *TIME*, with five million circulation, is no longer meant for everybody. We realize that our readership has become far more sophisticated than we thought it was when I started working for *TIME* twelve years ago.

Mr. McCloskey: Sophisticated in foreign affairs interest?

Mr. Nickel: Well, we try. I think . . .

Mr. McCloskey: I'm not talking about the magazine, I'm talking about the readership.

Mr. Trehwitt: I think, generally speaking, that's the answer.

Mr. Kalb: Herman, you had a figure of five million. I'm not pleading a special case, but merely making an obvious point, that on any given night Cronkite is seen, according to the ratings, by about 20,000,000 families—20,000,000 sets are turned on—now that might be something like 60,000,000 Americans on any given night . . .

Mr. Nickel: Well, that's just the

point I'm making.

Mr. Kalb: . . . or watching that, but the point I'm trying to get at, and I would address this to Bob—do you believe that, and let's limit it to the State Department, that there is an awareness on the part of the leaders of the Department about the potency of that force, the availability of it, and whether—to get back to the other word—it ought to be used more.

Mr. McCloskey: I completely agree with you, and I think we have not taken advantage of those programs to the extent that we should, and I include also the Sunday panel programs.

Mr. Grose: From what does this reluctance stem?

Mr. McCloskey: I think, principally, that the interest in getting the man on the program is when his area is in the heat . . . when there is drama or controversy surrounding his area . . . and the tendency is to want to say less in those periods, and not subject officials to 90-second snap summaries of what's in the area . . .

Mr. Grose: That's your opportunity to convince people of the policy . . .

Mr. McCloskey: I think I've already acknowledged that there's more opportunity in it than disadvantage for us, and I think that we have neglected too often to take advantage of it.

Mr. Trehwitt: Well, don't you have a practical problem there though, because the individual before a television camera can have a great deal to do with the impact he makes?

Mr. McCloskey: I want you to know, sir, that there is no one in this building who is visually unacceptable. (Laughter)

Mr. Nickel: Well, I would almost like to put in a word for the printed media, because I do detect in this administration generally a tendency to use television.

Mr. Kalb: Only at the White House, sir.

Mr. Nickel: Well, I think that to get Cabinet officers on the record for the printed word is rather difficult, the networks have had more of a crack at getting the person on the screen than we in the printed media have had.

Mr. Grose: Let me shift a little bit if I may, and explain one problem which we all face. It relates to the initial question of hard news versus analytical reporting. Bob touched on his impression that there is a vast amount of misinformation and ill informed population in this country on foreign affairs, that people don't know about complexities of problems except the three top issues of the day. I think that is right.

Mr. McCloskey: I encounter repeatedly more alleged than real interest in foreign policy.

Mr. Grose: Quite right, exactly, and now this presents us as reporters with a very specific problem which we have to face every day and that is getting people's attention. No one is required to read about foreign affairs. The competition on all sides is so great. But if there is to be education, it has to start by attracting people's attention. My friends in the State Department sometimes get annoyed with me for sensationalizing an issue after we had had a very low key and easy discussion. This is a good opportunity for me just to outline the problem that reporters have when we are competing for people's attention. If we're honest about it, and responsible about it, once the attention is gained we then take the next couple of paragraphs to explain it, but the problem of gaining attention often turns an analytical story into what you would call a hard news story.

Mr. Kennedy: Is this need of the reporter that you've outlined the source of the criticism that newspapers and broadcasting media report only bad news as opposed to good news, and the temptation of reporters to "make news"?

Mr. Kalb: I think that's an absolutely absurd hypothesis. It really gets down to an issue about what is news. Now, I'm under no illusion that a reporter is an absolutely neutral and neuter object. A reporter does have feelings and will respond to situations. But it is also a fact that the professional reporter does not regard himself as an arbiter, or a pleader of special causes. He is trying merely to impart what is news, and what is news is what has changed, what is different. If a cat gets trapped up in a tree and a

fireman has to go up to get the cat, it is a story . . . it is not a story when hundreds of cats go up in trees and hundreds of cats get off the trees without any firemen having to get them off, despite everything that the Vice President said last November when he attacked the networks.

Mr. Monsen: I never saw such a story reported.

Mr. Kalb: . . . when he attacked the networks, and attacked the credibility of newsmen, and I think that it is tragic that there has been so much of a response to the Vice President's attacks.

Mr. Trehwitt: It is a simple fact . . .

Mr. McCloskey: I'm not sure that the question the way it was put really merited that graphic, but almost irrelevant description of the cat in the tree. I think that the question was a little broader than that and has to do more with whether it's only reportable that the United States has done something that is criticized and not as much value as news when it's done something . . .

Mr. Trehwitt: I don't believe that's the case either.

Mr. Kalb: When the United States reaches a peace treaty on the war in Vietnam, or when the United States reaches an agreement with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic arms, it will be the lead story on the networks and it will lead the New York TIMES, and it will be the cover on both magazines. It is not irrelevant, it's the heart of the issue. What you consider bad and what we consider news.

Mr. Trehwitt: Just as it was news when the test ban treaty was signed, of course.

Mr. McCloskey: But I think you will agree that week after week we publish a list here of international meetings and conferences in which the US is participating and they might run from subjects like getting a new aviation agreement with another country to a meeting about hog cholera somewhere in the world. You know, that's not as newsworthy by anyone's standard as to whether or not we are going to send rifles to Cambodia, but it's an act of the government, therefore some defense can be made for



making it reportable, and I have yet to see a story on this kind of thing.

Mr. Kalb: I would think that the list that you put out every week of all of the conferences just is not news by anyone's definition—particularly since there is such difficulty getting what I would call real news on the air. I certainly don't think there is any chance of getting the hog conference reported.

Mr. McCloskey: But can't the question be raised as to why it isn't news. It's an action of the government.

Mr. Kalb: But the question that you're raising is what *is* news, and that is for each individual reporter or editor to determine.

Mr. Trehwitt: Well, I don't think any of us is going to question that controversy, and change as Marvin said, is what makes news. There must be a subjective judgment on the part of the journalist, be he electronic or printed word, as to what commands interest, and change and controversy cause interest.

Mr. Grose: Controversy is interesting.

Mr. Trehwitt: . . . and, as a matter of fact, generally have the greatest implications for the greater number of people.

Mr. Grose: Controversy is interesting, it's educational, and it's not necessarily bad news. This is another thing I don't understand . . .

Mr. McCloskey: Forgive me . . . now, don't be imputing the word bad news to me—all I'm asking is why other things can't be presented as news?

Mr. Grose: Well, they are.

Mr. Kalb: But the question is bad and good. Why is so much bad news being presented, as though reporters sit around every morning saying—now, what bad news can we report tonight? That's just not the case.

Mr. McCloskey: Well, we don't expect the reporters to wake up each morning, beating their breast about what they are going to do for Richard Nixon today. But it seems to me that there ought to be some recognition of the fact that life goes on in other areas, and that it ought to merit some reporting or passing comment.

Mr. Grose: But bad news, without imputing words to you, Bob, why is there such a tendency to regard controversy inside the government as bad stories, bad news? The only really sensitive stories that I may write concern disagreements between the Secretary of State and some other member of the Cabinet, for instance, or between one branch of the government and another branch of the government. That kind of story sets alarm bells ringing all over Washington. If I were to write a story about an issue of war and peace, it would be taken as the normal course of journalistic enterprise. Why is there so much sensitivity about disclosing differing viewpoints?

Mr. McCloskey: Well, one of the problems that we have and in which the reporter has some responsibility is to be careful that when he comes upon something either on his own enterprise or which is volunteered to him by a government official, that he is not running the risk of reporting someone's opinion as policy. This happens all too often. I must say, I find that most of the fellows here are prudent enough to make a check with somebody else, but there's a risk that the reporter runs.

Mr. Trehwitt: That may be, Bob, the perfect illustration of the insoluble adversary relationship, because I can perfectly well understand that the government does not want—the government as an entity—does not want other nations to know what kind of internal divisions occurred in reaching a policy position. I am equally certain that I

am going to try to lay out those differences within the United States Government, and I don't see any way that we could ever bridge that kind of gap between . . .

Mr. Grose: I don't see why the government should object to having another government know the divisions.

Mr. Trehwitt: Well, on occasion . . .

Mr. Kalb: I can think of a number . . .

Mr. McCloskey: Why is it that on some of these stories, which tend to be the exclusive kind, that the stories don't more often use an attribution like US officials.

Mr. Trehwitt: That's a distinction we should make. If that's the case, that is obviously a sloppy and unprofessional way of reporting the story.

Mr. Grose: Very clumsy journalism.

Mr. Kalb: It happens, but I would say that at least part of the reason has to do with the backgrounding rules under which the reporter might have received this information.

Mr. Grose: But if there is an interagency question here, then you define that the State Department said.

Mr. Kalb: Then you can define it as State Department officials, and Pentagon, etc. The points you raised were just sloppy reporting.

Mr. Kennedy: Gentlemen, noticing on the clock that our time is commencing to run out, surely no discussion involving the media and government today would be complete without something on intimidation of the press by the government, which may be a new and novel form of managing the news and perhaps you would like to comment on this problem.

Mr. Kalb: Well, I would be delighted to start that. (Laughter) I think that the speech of Vice President Agnew, last November 12 in Des Moines, was a clear case of an administration effort to intimidate not only the television media but also all newsmen. I think that it is a very interesting question. Perhaps some bright Ph.D. student might sit

down in another year or so and go through all of the analyses that have appeared on the networks since the Vice President's speech and all of the analyses that have appeared in the good, grey New York TIMES, as well as the Washington POST, and NEWSWEEK, and all of the other institutions of the press that were attacked by the Vice President. That study should show whether there have been any changes; whether, in fact, the effort at intimidation has succeeded. That it was an effort at intimidation, I believe to be the case. A number of other high officials within the administration were very quick to point out that this does not represent their view.

Mr. Grose: Without being put in the position of standing by the Vice President, I wonder if we can define the word intimidation. That is a loaded word and once we are all against. I would not accept the position that criticism of the press or disparaging remarks about the way a certain situation was handled, are intimidating or to be discouraged. I'm all for it. The more intelligent criticism, in the sense of literary or theatrical criticism, that can be directed at news coverage, the better it's going to be for the reporters and for the readers.

Mr. Kalb: For the readers of this magazine, are you putting the Agnew speech in the category of good criticism?

Mr. Grose: A lot of what the Vice President said deserves to be said. A lot of it was hogwash, also, but it is a legitimate point of view, it is a grievance which many people have felt before the Vice President said it, and it deserves to be argued.

Mr. Trehwitt: Let me take an either-or position on this. I think, if one breaks down what the Vice President had to say on that occasion, paragraph by paragraph, I would agree with some X per cent of that outline as valid criticism of the press. Cumulatively, I agree with Marvin. I think it was a calculated attempt by the administration to intimidate. I must say that it didn't worry me. I'm prepared to listen to that kind of criticism, and even to listen to that kind of attempt

at intimidation. I think it behooves the press not to react other than to proceed as objectively as it can, in this particular context, to fulfill its function.

Mr. Kalb: The person who works for television knows infinitely better than the Vice President the failings of American television. I think in this discussion we've already talked to some degree about some of those failings. We can't get enough analysis on, there might be an effort at sensationalizing a story in order, as Peter said, to attract the attention of your viewer or listener. But at the same time I believe it is entirely fair, and I think that in a most candid moment the Vice President himself might agree: in that particular speech, within the context of the President's speech on Vietnam, and within the context of widespread demonstration against policy in Vietnam, he was seeking to quiet that criticism. He was seeking, if you will, to intimidate the media to be quiet about criticism.

Mr. Trehwitt: Marvin, I'll put a question to you because I really haven't made up my own mind on this. So I suggest, timorously, that if there is any evidence as to how the media have reacted, it has been greater probably on the part of television than the printed media. How would you react to that suggestion?

Mr. Kalb: That the reaction has been . . .

Mr. Trehwitt: . . . greater in television than the printed media?

Mr. Kalb: Oh, I think yes and I think the reason is obvious. It was the television networks' handling of the President's speech on November 3 that was specifically attacked by the Vice President, on television, at prime time.

Mr. Trehwitt: This I think—that tone which ran throughout the speech—really is the best evidence of the speech as an effort at intimidation. The audiences the Vice President chose for his attacks on the media also cannot be discarded as elements in that total pattern, because he chose audiences which he could be certain would be highly sympathetic to that point of view.

(Continued on page 45)

Dilemma on Kidnapping

All of us should note that the Secretary of State and Mrs. Rogers attended the funeral of our colleague, Dan A. Mitrione; this was a gesture of thoughtfulness and concern without recent precedent. AFSA has expressed its shock at the murder and extended its sympathies to Mrs. Mitrione.

Out of our revulsion for this terrible act must now come some hard decisions about international actions to prevent its repetition. The *NEW YORK TIMES* editorial of August 14 had this to say about AFSA's stand on political kidnapping as carried in the June *JOURNAL*.

"The murder of Dan A. Mitrione in Uruguay again focuses attention on a three-sided dilemma for which there are no easy solutions. There is the dilemma of the individual diplomat, the dilemma of the government that sent him to a troubled area, and the dilemma of the government where political kidnappings occur . . .

"As the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* put it in a recent editorial: 'As long as the kidnappers believe they can thus influence their own government, or the foreign government involved, the kidnapping of foreign officials will be a tempting mode of political action.'

"That editorial urged the United States to propose an international convention under which governments would agree to refuse ransom—political or financial—and to avoid pressure on another government to take steps for the return of kidnapped diplomats beyond those it would take for its own citizens.

"The courageous recommendation by career diplomats—the group most exposed—appears to be the least unsatisfactory way of dealing with a complex and growing problem. If it were adopted, Mr. Mitrione's death would not have been in vain but a sacrifice in defense of honorable principle."—*New York Times*, Aug. 14, 1970

The OAS has considered the possibility of a joint declaration that no members would grant asylum to political prisoners freed as a result of political kidnappings, but no agreement has been reached. Uruguay has asked for a reconsideration. Such a declaration would have doubtful efficacy, because there can be no control over other destinations, such as Havana.

In the absence of any better way of dealing with the situation, we believe it is time for the United States to take the lead by announcing that it will not ask foreign governments to accede to demands for political or financial ransom for the lives of its officials serving overseas.

About the Journal

During the past year the *JOURNAL* has been undergoing gradual but deliberate change. In seeking to make it a better journal on foreign affairs, the *JOURNAL* Board has sought out articles on foreign policy and management reform. We have dropped certain features and have published a greater selection of articles on such subjects as development policy, international communications, and the problems of diplomacy.

At this time, when the Department of State is seeking new ways to encourage the consideration of differing

views, we believe the *JOURNAL* has a role to play. It should seek to promote communication on foreign affairs problems between foreign affairs experts outside the Government and those inside. It should also provide a forum within which those on the inside can make their views more widely known among their colleagues.

In order to fulfill this purpose we need more and better contributions, particularly from inside the foreign affairs services. We recognize that there are limitations on what professionals on the inside can publish. Yet there is scope for much more published foreign affairs analysis by insiders than is now being offered. We cannot expect foreign affairs experts on the outside to look to the *JOURNAL* as a source and as a vehicle for publication unless those on the inside use it for similar purposes.

We appeal to members of AFSA and subscribers to the *JOURNAL* for their help in continuing the improvement of the *JOURNAL*.

1970 FSSO Promotion Panels

If it is true that the FSSO category will soon be phased out, it would appear that promotion this year will be critical to many in the Staff Corps if they are to be considered for integration into the FSO Corps.

As a result of personnel reduction programs, certain staff officers have had their positions abolished in the administrative and consular functions and they have been reassigned to their earlier primary specialty. For example, from Personnel Assistant to Secretary and from General Services Officer back to Communications and Records Assistant. The Staff Corps Advisory Committee wonders how realistic it is for them to expect promotion this year. In the precepts it is stated that these officers will be considered in the functional specialty they performed prior to their reassignment. The Boards are to evaluate these employees on the basis of their quality of performance in the Staff Officer category and are not to be influenced by indications of a reversion to another functional category. Since it is well known that many have excellent records, it will be interesting to see just how many are actually promoted.

Another aspect of the promotion panel that we believe requires clarification concerns the group of employees the Board actually recommends for promotions. Many would like to know if they have at least made it on the panel's recommended promotion list, but because of budgetary limitations some names will not be high enough on the list for promotion. Perhaps as a consolation prize, the Boards should at least let them know that they were recommended.

Last year, although the Staff Officer Corps Boards convened in July, it was not until Christmas week that their decisions were made known. (It was remarked in the Department that a group of FSOs who were ranked in the low percentile of their class were also apprised of their status during this week.) Two wrongs do not make a right, but we feel it does appear to show a rather indifferent attitude. In the case of the FSOs, many would argue that the sooner they learned of their fate, the better. As for Staff Officers, since so many are disappointed as a result of a tight budget, we think Christmas week is not the time to drop the bomb.



SEPTEMBER, 1970

AFSA Planning Special Educational Assistance For Foreign Service Dependents

Foreign Service dependents face problems not generally encountered among young children and adolescents in a stable American community. We move our children from place to place every few years; they cope with new companions, new schools, new languages, new cultures. These changes may create problems with their parents. Frequently it is not until a particularly trying assignment, including home duty, poses problems with which the youngster cannot contend that parents become aware their child may require special counsel or help. Occasionally some parents have expressed the belief that careers or assignments might be adversely affected if they sought official advice and assistance in trying to solve these problems.

Over two decades ago, AFSA recognized that a number of Foreign Service parents and dependents would want and need assistance for even the usual educational problems encountered when high school days are ending. AFSA was fortunate to be able to employ an educational consultant with a unique combination of qualifications. Mr. Clarke Slade, a former boarding school headmaster and an experienced psychiatric social worker, was added to the staff; and he 300 families a year consult him and benefit from his special knowledge and counsel. Sometimes the consultations concern children who have special educational problems, specifically those with physical or mental handicaps, or, more recently, those who have psychological problems. In cases involving handicapped children, Mr. Slade has been able to help in locating special educational facilities or in suggesting the possibility of assistance from various state agencies. At the request of the parents, he has also helped make arrangements for complete psycholo-

gical and psychiatric examinations for children. On his recommendation, AFSA asked a psychiatrist to keep enough time open to evaluate those children whose parents requested it and were prepared to bear the expense.

Because of the increasing number of children for whom parents seek other than the usual educational counsel and assistance, and the reluctance in some instances to seek official advice, AFSA consulted Dr. George I. Mishtowt, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Medical Services, and members of his staff. Dr. Mishtowt stated that every attempt is made in the Office of Medical Services to help the employee and his dependents solve their medical problems, be they physical, mental, or emotional, so that the employee's career, in the long run, would not be adversely affected. As for posts, the doctor said that it is very unusual for an employee to be denied an overseas assignment for health reasons alone. He emphasized his desire that OMED and AFSA have a completely cooperative relationship since both have as an objective the best interests of our children.

For those parents who still have reservations, Dr. Mishtowt would be entirely agreeable if they used AFSA as an initial point of contact or as an intermediary. He would be more than ready to make available the medical personnel needed for consultation at AFSA's or the parents' request. He has twelve psychiatrists on the Medical Office staff. In addition, 35 to 40 psychiatrists in private practice have been chosen to provide additional assistance because of their specialized backgrounds. Equally important, they will devote time to patients referred to them by the medical staff.

Foreign Service children are eligible for evaluation and testing by

the medical staff without charge. In unusual cases where residential treatment is indicated, the medical staff assists parents in locating suitable facilities and in the admission formalities. Such treatment is available to the children of parents (State, AID and USIA) for as much as a full year without cost, provided the need for it is incurred while on overseas assignment.

The several Health Plans available to Foreign Service parents may cover part or all of the costs for treatment beyond that year. However, neither the Government nor the Health Plans cover special educational costs that often arise concurrently with, or following medical treatment. Where special residential or other extraordinary educational facilities are called for, there comes a point where the end of treatment and the beginning of education must be determined. Parents sometimes suddenly find themselves totally dependent on private resources to meet very high costs which, though usually deductible in part for income tax purposes, can prove to be an intolerable burden.

It is understood that the Task Forces are making several recommendations for liberalization of educational allowances, as well as for a study to provide medical or educational allowances, or both, to help parents with retarded dependents. AFSA, of course, will support these recommendations.

In the meantime, however, AFSA and the Association of American Foreign Service Women will seek ways and means, as well as additional funds, to help parents meet the wider range of extraordinary educational costs discussed above. AAFSW has set aside \$2,000 of its \$13,000 donation to the Scholarship Fund, which AFSA will match, as an initial contribu-

tion to a new Fund. However, to be of real assistance to parents, a Fund for this purpose should have a substantial capitalization and an assured procedure for long-term reimbursement for assistance rendered. It should be administered entirely apart from the Scholarship Fund to avoid complications with donors and tax laws. If sufficient capital can be raised, and tax exemption and other legal requirements satisfied, AFSA will offer this additional educational assistance to parents who are in need of it.

Mr. Slade will continue to provide educational counseling services as usual, but AFSA urges all Foreign Service parents who know or suspect that their dependents may need special counsel or advice because of a physical or mental handicap, or any kind of emotional disturbance, to consult directly with Dr. Mishtowt. They will find him a sympathetic, concerned and professional helpful adviser.

Injury and Death Benefit

In a reply to AFSA's letter regarding benefits for injury or death by hostile action (see July AFSA NEWS), Deputy Under Secretary William B. Macomber, Jr. recalled past efforts to obtain special benefits for employees killed or injured in noteworthy causes and stated that such efforts had failed because of general recognition that need is not affected by the cause of death or disability. Mr. Macomber went on to compare the death benefits for military and civilian personnel, with the latter being eligible for the greater amounts.

He added that his speech of January 14 contained a suggestion that the Department seek legislation to continue housing and other allowances during a reasonable period for widows of Foreign Service personnel who die abroad and that he would broaden the proposal to include a provision to reimburse employees for the extra expenses they incur when they sustain disabilities abroad.

Mr. Macomber remarked on his deep concern about the threat of hostile action to personnel in hazardous areas and said he would be grateful for any suggestions on ways to "recognize (and compensate for) the new hazards presented by the kidnapping and terrorism wave around the world."

Members may wish to submit their suggestions to Mr. Macomber through AFSA.

Bookfair's "Bertie" Needs You!

Washington's best book bargains can be found each year at the October Book Fair held at the State Department.

Since 1962 the Book Fair has provided Foreign Service personnel, the Washington diplomatic community and the general public with exceptional values in good books, rare books, paintings, prints, posters and stamps—all at low prices made possible by your donations.

All proceeds from the Fair go to the Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund. Last year these proceeds provided 23 college scholarships to deserving Foreign Service dependents.

The American Association of Foreign Service Women, which sponsors the Book Fair, hopes to increase the number of scholarships available this year by collecting even more than the 45,000 books donated in 1969.

The 1970 Book Fair will be held at the State Department October 19-23. Foreign Service and diplomatic families will have first chance at the bargains on October 19. The Fair will be open to the general public beginning October 20.

Bertie the Bookworm, reptilinear mascot of the Fair, appeals for your donations to the October event. Bright yellow Bertie bins have been placed at convenient entrances to the State Department, USIA and Foreign Service Institute to collect your book donations.

In addition to books, Bertie is looking for stamps, posters and rare books for the Fair's Collector's Corner as well as prints, paintings and art objects for the Art Corner.

As a special attraction, children's paintings and drawings will be up for sale in a Children's Art Show. Bertie would like to see all the children's pictures he can for this special exhibit.

Bertie will also pick up books at your home. For prompt free service call 966-8858. Mr. Bookworm will do all the carrying for you if you call right away.

JFSOC Acts to Increase AFSA Effectiveness:

Three JFSOC sub-committees recently collected over 100 AFSA members' signatures on petitions proposing four amendments to the current AFSA By-Laws. JFSOC has requested the AFSA Board, in accordance with AFSA's By-Laws, to submit the proposed amendments to

AFSA's entire membership for a vote.

The proposed amendments to the AFSA By-Laws were drafted by members of the three JFSOC sub-committees concerned with Executive Order 11491 on Management-Labor Relations in the Federal Service and accepted at a meeting of committee members on July 31. The three sub-committees were formed after a polling of all Washington-based JFSOC members and an open meeting held June 4, 1970. The AFSA Reform Sub-Committee is chaired by John Hirsch, INR/REU (21384), the Legal Problems and Support Sub-Committee by Richard Higgins and Francis Hodsoll, UNP (20573), and the Officer Organizations and Representation in Other Foreign Services Sub-committee by William Stewart, VTC (70704). Any member wishing to serve on these sub-committees should contact the chairmen or Norman Achilles, chairman of JFSOC's committee on Executive Order 11491, FSI (75410).

In brief, the amendments call on the AFSA Board to foster better communications through polling member views before making final decisions on matters of *substantial interest* to the membership; allow interested members to participate in and follow Board efforts by publishing summaries of the minutes of Board meetings; provide for regular public meetings; and reform election procedures to allow equal opportunity to all candidates.

Acceptance of these amendments is considered by the officers of JFSOC a necessary precondition for making AFSA an effective and representative advocate of the views of AFSA members.

Goals:

JFSOC's Committee on the Executive Order and related sub-committees are working for the following interrelated goals:

- 1) the development of an effective association to accurately represent and reflect the views of all foreign service officers
- 2) the development of a type of relationship between such an association and the administrative apparatus of the Department of State which would allow Officers a greater degree of participation in the management and administration of the Department.

At this point the committees see a reformed AFSA and movement under the Executive Order as the most logical and potentially useful vehicles for attaining these goals.

Psychiatry and Foreign Affairs

The Institute for Psychiatry and Foreign Affairs will sponsor a fall seminar called "The Seminar on the Process and Issues of Foreign Policy." This seminar is an experimental educational venture designed to give leaders in the field of psychiatry an opportunity to explore and gain increased understanding of decision-making, policy issues, choices and trends in the field of foreign policy. The September 29-October 1 Conference is the joint undertaking of the Advanced Study Program of the Brookings Institution and the American Psychiatric Association. It will be the first in a series of meetings to explore the relation and relevance of psychiatry to international affairs and the best means of collaboration.

The work of the institute is focused on developing ways by which psychiatric theory and experience might be of value in foreign affairs. Located at 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., its directors include William D. Davidson, M.D., psychiatrist, formerly with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency as a research psychiatrist; Bartholomew W. Hogan, M.D., Deputy Medical Director of the American Psychiatric Association and former Surgeon General of the Navy; and James M. Mitchell, Director of the Advanced Study Program of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

AFSA Scholarship Program

Students who wish to participate in the scholarship program for 1971-1972 are invited to write for application material which will be issued in October. In your initial request be sure to give the student's full name and mailing address as of September and October, 1970, and the name and address of the parent or guardian. Address your letter to: Committee on Education, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037.

February 15, 1971 is the deadline for the receipt at AFSA of the student's part of the application.

Foreign Service Author

Philip K. Crowe, Ambassador to Norway and author of "The Empty Ark," has written a sequel to that book, entitled "World Wildlife: The Last Stand." Published by Scribners, this second book deals with the battle to save rare birds and animals from extinction. Ambassador Crowe is a director of the World Wildlife Fund.

FOREIGN SERVICE

Club NEWS

Club Recommended

The following is a letter written to John M. Thomas, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations, from Robert L. Hubbell, Acting Director of Program Evaluation, AID.

"In May and June of this year, the Agency for International Development's Program Evaluation Staff arranged for four social functions in connection with the Administrator's Spring Review conferences on Land Reform, and on Population programs. These functions included two seated dinners for 45 and 70 persons, and two cocktail receptions for approximately 100 persons each.

"We first sought reservations in the 8th floor entertaining area of the State Department. When we learned from Mrs. Dorothy Burriss of your office that the appropriate facilities had been previously committed, we turned to the Foreign Service Club. Its location only one block from the New State building was an important consideration for us.

"The Club offered reasonable prices, efficient service, and a pleasant decor. We were very pleased with the way it handled our functions. I am calling this to your attention with the idea that your office might wish to tell other people about the Club on occasions when the Department's own facilities are not available. A copy of its brochure is attached."

Following retired FSO Gordon Arneson's highly interesting and successful exhibit of his oil paintings, a two-week exhibition of multi-color rubbings decorated the Foreign Service Club in July. The rubbings, made by Mrs. Francine Faulhaber, represented stone sculptures, door panels, and temple carvings, among other objects. Mrs. Faulhaber, whose husband is with AID, has traveled all over the world making these rubbings and then teaching the art to handi-

Table Flags for Foreign Guests

When you entertain a foreign guest at the Club, his flag and the American flag will be placed on the table if you reserve in advance (up to 12:30) and inform the Club Manager, Mr. Brandli, of the nationality of your guest.

This is a new service, and it is hoped that it will encourage members to bring more of their foreign friends to the Club.

Dues—Refund or Escrow?

Members who are transferred overseas may have the remaining portion of their Club dues refunded, on a quarterly basis, or they may have their credit balance put in escrow to be used when they next return to Washington for duty. They may, of course, use the Club facilities without paying dues for one week when back on consultation—as may any member of AFSA.

HAPPY HOUR—PLUS!

AFSA and DSRA will sponsor another get-together for members and their friends at the Foreign Service Club. Scheduled for September 23 from 5:30 to 7:30, the Happy Hour will again feature 75¢ cocktails and highballs, and in a departure from previous events, there will be a do-it-yourself sandwich bar—all you can eat for \$1.25. So come and bring a friend.

FS CLUB ART EXHIBITS

capped people so that they might make a living from their work.

Mrs. Faulhaber's rubbings, another in the series of art exhibits at the Club by foreign service personnel, were done in Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Macao, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Later exhibitors included Miss Margaret Cornelius, Mrs. Christina Schultz and Mrs. Jack Friedman. Dates are open for other exhibits and AFSA welcomes inquiries from interested artists.

AFSA BOARD MINUTES

(Beginning with this issue, extracts from the minutes of the weekly AFSA Board meetings will be published in the AFSA NEWS. Comments are invited from individual members, from Chapters, or from any informal grouping of AFSA members.)

The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association met at AFSA Headquarters on July 7, 1970, at 12 noon, Mr. Charles W. Bray, III, Chairman, presiding.

Special Educational Assistance

Ambassador Estes distributed an article written for the AFSA NEWS on the proposed fund for special educational assistance to children of Foreign Service personnel. He requested that members of the Board read the article with a view to publication in the September issue of the JOURNAL.

Executive Order No. 11491 (Labor-Management Relations)

Messrs. Achilles and Maxim distributed copies of the following: Letter from JFSOC (June 4, 1970) to colleagues, inviting them to participate in JFSOC open meeting on June 9 to discuss the CORDS program and the memo sent to the chairmen of the 13 Task Forces by officers of JFSOC, posing the question "Is it advisable for an organization representing Foreign Service Officers to seek 'exclusive recognition' as their spokesman under Executive Order 11491?" A copy of the questionnaire to be completed by those who could not attend was attached. A letter of May 20, 1970, containing the text of the letter to the Task Force chairmen and JFSOC Memoranda on Task Forces I, V, and XIII was also made available to the AFSA Board.

There was lengthy discussion of the Executive Order and the probable courses of action AFSA might recommend to the membership. The JFSOC representatives expressed their views.

Action: Discussion to be continued at the Board meeting on July 14, to focus on political aspects. Messrs. Pistor and Easum to request Messrs. Sandman and Pfeiffer to prepare a memorandum of what benefits have accrued to organizations having exclusive recognition. If possible the memorandum is to be circulated to members of the Board prior to the July 14 meeting.

Minutes of the July 14 Meeting.

Announcements

Ambassador Allen: The Board noted with deep regret the sudden death of Ambassador George V. Allen on Saturday, July 11, 1970. Mr. Bray and Ambassador Estes attended services for him at the Washington National Cathedral on July 14 at 11 a.m.

CORDS: A letter will be sent to the AFSA Chapter of CORDS in Vietnam along the lines of the memorandum circulated by Mr. Heginbotham following action taken by the Board on June 30. It is understood that two younger officers will be appointed to the inspection team to evaluate the CORDS program.

Communication: Mr. Lambrakis is Chairman of an ad hoc committee to study problems of communication with the membership and to recommend steps to be taken by the Board to improve the situation.

Reform: It was reported that the Board of the Foreign Service will be briefed on recommendations made by the Task Forces and that each agency has a set of the reports. It was decided that the Association should also have

representatives at the meeting of the Board of the Foreign Service at which Task Force recommendations will be considered.

Cambodia: Mr. Lyman asked if the Association had communicated with, or should communicate with AID on questions raised by the letter of dissent on Cambodia.

Action: Mr. Lyman was requested to draft a letter to Dr. Hannah (AID) for Mr. Bray's signature.

Committees

Awards: The appointment of Howard Schaffer as Chairman of the Awards Committee for 1971 Harriman, Herter and Rivkin awards was unanimously approved by the Board. Mr. Schaffer is now in personnel, NEA, Department of State.

Community Action Committee: It was requested that Mr. John A. Ulinsky, Jr., Chairman of the Community Action Committee be invited to report to the Board on activities of this committee.

Executive Order No. 11491 (Labor-Management Relations)

Ambassador Estes distributed a memorandum dated July 14 reporting his telephone conversation with Mr. Roy Olson, Executive Director, Organization of Professional Employees in the US Department of Agriculture, in response to the Ambassador's query as to what the Association in Agriculture is doing about E.O. 11491.

The draft flyer prepared by Mr. Pistor and others to inform the membership on issues for AFSA under the Executive Order was discussed.

Minutes of the July 21 Meeting.

Reform

As reported in the minutes of July 14, consideration of the position to be taken by AFSA on recommendations made by the Task Forces was the principal subject of today's meeting.

Copies of a letter dated July 20 to Mr. Bray from Ambassador Margaret Joy Tibbets, Chairman, AFSA Career Principles Committee, were circulated. This letter, reporting on the specific work done by the Committee in connection with the Task Forces appointed by Mr. Macomber, was also signed by the members of the Career Principles Committee.

A statement by the Board of the AFSA, drafted by Mr. William Harrop, dated July 21, was studied. Mr. Davies will prepare a letter to the Secretary of State and to Mr. Macomber, and letters will be sent to members of the Board of the Foreign Service, incorporating the Board's recommendations for further implementation of Task Force proposals and directing attention to areas of the reports which seem to need further study and strengthening.

Miscellaneous

Club: At the suggestion of Ambassador Estes it was agreed that military personnel on detail to the Department of State should be granted use of the Foreign Service Club, without payment of membership dues. Formal invitations will be issued when a list of military officers in this category is obtained.

Life Membership: On motion, it was made a matter of policy that widows of Life Members will be continued as Life Members of the Association.

Executive Order No. 11491: The flyer discussed in the meeting of July 14 will not be sent but Mr. Bray may incorporate that material in a paper he is preparing for the AFSA membership as a six-months Interim Report.

In the absence of a quorum, no meeting was held on July 28.

Marriages

BALDWIN-BASSIN. Carolyn Marie Baldwin was married to Nelson J. Bassin, son of FSO and Mrs. Jules Bassin, in Washington, D.C. on June 20.

DORROS-HOWARD. Miriam Therese Dorros, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Leon George Dorros, was married to Jerome Howard on July 18 in Washington, D.C.

FISHER-SQUIRES. Margaret Lou Fisher, daughter of FSR-retired and Mrs. F. McCracken Fisher, was married to Michael Leslie Squires, son of FSO and Mrs. Leslie Albion Squires, on June 20 in Annapolis, Maryland.

McCLELLAND-McGEE. Alice McClelland daughter of Minister and Mrs. Roswell D. McClelland, was married to Robert L. McGee, Jr., on June 14, in New Lisbon, New York.

MELBOURNE-PASCALEFF. Lucy Laurretta Melbourne, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Roy Melbourne, was married to Terry Pascaleff on May 30, in Arlington, Virginia.

SUQUIHARA-MacCALLUM. Alice Reiko Suqihara was married to FSO Robert Alexander MacCallum on July 11 in Portland, Oregon.

Births

HARBIN. A son, Reynold Martin, born to FSO and Mrs. William B Harbin, on July 9 in Falls Church, Virginia.

GREENE. A daughter, Marion Clark, born to FSO and Mrs. Ernest Thomas Greene, on July 16, in Greenwich, Conn.

Deaths

BARNES. Maynard B. Barnes, FSO-retired, died August 7 in Washington. Mr. Barnes joined the Foreign Service in 1919 and served in Korea, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Bulgaria, Iceland, and French West Africa. In addition, he was the first secretary of the American Embassy in Paris at the outbreak of World War II. Mr. Barnes is survived by his wife of 3332 Scott Place, N.W., Washington.

HAWLEY. Harry F. Hawley, FSO-retired, died July 25 in Old Saybrook, Connecticut. Mr. Hawley began his career in 1895 as a clerk with the State Department and rose to become a consul in Japan, Canada, Gibraltar, France, Spain, and Portugal. He is survived by his wife of 326 Main Street, Old Saybrook, Connecticut.

HENRY. R. Horton Henry, FSO-retired, died on June 30 in Los Angeles. Mr. Henry served with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Habana, Mexico City, Caracas, Damas, and Buenos Aires. He was also active in the drafting of the legislation which became the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Mr. Henry is survived by his wife, Virginia Henry, of 2037 Holly Hill Terrace, Hollywood, California, a son, Robert H. Henry, Manager of Apeco Video Systems, Miami, Florida, and a brother, J. William Henry, American Consul, Veracruz, Mexico.

HUKILL. George R. Hukill, FSO-retired, died July 5 in Middletown, Delaware. Mr. Hukill entered the Foreign Service as a career officer in 1923, and served in Batavia, Lucerne, Genoa, Munich, Torreon, Habana, London, Luanda and Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Hukill's wife died in 1968. He is survived by his son, Dr. Peter Hukill, 31 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.

MAURICIDES. Harry Mauricides, FSO retired, died in Athens on July 2. A member of AFSA since 1947, Mr. Mauricides is survived by his son, M. Mauricides of 38, Kapodistriou Street, Athens 102, Greece

MITCHELL. Miss Wilda Mitchell, FSO-retired, died June 21 in Prairie Village, Kansas. Miss Mitchell joined the Department in 1948 and served at the Hague, in Bonn, Port-au-Prince, and in Kingston, after which assignment she retired in 1969. She is survived by her sister, Mrs. Clark Kuppinger, 2505 So. Parkwood, Harlingen, Texas.

MITRIONE. Dan A. Mitrione, FSR-AID, died August 9 in Montevideo, Uruguay. Mr. Mitrione had been kidnapped July 31 by a group of Montevideo terrorists, and was found dead on August 10 by Uruguayan police. A native of Bisaccia, Italy, Mr. Mitrione grew up in Richmond, Indiana where he became chief of police in 1956. In 1960 he accepted an offer from AID to advise foreign police, serving first in Brazil and, from 1969 on, in Uruguay. Mr. Mitrione is survived by his wife, Henrietta Mitrione, and by nine children.

PIERROT. A. Ogden Pierrot, FSO-retired, died August 1 in Bluemont, Virginia. Having joined the Foreign Service in 1922, Mr. Pierrot had assignments in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and in London, Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon. For the last 18 years, Mr. Pierrot had been an export consultant for the Bell Helicopter firm in Washington. He is survived by his wife, Lucille C. Pierrot, of Woodlawn Farms, Bluemont, Virginia.

SIMSARIAN. James Simsarian, FSO-retired, died July 24 in Washington. A graduate of UCLA and Columbia University. Mr. Simsarian joined the State Department in 1945 and served in the US and Belgium. During the last ten years before his retirement in April, Mr. Simsarian was chief of the Division of International Scientific and Technical Affairs in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. He is survived by his wife of 20 Magnolia Parkway, Chevy Chase, Maryland, and by four children.



PAGAN-WERNER. Virginia Grace Pagan, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Raymond Pagan, married Matthew Lambert Werner, III, on August 1 in Washington, D.C. Here they cut the cake during the wedding reception at the Foreign Service Club.

F.S. Retirement Increases

In June AFSA NEWS reprinted Columnist Mike Causey's lucid explanation of the increase in Civil Service annuities for the benefit of both its Civil Service members who had an immediate interest, and its Foreign Service members who have a more belated interest. It was believed that Mr. Causey's analysis would be most useful. However, it now appears desirable to present an equally lucid analysis primarily for the benefit of Foreign Service annuitants. For this we are indebted to DACOR, which kindly granted permission to reprint the following item from the April 1970 issue of the DACOR BULLETIN:

CONSUMERS PRICE INDEX

"It might seem redundant to come up with another item under this heading, especially in light of our recent legislation. There is, however, some confusion among members who read in the Washington papers that Civil Service retirees might, under the Index for February, establish the base for a new increase in their pensions. They did not, but the question has been raised as to whether Foreign Service annuitants would get an additional raise at the same time the Civil Service does. The answer is no. Our formula is now the same as that of the Civil Service, but the base months are different. The present Civil Service base month is August 1969. As reported in the last BULLETIN the base month under the new legislation for Foreign Service retirees is now January 1970, for which the Index was

131.8. When and if it rises by three percent (to 135.8) and holds at or above that level for three months, we can then expect a 3% increase, plus 1% to cover the waiting period—a total of at least 4%.

"What we want to make clear is that the 9.7% increase that goes into effect on May 1 (to be reflected in checks the end of that month), is, in part, a catch-up operation; it establishes a new base month quite independent of that governing the Civil Service, although the formula will henceforth be the same."

Another item of special interest to members published in the same issue of the DACOR BULLETIN was Richard Butrick's cogent analysis of the Tax Reform Act of 1970. The AFSA staff can vouch for its complexity; many hours have been spent simply trying to formulate pertinent questions for our legal advisers with regard to the effect of the new law on AFSA's operations, especially the Scholarship Fund, the AFSA Fund and those in the planning process.

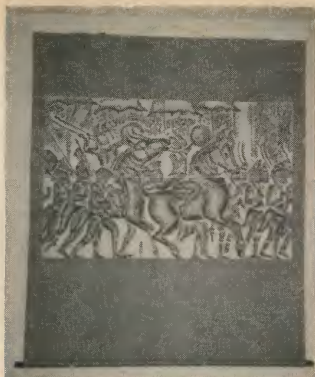
Dick Butrick's analysis should be of special interest to our retired members, and to those contemplating that state of bliss:

"The TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969 was approved by President Nixon on December 30, 1969. It is an amendment to the then law and not a substitute therefor. It is a complicated document, the delight of lawyers and tax advisers. Tax-exempt securities remain tax exempt and the demand for them has grown to such an extent that prices are being battered down and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

Charles Walker is reported considering a subsidy. Tax-exempt securities are reported to save their owners some \$4.6 billion a year. For 1970 the surtax drops from 10% to 2½%, and individual exemptions rise from \$600 to \$625. The tax schedule is lowered by roughly 5% in 1970, an additional 5% in 1971 and then small decreases in 1972 and 1973. Single persons will continue to pay more than married couples but the gap is lessened. A complicated formula on preference income exacts some tax from those with high incomes and special deductions, such as highly paid executives, but its effect is mild. Charitable deductions and income averaging are liberalized. For example, highly sought amateur basketball players are being offered professional salaries on five year contracts of \$1.5 million and up, payable in 15 yearly installments. Another incentive to sign is sometimes large interest free loans which can be invested in tax-exempt securities to augment income. Tax on earned income may not exceed 60% in 1971 and 50% in 1972 and thereafter. Effective Jan. 1, 1970, Social Security benefits were upped 15%, which raised the minimum monthly payment from \$55.00 to \$63.25, a pittance. Numerous changes affecting corporate businesses and foundations were made, the principal ones being repeal of the investment tax credit and lowering of mineral depreciation allowances. Federal excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service were retained on a depreciating scale beginning in 1971."

At the Foreign Service Club Happy Hour, July 30.





Two of the stone rubbings by Mrs. Francine Faulhaber recently exhibited at the Foreign Service Club.

New Pay Plan Has AFSA's Support

Representative Robert J. Corbett (R. Pa.) introduced an Administration-backed bill that would make future pay raises in the Federal Service, including Foreign Service and military personnel, practically automatic. Wage data gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from private industry would be the basis for recommended pay increase to the Congress. The Legislative Branch could veto the proposal but not change it. If not vetoed within 60 days, the bill would be approved by the President.

One important feature of the bill is an AFSA-supported reduction in the time lag of a year or more between the computation of statistics and transmittal of recommendations. The Association urged that this time lag be reduced in a letter to the Civil Service Commission, published in the May 1969 issue of the *AFSA News*, and has since had a Board member following this matter. The Civil Service Commission has sought AFSA's views as the project developed, for which the Association is very appreciative.

Widows of Life Members Retain AFSA Membership

At its regular meeting on July 21 the Board of Directors of the Association passed a Resolution which provides that the widows of Life Members automatically continue to benefit from their husbands' membership.

Last year, it will be recalled, the previous Board passed a resolution making widows of deceased members eligible for membership if they wished to apply for it.

House Approves Health Insurance Increase

The AFSA supported Bill (Rep. Dominick Daniels, D., N.J.) for increasing the payment of the government's portion of health insurance premiums has passed the House by a wide margin, 284-57. The Bill, if also approved by the Senate, would require the government to increase its contribution to 50 percent from the present 24 percent.

If the Bill becomes law, everyone who has government-private health insurance will realize a substantial boost in take-home pay. AFSA's support, together with other organizations, has helped in promoting the Bill and maximum government contribution. It is understood that the government would agree to a 38 percent contribution. The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Commission has passed a Bill which would authorize a 40 percent government contribution.

The reason for the proposed change is that the present law states the government's contribution in a dollar amount. The increasing costs have reduced the amount to 24 percent of the total cost, and the employee's share has risen to 76 percent.

August Cover

"Static Flame," August cover painting, is the work of USIA-retired Paul Child, who also contributed the cover for October 1969. All his paintings are done in egg-medium tempera and are painted on gesso panels. Now devoting his time to painting, photography, and writing, Mr. Child has contributed many of his photographs to the *JOURNAL*. He and his wife, Julia, live in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Scholarship Success Story

Stephen Naifeh, son of Mr. and Mrs. George N. Naifeh, USIS, and the recipient of an AFSA scholarship in 1969, graduated this spring from St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware, with the designation "summa cum laude." Only the twelfth student in the history of the school to receive this honor, Stephen also was awarded the Art and History Prizes, the King's Prize for the top student of the sixth form, and the Founder's Medal for the student with the highest four years' average. In addition, he shared the French Prize. Stephen has been accepted at Stanford, Chicago, Johns Hopkins, and Princeton universities, and has elected to attend Princeton for his college work.



See Report Page 10

JFSOC applauds the institution in June by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of a new publication entitled "Viewpoint: A Working Paper," as an important step forward in institutional openness and encouragement of creativity by State. "Viewpoint" allows State's intelligence to publish speculative and/or dissenting opinions bearing on policy issues for dissemination at the working level within the foreign affairs community at large. "Viewpoint" papers are explicitly labeled that they do not reflect the official opinion of INR or of State. INR's Director, Dr. Ray S. Cline, created a simplified clearance procedure for expediting publication of "Viewpoint" papers.

From F.S. to Congress?

Former FSO and "China-watcher" Dave Hughes writes that he has entered the Congressional race in Seattle. Hughes left the Foreign Service in March to run against the Republican incumbent and has received the AFL-CIO endorsement in the Democratic primary.

He states that one of his campaign planks calls for a reduction of the power of the administrative apparatus of the Department of State. However, he promises that substantive offices and procedures will have a friend in Congress if he is elected. He also expects to try to change the Hatch Act.

Ideas and suggestions from Foreign Service colleagues can be sent to him at 10600 Tenth Place, N.E., Seattle, 98125.

AFSA Offers New Benefits— Two Transfer Bulletin Boards for Members

Going home—or overseas—and have something to sell, rent or exchange—or need something where you're going? AFSA will try to put you in touch with the colleague who needs what you have, or has what you need, through our two new Transfer Bulletin Boards.

One Transfer Bulletin Board will appear in each issue of AFSA News with a free (at least initially) listing for AFSA members who have items to sell or rent, or who want to buy or rent something, or exchange, at home or at a post (camper, car, hi-fi, furniture, air conditioner, boat, summer or winter resort house, apartment, etc.). The other Transfer Bulletin Board will appear on the wall of AFSA's reception room and members in the Washington area are welcome to use it to communicate similar messages to other members visiting the Club and the Association. Copies of the Transfer Bulletin Board published in the news will also be posted in the office.

AFSA hopes that these two innovations will help save members time and trouble and, perhaps, money. Heretofore, there has been no regular and timely means of exchanging such information but some air-mail distribution of the Journal now makes it feasible.

Members wishing to take advantage of the office Transfer Bulletin Board should prepare 3 x 5 cards and give or send them to Miss Evelyn Blue, AFSA Receptionist. Mem-

Committee for the Study of Diplomacy

Over a year ago a group of practitioners and scholars met in Philadelphia, under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to explore the possibilities of encouraging instruction in diplomacy as part of the liberal arts curricula of American colleges and universities. Participants in the meeting were: Willis C. Armstrong, then Associate Dean of the School of International Affairs, Columbia University; Douglas Carlisle, professor of political science, University of Tennessee; Jules Davids, professor of history, Georgetown University; Hardy Dillard, professor of law, University of Virginia; Alexander Kiefer, diplomat-in-residence, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Norman D. Palmer, professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania; F. J. Piotrow, dean of the School of International Service, American University; Elmer Plischke, professor of government and politics, University of Maryland; Lannon Walker, then chairman of the board of directors of the American Foreign Service Association; and Smith Simpson. The group thus included two retired Foreign Service officers (Armstrong and Simpson) and two active. Instigator and chairman of the meeting was Mr. Simpson.

Subsequent meetings were held in Washington, one hosted by American University in September, the other by Georgetown University in December. A fourth meeting took place in Pittsburgh on April 2 in connection with the annual convention of the International Studies Association. Former Ambassador Leon B. Poulada has joined the Committee, as have Dr. Peter F. Krogh, Dean of the Georgetown Foreign Service School; Dr. Jesse A. Mann, former Dean of the Georgetown University Foreign Service School; and Professor Michael J. Flack of the University of Pittsburgh. Participants in the September meeting included Dr. William McH. Franklin, director of the Historical Office of the State Department, Howard E. Sollenberger, Associate Director of the Foreign Service Institute and William G. Marvin, FSO assigned to the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at FSI. Participants in the December meeting included Ambassador Elbert G. Matthews, Coordinator of the FSI Senior Seminar, and Ambassador Roger W. Tubby, Dean of the School of Professional Studies of FSI. Participants in the Pittsburgh meeting included retired FSO James F. Green, now teaching in the extension school of the University of Virginia; Paul M. Kattenburg, FSO assigned to FSI; FSO Roy M. Melbourne, country director for West Africa in the State Department; and E. Raymond Platig, director of the Office of External Research in the Department.

The Committee's deliberations have been along four main lines: the optimum scope of an undergraduate course on diplomacy; the objective(s) of such a course; the available methodologies for instruction; and the problems which stand in the way of instruction, such as lack or diffuseness of instructional materials. These were the principal lines of discussion by a panel on the subject of "Instruction in Diplomacy" which the Committee's chairman was invited to organize for the annual convention of the International Studies Association in April, and which was attended by sixty-five ISA members. The board of directors of the American Academy of Political and Social Science has voted funds to finance a two-day intensive examination of the subject along these same four lines in Philadelphia in October. Conference papers and discussion will be published as a monograph by the Academy.

bers wishing to take advantage of the AFSA News Bulletin Board may fill out the form below and mail to the Journal.

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"Pure truth cannot be assimilated by the crowd; it must be communicated by contagion."—Henri-Frederic Amiel

The State of the Art: COMMUNICATIONS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IN truth, Mr. Macomber, management may not be the State Department's bag; which suggests that those in USIA and AID for years to come will remain subject to the leadership of those whose bag it isn't. It takes time, after all, to develop a corps of leaders who know how to manage.

In addition, virtually everyone in the foreign affairs profession—country director, DCM, political officer, economic counsellor and the rest—constantly professes to know how to conduct a program of public diplomacy better than the one in force.

If that is part of the price of belonging to this profession, the price is increased by the fact that USIA has never quite determined what public affairs can accomplish on behalf of US foreign policy and how best to accomplish it.

We tend to substitute rhetoric for reality, avoiding the basic fact that there are significant limits to what we can do on behalf of foreign affairs within our sphere. (There are also very significant things we can do *within* those limits.)

We confuse the effect of the global revolution in communications with the effectiveness of communications by foreign governments. They are of significantly different magnitudes. Marshall Mac-

ALAN CARTER

Mr. Carter has been assigned as Counselor of Public Affairs, USIS, Tokyo, after having served in Washington for four and one-half years as assistant director for Near East and South Asia and prior to that as assistant director heading the Agency's Television Service. He is known as a strong advocate of the view that one of the Foreign Affairs establishment's biggest problems is its difficulty in remaining contemporary and representing contemporary America.

Luhan's global village does not derive from the worlds of the British Council, USIA or the Alliance Française.

We confuse, most of all, the term "mass communications," meaning the technology of communications, with the sociological ability to communicate effectively.

The audience we legitimately can and should reach suggests the scope of the problem of effective communications cross-culturally. Any member of that audience is busy within the terms of his own society, whether those terms parallel the puritan ethic or not. He is inundated by a combination of messages and concerns originating with his family, job, community and country. The messages and the

concerns are multiple, complex and often immediately demanding.

He is surrounded in at least one dimension by people and institutions with a significant claim on his time, his loyalty and his emotions. He is surrounded in another dimension by his communications grid—his local and national press, radio and television, books, magazines, professional societies, discussion groups and gossip circuits, all shaping his attitudes and all demanding that he become increasingly selective in the way he apportions his time, energy and thought.

In other words, he is a man surrounded—as we all are—by an indigenous environmental shell which is of his own and his society's making. Obviously, parts of this environmental shell may consist of foreign influences. Rock music, films, student revolts and Coca Cola seem to intrude everywhere, except that it is not truly intrusion; rather the society or individual within it has opted for certain foreign influences as part of the local pattern. That is far different from a foreign government intruding itself or the pattern.

Even successful placement by USIS within the pattern must be read in the context of effective limits of communications. If, for example, we place material on the



local television station, the fact remains that our placement is only a fraction of the total television programming and a small fraction of what any individual will normally view. What we place may help to balance, augment or simply inform. All of these things are eminently worthwhile, but what we place will not offset the total influence on the viewer of his entire environmental wall or one piece of it, in this case television.

This is not an argument about the relative power of television as a medium. It is an argument first with the expectations too often placed on a foreign information program; and, more basically, with the use of media, or communications in a more general sense, without a knowledge of what can be achieved through them. A great deal is known about the processes of communications. The literature on the subject is significant in scope and meaning for USIA. One need only read Wilbur Schramm, Lucien Pye, W. Phillips Davison, Elihu Katz, Paul Lazarsfeld, Ithiel deSola Pool and Everett Rogers, to name just a few.

In a highly oversimplified way, let me summarize some of the conclusions that have been arrived at in various communications studies:

First, that the media, in general, are substantially more effective in augmenting existing attitudes and concepts than in changing them.

Second, as a refinement of this, communications may help to form attitudes toward new subjects; that they can influence attitudes weakly held, or, when several attitudes are fairly evenly balanced, they may be able to strengthen one of them at the expense of others.

Third, that while the media can inform, they can only *help* in the decision-making process.

Fourth, that they are most effective in education when used in a classroom in combination with a teacher.

Fifth, that the longer the channel of information, the less likely that the original information will get through it, whether the channel is in a highly or less-developed society.

Sixth, that the greater the difference between the sender and receiver of a message, in culture for example, the more difficult it is to communicate clearly.

Seventh, that the effect of articulation of media together on one subject to a given audience is greater than the sum of the parts.

There also seems to be general agreement on a thesis involving audience and the method of reaching it, a thesis generally known as "The Two Step Flow of Communications." Elihu Katz, its principal exponent, says that influences stemming from the mass media first reach opinion leaders who pass on what they read and hear to their everyday associates on whom they exert an influence.

But, importantly, Katz goes on to say that despite their greater exposure to the media, most opinion leaders are primarily affected not by the communications media *but by still other people*.

W. Phillips Davison in his book "International Political Communications" adds another facet. "Despite the popular image of the propagandist as a molder of opinion," he says, "communications by themselves are rather poor instruments for changing attitudes, especially in

view of the powerful forces at work within each individual that protect the picture of the world he has already established."

Part of my thesis is that opinion leaders are among these "powerful forces."

Ithiel deSola Pool in "Communications and Political Development" says, "The mass media alone, unlinked to word of mouth communication, fail in generating action (but do not fail in creating information and desires)."

Lucien Pye has said that a modern communications system involves more than the mass media. He says that the complex interrelationships between general and specialized informal opinion leaders and between attentive and more passive publics are integral parts of the whole communications system. He goes on to assert that the critical factor in a modern communications system stems from an orderly relationship between the two levels so that the total process of communications has been aptly characterized as involving a "two-step flow."

The combination of the environmental wall and the limitations of communications as such is obviously restrictive and made even more so by the fact that most of the work in communications I have alluded to involves studies on intra-cultural communications. Cross-cultural communication is more difficult.

Yet, one can derive from all of this a workable and important syllogism for USIA. The task of cross-cultural communications may be difficult; it is far from impossible; and in today's world it is, within its limits, essential.

Based on the "knowns" of communications, we can assert that any effective program for USIA would incorporate four interrelated principles:

One: The mass media are relatively more useful in augmenting existing attitudes than in changing them.

Two: It is significantly more effective to use media in combination rather than individually.

Three: The use of media in combination with inter-personal and inter-organizational communication

(Continued on page 46)

Even the QUICKSILVER TIMES isn't sold on the QT and the idea of a street corner press dates back to 1735



The Underground Press Isn't Really Underground

ON a pleasant afternoon in Georgetown, the best show is on the sidewalks. The sidewalks bulge with people: thoughtful looking men in tweed jackets, and their wives; young professionals and law students, unshaven on a Saturday and their sideburns down, but not too far; and the young hippies, yippies, radicals, revolutionaries, self-proclaimed "freaks" (a term of praise), teenagers, college students, college dropouts, you name it, veterans of various domestic wars, in all sorts of weird costumes and—the *sine qua non*—hair. Hair all over the place.

They are proud of their scruffiness and their colorful (and often expensive) garb. This is, they are continually letting us know, *their* style, *their* way of doing things. It is *their* defiance. Until it became a cliché, they called themselves the underground, but that got overworked and worse yet, it was inaccurate. They were not underground. They were as visible as a neighborhood bully (though they spoke of "love" and "peace"). So

LARRY DuBOIS

Our underground press researcher writes, "Larry DuBois, a young dude from Stanford University, who has a master's degree from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, wrote this thing. For what seemed a hundred years after graduation, he was a reporter and then a writer in TIME's Press Section and since January has been assigned to the Washington Bureau. This is his first article for the JOURNAL and all his novels are as yet not only unpublished, but unwritten."

people started calling them the counter-culture, or the movement, or even the revolutionaries. Abbie Hoffmann labeled them, simply, "The New Nation."

But not everything radical or revolutionary is new. One of the first things they did was to start *their* press, a sort of street-corner, penny press, which is a form of dissenting media at least as old in this country as Peter Zenger's 1735 trial for seditious libel. And working at a job long honored by all

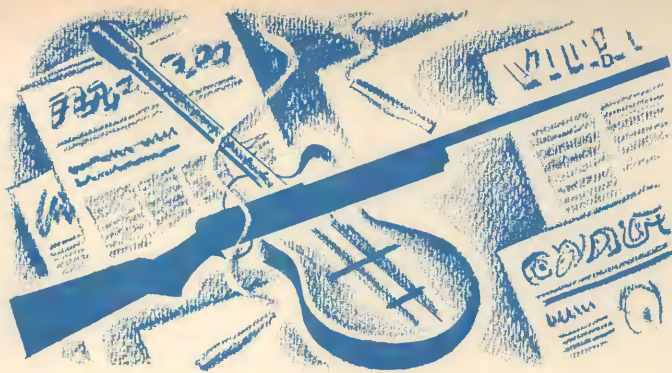
parents, innumerable kids, dozens, it seems, on every block of every hip section of every city, support themselves by peddling papers. In Georgetown, the best-selling paper is the QUICKSILVER TIMES. The price is marked at 25 cents, but most of the kids will cut prices with the kindness of a used car salesman. It is not difficult to buy the paper for 15 cents and, if you're willing to make an enemy, you can get it for a dime.

Five years ago, there were only a handful of these papers around the country. The REALIST in New York ("Irreverence is Our Only Sacred Cow"), which was way out there in sex and political satire, was about the first, followed by the East Village OTHER in Manhattan and the Berkeley BARB in California, which dealt mainly with talk of drugs and sex, and which were frequently incomprehensible about both, and the Los Angeles FREE PRESS, which covered news events, but with a radical political outlook. Now there are hundreds of papers such as these and no way to keep an accur-

ate count, since their numbers change as rapidly as the population of a commune.

In this group, there are high school and college papers, whose theme, an editor once remarked, is "Up Against The Wall, Mr. Chips." In many cases, the most militant papers of all are those put out in the high schools. A mild sample is from THE ISSUE, which circulates in the schools in Framingham, Massachusetts: "We will not tolerate the doctrine of high school, its text books and environment, the exploiting imperialistic doctrine as fed to us. We will not be brainwashed. We will not be taught: America, right or wrong . . . We are America. We will judge." Over 50 anti-war newspapers are put out by GIs and their cronies around army bases, including LEFT FACE at Ft. McClellan and FATIGUE PRESS at Ft. Hood. The women's liberation movement and the Black Panthers have developed their own thriving press. There are papers oriented to the yuppies, simply out to have the best of all possible times in what they consider the worst of all possible times ("Revolution for the hell of it," is what Abbie Hoffman calls it) and SDS-oriented papers filled with revolutionary analyses so weighty as to make Lenin seem a very funny man.

The mass media have paid far too little attention to this new press, partly because most serious editors have difficulty taking it seriously and few such editors have either the time or the interest to read it regularly. This so-called underground press, though, is really quite important, for at least two reasons. First, because it provides insight into what can legitimately be called a counter-culture, which is impossible to ignore and important to understand. Second, because it has become, for many of its readers, the primary source of news, the medium for a view of the world considerably different from that seen by the New York TIMES or the Washington Post. Generations ago, about 1967, these new papers were a sympathetic supplement to the established papers and the TV news programs, but for a large community, they are now the only



journalistic sources deemed worthy of trust.

The regular readership is most certainly well over a million. About as good an estimate as is available is that some 175,000 copies of the papers are sold each week in the San Francisco area alone, but circulation is not confined to the Northeast and the west coast. KALEIDOSCOPE, for instance, in Milwaukee, has a circulation of over 15,000. Even in Richmond, Virginia, the monthly CHRONICLE, started only a few months ago by a bearded young fellow, sells out its press run of 2,500. Following the lead of AP and UPI, the street-corner press has its own national news service. Liberation News Service, based in New York, distributes bi-weekly packets of news stories to about 600 newspapers, about half of which are anti-establishment newcomers. Anti-war stories, the GI radical movement, the drug scene and the activities of factions within the "movement" are all heavily reported by L.N.S.

To call this the "movement" press, though, as many involved in it do, is to overstate the unity among the groups. "We are anti-profit, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist," says a 21-year-old staffer on the Indianapolis FREE PRESS. Beyond that basic agreement, the papers are as scattered in interests and outlook (and, for that matter, quality) as they are in geography. Most are boisterously pro-drug, though they often warn of the dangers of speed and heroin. One Indiana paper with a sense of humor has listed local drug prices as

though they were the New York Stock Exchange: "The market picture is bullish over all, with a falling off of activity in some commodity exchanges due to seasonal scarcities, and recent busts across the country . . . GRASS: Mexican, Californian, Cuban at \$10-15 (some trade) . . . Acapulco Gold (none available)." The SDS NEW LEFT NOTES, though, can be as fiercely against pot as any FBI agent, as when it editorialized: "If we're working in a community or on a reasonably straight campus where dope is frowned upon, it can really hurt our organizing. Within the next two years we can expect to get jumped on by the Man. Being able to arrest us for drugs will make his job a lot easier. . ."

Other than the complete acceptance of obscenity and of being "against the system," the only universal good in the pages of these papers is rock music, which is often acknowledged as a powerful "revolutionary" force. In a long article about the underground press by ROLLING STONE, one of the most professional and most successful of the papers, the reporter offered his highest praise to the rock critic of the GREAT SPECKLED BIRD in Atlanta: "Francis is unique in his ability to place rock in the perspective of the revolution."

Rock music is also an important source of financial support for many of the papers, which are laced with advertisements (rates can run as high as \$700-a-page) for record albums and rock concerts. Some publishers worry that this allows the system to "co-opt"

them; others just say it is the final proof the system's greed will finance its own destruction. The record companies argue it is only sound business. "These papers have a tremendous pass-along readership, maybe five or ten readers per issue," one record company president told *BUSINESS WEEK* Magazine, "so the price per exposure comes way down. But more important, you know the readers are interested in what you're selling. Where else could we advertise our album of Allen Ginsberg reading his own works?"

There is no typical example of these papers, but a quick trip through the pages of Georgetown's *QUICKSILVER TIMES* is representative of much of the writing. Tabloid-sized, the 23-page issue dated April 14-24 has a fold-out cover with a drawing of a proper young suburban couple in their living room entertaining a middle-aged lady, presumably a mother-in-law. As they sip martinis and chat, out on the porch behind them, some screaming Che-type youths, sub-machine guns and all, are about to bust into the house. Meanwhile, another young man, looking remarkably like Fidel Castro, is scribbling graffiti on the side of the house: "A revolution is not a spectacle. There are no spectators. Everyone Participates. Whether they know it or not."

One immediate reaction to this is that it is a put-on, a joke, a huge yippie laugh at the fears and images of the straight middle-class.

No doubt, some of this is simple mischief, a good laugh. But the fears and images are not the exclusive property of the straight middle-class. Inside the QT, a full-page article entitled "piece now" ("Piece" being the double entendre word for "weapon") discusses the necessity for guns. "The right to bear arms, guaranteed in the US Constitution, is being trampled on by the powerful in this growing police state . . . Every brother and sister—white, black, latin, yellow and red—should take the necessary steps to possess a weapon, know how to care for it, and know how to use it." This, says a bold-faced note at the top of the page, "is the first in a series of articles on the use,

purchase, storage, laws and care of guns . . . We suggest saving these articles for future reference as the shit comes down." The best gun for the house, says the article, is a 12-gauge pump shotgun, but a .22 rifle pump or semi-automatic will do. "Place yourself somewhere near the center of the wall facing the door on top of a piece of furniture," explain the instructions which are as careful as a technical manual. "This is the last place you will be expected to be. You are probably above the line of fire and are in a position of mobility . . . Fire at your opponents' muzzle flashes in the dark. Move after firing, since your flashes expose you, too."

Elsewhere, a political analysis accuses the Moratorium Committee of Nazi leanings because it merely wants to end the war, not overthrow the "system"; and as coolly as a business writer talking about a corporate takeover, an article reprinted from *RAT*, a well-known New York paper, gives a favorable assessment to the strategy and tactics indicated by the recent bombings of corporate headquarters in New York. Another page, filled with capsule news reports like the center front-page column of the *WALL STREET JOURNAL*, urges readers to "Join the Americong," and celebrates the latest news developments such as the execution of the West German Ambassador to Guatemala and the murder of "four highway patrol pigs" in California, when they detained a car carrying two hoods.

The QT's community news events are covered with stories old-fashioned in format. Jerry Rubin's speeches in Washington are reported with quotes, dates, crowd sizes. The same for Stokely Carmichael. There is a long, and actually quite interesting, interview with some recent returnees from the Venceremos Brigade of American students who went to Cuba to cut cane. The latest Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young record album is reviewed reverently, as is "Zabriskie Point," Michaelangelo Antonioni's new movie about the United States and its youth. "In one carefully constructed scene after another," writes the reviewer, "he builds to

the inescapable conclusion that many of the children of the bourgeoisie will finally act, will finally rise up with the oppressed peoples of the world to off (kill) the monsters." Which, of course, is America, spelled with a "k" for obvious symbolic reasons.

A "revolutionary" poem speaks of the role of the writer in the movement. "If the power of the word is anything," it begins, "America, your oil fields burning/ your cities in ruins, smouldering, pillaged by children/ . . . if the word has power you will not stand, America . . . sleep well, America, we stand by your bedside/ the word has power, the chant is going up."

About the chant, there can be no question. And it has gradually shifted from sex and drugs to increasingly fierce radical-revolutionary politics. "Up to 1968, the emphasis was on escape, on creating an alternative culture," an editor of the *East Village OTHER* recently told a New York Times reporter. "The Vietnam war, the Chicago convention, the conspiracy trial changed that. Now we have to expose the present culture with facts and fists."

The reaction to this has often been sharp. The editor of Miami's *DAILY PLANET* says he has been arrested 29 times on obscenity charges for selling his newspaper in the streets. Police officers in San Diego have arrested sidewalk salesmen of *THE FREE DOOR* on loitering charges. These are regular events for many of the newspapers. Late last year, *THE FREE DOOR* offices were sprayed with bullets and typesetting equipment was vandalized. Houston's *SPACE CITY NEWS*, which has specialized in muckraking investigative reporting, was bombed last summer. A navy seaman was recently court-martialed and given a bad conduct discharge for publishing an obscene, anti-war paper in Washington.

Despite the hassles with authorities and night-riding vigilantes, the fact is that the street-corner press is here to stay, at least as long as the community it serves believes there is no other solution to the country's problems than to "off the system." ■

The State Department called it "education"; Congress called it "propaganda." The discussion was animated.



Congressional Restraints on the State Department

THE attitudes of Congress as an institution toward the public relations of the State Department are quite ambiguous. On the one hand, Congress is largely dependent on the State Department and the administration for information on foreign policy. Indeed, Congress is one of the largest consumers of Department publicity. On the other hand, Congress regards itself as the primary link between the people and their government, and it is quite critical of State Department efforts to bypass Congress and inform the public directly. Congress is also suspicious of Department efforts to obtain an independent assessment of public opinion on foreign affairs.

Congress and the Dissemination of Policy Information

Congress is quite wary of Department efforts to speak directly with the public. The standard congressional criticism of the Department's information activities is that they are designed to sell foreign policies and programs to the American public before they have been approved by Congress. Congressmen apparently fear that information activities are employed largely to strengthen the Department's position *vis-à-vis* the Congress.

WILLIAM O. CHITTICK

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Occasionally, Department spokesmen under the persistent questioning of members of Congress acknowledge that one of the inevitable results of their information activities is to influence current legislation. When Mr. Carl T. Rowan was Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, for example, he admitted to the House Appropriations Subcommittee that this was the effect of the Department's activities in support of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program in 1962.

Mr. Rowan. The purpose of this drive you are making is to get your story across to the American people. You are hoping by reason of the American people reading this particular side of the story and reading your pamphlet that they in turn will bring pressure upon Congress to pass this legislation;

is that not the very purpose of it?

Mr. Rowan. Well, we hope that the American people will come to the conclusion that this is in the national interest, and in the process of democracy I guess they would make their views known to Congressmen.

Mr. Bow. That is one of the purposes of it, isn't it?

Mr. Rowan. Well, it is not directly an effort to pressure Congressmen, but that is a purpose in effect.

Mr. Bow. It is one of the purposes, and it is what you are driving at?

Mr. Rowan. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. Bow. That is true of the briefing conferences, the speaking engagements and the current documentation. The whole purpose of the \$64,000 you are asking for all falls into this category, doesn't it?

Mr. Rowan. Yes it all docs.¹

Moreover, many Congressmen argue that Department publications and speeches are not information at all but rather propaganda since they contain only the views of the State Department and the Administration. Indeed, some Congressmen have argued that the Government has no right to use the taxpayers' money to state a position with

¹ *Hearings before the House Subcommittee on Deficiencies of the Committee on Appropriations, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1962, p. 291.*

which some taxpayers disagree.² Of course "this principle, logically carried out, would make government impossible."³ It is simply not practicable for the State Department or any other government agency to handle complex international issues in a way which will satisfy everyone. By presenting as complete and objective a picture of its own position as possible, however, information officers believe that they can serve the opponents as well as the proponents of any given measure, for such information provides a solid foundation for constructive criticism as well as enlightened support.

Nevertheless, Congress has tried a variety of techniques to regulate these government information activities over the last fifty years. For example, it attempts to distinguish between the public affairs activities of career information officers and the partisan activities of political appointees in the State Department. Political appointees are expected to seek public support for current administration policies and programs in their personal statements and appearances; the career information officers of the Department are not. Indeed, those who conduct the Department's information program are expected studiously to avoid activities which might give substance to the charge that they are lobbying on behalf of legislation currently before Congress.

Since World War II the Appropriations Bill for the Department of State and Justice and the Judiciary and Related Agencies has also prohibited the use of funds for "publicity and propaganda purposes."⁴ Running through all of these Congressional restrictions on government publicity is the notion that it is possible for those administering a given policy or program to maintain a sharp distinction between

proper and improper publicity—between information and propaganda. Yet, the need to enact new regulations seems to deny the fact that there is any simple test by which either the Administration or the Congress can readily distinguish information from propaganda.

Congress has repeatedly modified its general strictures against government publicity in order to insure that the public and the Congress are informed on foreign policy. Even the Congressional prohibition against "the use of appropriated funds for the dissemination within the United States of general propaganda in support of the mutual security program,"⁵ the so-called Dowarshak amendment, was interpreted by the conference committee so as to deny any "interference with the supplying of full information to the Congress and to the public concerning the operations of the mutual security program."⁶ While no one has ever been prosecuted for violating this or any other such statute, a number of Department information officers indicate that these restrictions have had a psychological effect on the Department's information activities.

But Congress has not relied solely, or even primarily, upon these statutory provisions to limit Departmental publicity, as the paucity of funds annually appropriated for domestic information activities amply demonstrates. There have been repeated efforts in Congress to reduce, if not to eliminate entirely, various information activities and programs. For example, when the State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill for 1952 (H.R. 4740) reached the Senate floor, the then Senator Richard Nixon, rose to amend the bill so that "no part of this appropriation shall be available to pay the compensation of any person employed in the Division of Public Liaison or to pay any expenses incurred by such Division."⁷ Nixon's amendment failed adoption, but an amendment (Sec. 605) sponsored by Senator Byrd of Vir-

ginia applying "a 25 percent cut against the budget estimate for publicity and propaganda activities in the various departments covered by the bill" was passed without a division of the Senate.⁸

When the conference committee later dropped Sec. 605 of the bill, Senator Ferguson of Michigan, one of the conferees, asked that the conference report be rejected unless the Byrd amendment was restored. He opposed the bill in spite of the fact that every item of the appropriation carried a personnel reduction of 10 percent, regardless of whether the budget estimate was allowed or not.⁹ After a lengthy floor debate, the Senate adopted the conference report without alteration by a vote of 31 to 27. However, Senator Ferguson, joined by Senators Bridges and Knowland, reopened the matter seven days later by incorporating the Byrd publicity amendment in the Second Supplemental Appropriations Bill of 1952 (H.R. 5650). While this scheme also failed in the end, the strong opposition of key Congressional figures to the Department's domestic information activities was not readily forgotten by some of the "old-timers" interviewed in the Bureau of Public Affairs.

For the most part, however, Congressional surveillance of the Department's information activities has been less dramatic but more effective than the above incident suggests. Congress has effectively controlled certain types of Department publicity without having to place the mechanics of this control on the public record. For example, one information officer recalled that the late Congressman Taber, who was Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, used to sit in on the executive hearings on State Department appropriations and take an active part in the proceedings although his presence and comments were systematically stricken from the record. According to this officer, Congressman Taber made his biggest impact upon the appropriations for State Department information activities after the hearings—during the mark up period of the bill.

The inability of Congress to find

² See Richard Nixon, *Congressional Record*, August 24, 1951, p. 10611. Also, former Senator William Knowland, *Congressional Record*, January 31, 1951.

³ See Elmer Davis, "Report to the President on the Office of War Information," *Hearings before the House Subcommittee on Governmental Information, "Government Information Plans and Policies," Part II*, 88th Congress, 1st Session, p. 240.

⁴ See U.S. Statutes at Large, 1945-1967.

⁵ "Mutual Security Act of 1952," Public Law 400.

⁶ *Hearings before the House Appropriations Subcommittee*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, p. 678.

⁷ *Congressional Record*, August 24, 1951, p. 10611.

⁸ *Ibid.*, October 12, 1951, p. 13075.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10542.

an effective means of distinguishing between proper and improper government publicity has increasingly compelled it to rely upon its power over the purse to control Department information activities, and this in turn has had a profound effect upon the nature and scope of the Department's information program. By restricting funds for salaries and other expenses either selectively or across the board, Congress has made it difficult for the Department to develop and sustain an effective information-education program of its own. As a result, Congress has forced the Department to rely mainly upon the headline approach to international news.

Moreover, the fact that the State Department has trouble reaching the public with its own publication, speaker, and conference programs has forced the Department to rely more and more upon the manipulation of the private media of communication in order to get its story across to the American people. Thus, the success which Congress has enjoyed in restricting those information activities by which the Department reaches the public directly only serves to increase the Department's efforts to reach the public indirectly through the privately owned mass media of communication.

In view of the partisan basis for much of the Congressional criticism of Department information activities, it is tempting to argue that the State Department should limit its information activities to those foreign policies and programs which already have bipartisan support in Congress. However, this argument really begs the question. If there is already strong Congressional support for a policy, there is often less need for the government to explain it to the public. On the other hand, it can be argued that government publicity on matters having strong bipartisan support are more likely to take on the character of propaganda since the members of both parties in Congress have a stake in promoting these policies.

The fact is that the State Department must have the means to explain its policy to the public whether it happens to be controversial policy or not. As long as the State

Department is primarily responsible for initiating foreign policy, there will be tremendous pressure upon the Department to give these policies the chance they need for success by promoting them. Even Congress is often unwilling to support new measures until public opinion has crystallized on them. Of course, there is always the danger that the Department will oversell policies in an effort to develop public support for them, but that is another problem altogether. The point is that Congress cannot hope to limit the Department's domestic information activities to areas of consent. It can only hope to eliminate some of the more dangerous manifestations of government publicity.

Congress and the Collection of Opinion Information

Congress has also been openly suspicious of the Department's efforts to study public opinion. Congressmen apparently perceive public opinion studies as a technique which the Administration uses to improve its propaganda efforts, to perpetuate itself in power, and to usurp the role of Congress as the reflection of public opinion. The last attitude was clearly portrayed in the clash between Congressman Knox of Michigan and H. Schuyler Foster of the Public Opinion Studies Staff during the hearings on "State Department Public Opinion Polls" in July 1957.

Mr. Knox. . . . Mr. Foster, as a political scientist, you are doubtless familiar with the role assigned to each of our major [branches] of government [Executive], Congress, and Judiciary, under the Constitution, are you not?

Mr. Foster. Yes sir.

Mr. Knox. Would it be proper to say that one of the principal responsibilities of the Congress is to represent the American people, to express American public opinion, on such matters as foreign policy?

Mr. Foster. Yes; I would.

Mr. Knox. It is true, however, is it not, that one of the reasons for electing a new Congress every two years is in response to public opinion?

Mr. Foster. That is often stated. I think that is one of the reasons for it.

Mr. Knox. You would say that is the reason?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Knox. The election of a President every four years has not served its

purpose quite as well as having Congress elected every two years; isn't that correct?

Mr. Foster. Yes; if it were governed only by the interval between elections, that would certainly be true. Of course, that is not the only factor.

My Knox. What are the other factors?

Mr. Foster. The extent to which the legislators and the Chief Executive gain accurate information, as to what the state of thinking of the people is.

Mr. Knox. Is that all the justification you have?

Mr. Foster. Well, I don't know that is all.

Mr. Knox. Well, then, if we are agreed that the chief and most responsive mechanism of our Government for expressing changes in public opinion of foreign policy is the Congress, what function does public-opinion polling by the President or the State Department serve?

Mr. Foster. It serves several functions. . . .

Mr. Knox. Well then, the Secretary is limited by making use of the agency of Government to which public opinion is intended to be formally expressed, namely, the Congress.

Mr. Foster. But, Mr. Knox, the primary purpose of Congress . . . is to enact laws, and not to convey from week to week, and day to day, the opinions of the American people on all topics, foreign and domestic.

Mr. Knox. Well, now, Mr. Foster, you are aware of the fact that the Secretary of State often appears before committees of Congress and testifies, which, from the questions that are propounded to the Secretary and his answers to them, certainly gives him some indication as to what public opinion is, as far as Congress is concerned, does it not?

Mr. Foster. Yes. I would think it would be more accurate, Mr. Knox, to call that congressional opinion, or perhaps, committee opinion.

Mr. Knox. Are you inclined to believe that the Members of Congress are not representing the people who elected them to Congress in the manner which was in their best judgment, and in conformity with the opinions of the people who elected them?

Mr. Foster. I, of course, did not say that, Mr. Knox, but you know many Members of Congress seem to find it helpful themselves to conduct polls, in order to improve their understanding of the thinking of their constituents on these questions.

Mr. Knox. If that is true . . . , it certainly should reflect in their statements to the Department or other agencies of the Government, should it not?

Mr. Foster. I think it does. We, our-

selves, make a careful study of all those that are listed in the Congressional Record.

Mr. Knox. Well, Congress is not enough. You feel you should go beyond that. You don't think the opinion of Congress represents the American people.

Mr. Foster. I would not think, Mr. Knox, that that would be the most reliable place in which to get information on what all of the people across the country are thinking about all of the various topics of foreign affairs concerning which the State Department needs to know what they are thinking.

Mr. Knox. Did you ever have an occasion to analyze a Congressman's mail?

Mr. Foster. No; I have not.

Mr. Knox. I think if you had, you would not take the position which you do. I think the American people of today are very astute, and they let their opinion be known to the Member of Congress so that the Member of Congress has some idea as to what the people in the district are thinking.

Mr. Foster. There are many cases in which public opinion polls suggest that the mail received on particular questions comes, as of course it must, from a relatively tiny portion of the total electing population, and quite different in character, from the results obtained in the polls.¹⁰

The idea that State Department public opinion studies are really unnecessary is reinforced in the minds of many congressmen by the fear that the Department uses such studies to influence Congress on matters coming before that body. Some congressmen suspect that opinion information is periodically leaked to the public by the Department in order to embarrass congressmen who are opposed to the Administration's foreign policy. Still others suspect that information obtained from polls is used as the basis for propaganda campaigns designed to engineer public support for Department programs before Congress.

Indeed, Congress first became interested in State Department polls when an official of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) leaked the findings of five nationwide polls which showed significant public support for the for-

ign aid policy at the same time that congressmen claimed that their mail was strongly in favor of a budget cut. These polls, which were clearly identified with the executive branch, raised serious doubts in the press about some of the assumptions that prevailed in Congress about the unpopularity of the aid program, particularly economic assistance to neutral nations.¹¹ In view of the influence which public opinion polls themselves may have on public attitudes, Congressman Hardy and others suspected that the results of these and other polls were being used by the Administration as a self-serving device.¹²

Although the subsequent investigation was primarily directed at the alleged misuse of funds for polling purposes, there was some concern that the results of these polls might also be used for a publicity campaign on matters currently before Congress. It was apparent that ICA officials were disturbed by the fact that the public's support of the mutual security program had little, if any, relation to the explanation which the Administration had given for it; ICA officials apparently concluded that they would have to make even more strenuous efforts to get their message across to the public. Congressmen Reuss and Hardy were both alarmed by the allusions which ICA officials made to an educational campaign. They felt that these officials were "trying to create an attitude of acceptance on the part of the public generally for the future, rather than merely trying to point out all of the factual developments of the program from the past. And when you get into that, if that isn't pure propaganda, I do not know what it is."¹³

Another criticism leveled at the polls by legislators is that they are inaccurate. For example, the Subcommittee investigating "State Department Public Opinion Polls" was very disturbed with the interpretation which the ICA gave one of the questions asked by the State Department on foreign aid. The question was "Do you think we should

or should not continue to send economic aid like machinery and supplies to countries that have agreed to stand with us against Communism?"¹⁴ Ninety percent of the respondents said that we should continue economic aid, seven percent stated that we should not continue it, and only three percent did not express an opinion. In an ICA memorandum dated February 12, 1956, however, the same figures were used to represent approval of the entire foreign aid program. Noting that on these questions the Department did not distinguish between informed and uninformed respondents, Congressman Hardy questioned a number of administrative officials on the value of the polls.

Mr. Hardy. Well, I could understand how a question like that might have some significance if the people questioned had enough knowledge to answer intelligently. But for people who generally didn't have the remotest idea whether you were selling it, giving it away, whom it was going to, what use it was being put to, whether it was going behind the Iron Curtain, or what, I frankly don't understand how anybody could make any use of it and I would just be interested in knowing your reason.

Mr. Ryan. On the assumption—I suppose this is in part, Mr. Chairman, because people do act on these kinds of beliefs, these kinds of conclusions.

Mr. Hardy. I hope the State Department doesn't act on that kind of information.¹⁵

Congress has imposed no formal restrictions on the use of opinion polls by the State Department, but Congressional criticism of the Department's polling operation has made it more difficult to continue these activities. Indeed, the Department's decision to terminate its contracts with polling agencies in April 1957 was made during the Congressional hearings discussed above. Although it would be an error to conclude that the Department stopped its efforts to survey public attitudes systematically because of Congressional criticism, it was probably a contributing factor. ■

¹¹ E. W. Kenworthy, *The New York Times*, March 17, 1957.

¹² *Hearings before the House International Operations Subcommittee, op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹⁴ See "State Department Public Opinion Polls," *House Report*, No. 1166, p. 11.

¹⁵ *Hearings before the House International Operations Subcommittee, op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁰ *Hearings before the International Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 85th Congress, 1st Session*, pp. 206-208.

"What they do, boys, is creep up
on you,
And I don't mean Indians.
I mean Americans, over the
radio."—William Saroyan



DESPITE television, which many prophets figured would put radio out of business, radio is thriving throughout the world.

Short wave, medium wave, long wave, FM—all types are expanding, some dramatically. Instead of dying as TV competition develops, radio is alive and well at the ripe age of 50.

It is difficult to convince Americans of this. In the United States radio is pretty well limited to news, music and advertising, now that television has taken over the entertainment functions that fell to radio before World War II. And there is relatively little listening to foreign broadcasts on short wave here, a fact not comforting to Radio Moscow, which broadcasts 9½ hours a day to North America.

Yet surprisingly enough, there are half again more radio sets in use than there are *people* in the United States. Sales of radio receivers are up around 360 per cent since 1952, the year television emerged as a medium of some consequence.

In this country we tend to accept radio as having been with us almost forever. Although Marconi made the first successful wireless transmission in 1895, it was not until 1920—just 50 years ago—that a station was licensed to render a general broadcasting service in the United States. That was KDKA in Pittsburgh.

While KDKA was the first *licensed* radio station, the University of Wisconsin began regularly scheduled broadcasts a year before that, in 1919. A plaque in Madison proudly proclaims the station there, 9XM, as the oldest broadcaster.

Predictably, the exciting new medium of radio did not receive a warm welcome from the established press, which understandably saw it as a threat. In 1927, several newspapers in New York City tried to stem the growing tide of advertising

Radio is Alive and Well

RICHARD G. CUSHING

FSIO Cushing, a former newsman, has been either Deputy Director or Acting Director of the Voice of America since January 1967. Before that he spent 16 years in Latin American USA posts.

dollars flowing to radio programs by stopping the publication of program schedules in their columns. Public demand forced the papers to resume them, however. A comedian of that day predicted that radio would never replace the newspaper because "you can't swat a fly with a radio."

And, of course, radio did not replace the newspaper, just as the newspaper had not replaced books. And television has not replaced radio. New media supplement rather than replace the established media, and force certain changes.

It is still true that you cannot swat a fly with a radio, nor can you watch the late movie on it. But neither can you watch a television newscast while mopping the floor or

driving your car. Nor read a newspaper while shaving.

While relatively few listen to foreign broadcasts in this country, listening to foreign radio abroad is growing because of its information and entertainment value.

This is due largely to the invention in this country—and rapid development by the Japanese and the Dutch—of a cheap little electronic component called a transistor that replaced the vacuum tube and paved the way for the manufacture of small battery-powered radio sets, which are portable, powerful and inexpensive.

The transistor revolution has transformed society. It might be compared with the invention of the printing press in the 15th century in terms of widening human contact.

In 1955, Gamal Abdel Nasser wrote: "It is true that most of our people are still illiterate. But politically that counts far less than it did twenty years ago. . . . Radio has changed everything. . . . Today people in the most remote villages hear of what is happening everywhere and form their opinions. Leaders cannot govern as they once did. We live in a new world."

Vast areas of the world have

been brought into the 20th century through radio, and this has posed problems. People in less developed areas are now learning what they've been *missing*. They have new and rising expectations, many of which cannot be fulfilled immediately. But they also are learning about the world around them and are increasingly inspired to have a voice in world affairs.

"If it were a question of getting the first road or the first radio into a village," a Malaysian official said not long ago, "I would choose radio any time."

Radio informs, interprets, teaches, persuades and entertains, all for a penny's worth of battery electricity a day. It hurdles the barriers of censorship and illiteracy. Many in the world are illiterate, but few are deaf.

There are about 850 million radio sets in the world today. One out of three can pick up short wave. If the present trend continues, over one billion radio sets will be in use by 1980, perhaps 300 million of them capable of receiving short wave.

All major and many small nations broadcast internationally.

The total air time of *all* American broadcasters, (government and private) transmitting to foreign audiences—2,240 hours a week—exceeds that of all other nations. This astounding total includes the output of American radio stations like Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and RIAS, which program exclusively for audiences in Eastern Europe and the USSR, and also the world-wide American Forces Radio Network, which broadcasts only in English.

The Voice of America, a part of the United States Information Agency and the official radio of the United States Government, is the largest and most comprehensive of the various American broadcasters. It airs 830 hours a week in 35 languages—well behind Radio Moscow, Radio Peking and even the national radio of the United Arab Republic.

Radio Moscow and its sister station, "Radio Peace and Progress," must be viewed as the single biggest world broadcaster with 1,920 hours a week going out in 82 languages. Radio Peking follows with nearly 1,500 hours in 38 lan-

guages, and UAR Radio has 1,040 hours in 29 languages.

With all this international broadcasting going on, it is easy to see that the airwaves are jammed and the competition for the limited number of available frequencies is fierce. In fact, the most striking recent development in international broadcasting—regular satellite radio transmissions are still in the future—has been the rapid increase in the number and power of both medium and short wave transmitters in the world.

All major powers are expanding their broadcast facilities, and even some smaller nations, like Algeria, Greece, Malta and Albania are becoming important broadcasting centers because of their strategic location. The British, for instance, have put up a million-and-a-half watt transmitter on Mesirah, an island in the Arabian Sea, and another big one on Ascension island in the South Atlantic. BBC already has a sizable installation on Cyprus, as does VOA on Rhodes.

For the next six years, due to the decline in the sun spot cycle, the usable portion of the frequency spectrum will continue to shrink, and this means that fewer and fewer broadcast frequencies will be available. With more transmitters going on the air each year, the world is faced in the immediate future with another form of air pollution—"spectrum pollution."

Since only the voices that shout the loudest will be heard, this makes a transmitter race a likely prospect in the next few years, with all its political overtones and increasing competition for the listener.

The leading world broadcasters are all competent, in their fashion, and have powerful equipment. They differ in philosophy and in emphasis, or what might be called the message. Western broadcasters such as VOA and BBC and Radio Australia are convinced that nothing substitutes for the truth, that believable newscasts (the backbone of their operations) depend on honesty and completeness. Those broadcasters strive to maintain their credibility. Editorial opinion is clearly labelled as such and is not slipped subtly into a newscast.

Some international broadcasters

tailor their entire output, including the news, to the dictates of their government's policy, and this means that nothing is aired that will not further the political objectives of their countries. Radio Moscow, for example, did not mention Svetlana Alliluyeva's flight to freedom, or of protests of discrimination by foreign students from Black Africa studying at Patrice Lumumba University. Nor did Radio Peking hint of serious economic difficulties at home.

Broadcasters everywhere are engaged in what David Lawrence calls "idea power." With all due respect to printed and electronic journalism, the most convincing form of communication is, and always has been, word of mouth—neighbor talking to neighbor.

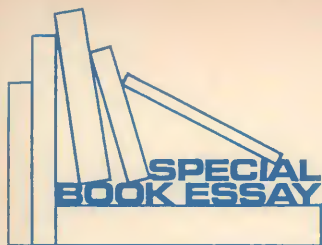
But a close second to that personal form of communication is radio, by far the fastest and the most far-reaching of the media. It transmits information and ideas to listeners in areas where the printed word is censored, where, in fact, all forms of local communication are filtered through a fine government screen.

And in a situation like that—people denied the right to know what's going on in the world—VOA builds an audience of inquisitive listeners who seek us out. We and our BBC friends estimate our largest audiences live in closed societies such as the USSR and Eastern Europe where people have a growing compulsion to listen to the "outside" world because their own media are so tightly controlled.

Radio is more than a means for ideas to cross friendly or hostile frontiers without a visa. For busy people everywhere, in open or closed societies, radio remains the quickest, simplest method of keeping informed.

As John Chancellor liked to say when he ran the Voice, radio is the most intimate medium in that it goes almost instantaneously from the lips of the announcer to the ears of the listener, as if the two persons were inches apart instead of perhaps half a world away from each other. And if this personal persuasion is to be effective it requires that broadcasts be reasonable, sensible and credible. Deceit

(Continued on page 48)



"My Several Lives: Memoirs of a Social Inventor," by James B. Conant (Harper & Row) is the autobiography of one of the great Americans of our time, and an extraordinary story it is too. For a shy, scholarly schoolboy from the outskirts of Boston—Yankee to the core but not in any sense a "Brahmin"—Dr. Conant has managed to cram into one lifetime more solid achievements in such diverse fields as science, education, social service, diplomacy and government than most professional men would be capable of accomplishing in any one of them. And as Dr. Conant is still busy and active at 77 the story is by no means over.

Among the many fascinating recollections which emerge from this lengthy narrative are the accounts of Dr. Conant's early achievements in chemistry; his selection and installation as President of Harvard; how in the early 1930s he coped with the first loyalty oaths and the problem of "radical" professors; how he invented a special type of national scholarship when scholarships were not in favor, and a special type of professorship without portfolio before interdisciplinary cross-fertilization had been heard of; how he created the Nieman Fellows in Journalism; and how he tackled the innumerable problems of administration that fall to the lot of a university president, including revival of moribund departments and assertion of control over such quasi-autonomous entities as the Law School.

With the onset of World War II Dr. Conant plunged into national politics, against the wishes of many of his colleagues and in the face of chilly disapproval on the part of the Harvard Corporation. From 1940 on he was a leading advocate of all-out assistance to England and France, and preparedness at home. After Pearl Harbor, as deputy to Vannevar Bush, he helped to create and operate the National Defense Research Committee, which was so successful in marshaling American scientific capabilities in support of the war effort. Dr. Conant was also one of the small group of influential scientists that was

instrumental in creating the Manhattan Project and the AEC.

After the war Dr. Conant ventured into world politics and diplomacy, becoming successively US High Commissioner and first Ambassador to West Germany. Since then he has chiefly concerned himself with education.

This saga of application and public service is recounted with an exposition of background and a lucidity of expression absolutely guaranteed to make even the most complex issues comprehensible to the general reader. But the true interest of the book lies in the courageous, energetic, ambitious personality of the author—largely concealed under a deceptively matter-of-fact and scholarly exterior—and in the extraordinary frankness with which he states his views on such controversial matters as mass higher education, infiltration of universities by radicals, private vs. public secondary schools, and universal military training. One may not agree with Dr. Conant's views on these issues, but the objectivity with which he sets out both sides of the question and the engaging candor with which he acknowledges his mistakes cannot help but exact the reader's admiration.

Although Dr. Conant has modified many of his attitudes over the years, his general philosophy on most domestic issues is that of the self-reliant, competitive New Englander of the last century. Socially and politically, he believes in the rise of "meritocracy"—that is, in an educational system aimed at affording maximum opportunity for the talented to rise to the top. Thus, he was one of the first advocates of national merit scholarships, objective test methods (SAT), and a system of governmental and private financial support for universities aimed at promoting institutional excellence. Dr. Conant's philosophy also has curiously paternalistic overtones, together with a bias in favor of egalitarian uniformity: how else can one explain his fervid zeal for a universal two or three year national service system for all eighteen year-olds, and a governmental tax and subsidy structure aimed at penalizing the private secondary school, which he regards as socially divisive.

On such touchy questions as loyalty oaths and the internal security threat, Dr. Conant's record would not commend itself to the contemporary liberal. In 1934, he not only gave unquestioning acceptance to the Massachusetts teachers' oath, but conceived it to be his responsibility as President of Harvard to make the faculty comply with it! His defense of J. Robert Oppenheimer in 1954, before the Gray

Review Panel, while forthright and unequivocal, was hardly accompanied by any sense of indignation. As to Dr. Conant's famous 1953 "confrontation" with Senator Joseph McCarthy over USIA's stocking of "communist" books and employment of "security risks," the transcript—which with typical honesty is printed in full—reveals an eagerness to conform with the shibboleths of the day that is somewhat at variance with his liberal professions. When a few pages later the author ingenuously expresses surprise that he never came under further attack from the Senator, it is difficult to suppress a smile.

Curiously, the chapters devoted to Dr. Conant's three and a half years in Germany as High Commissioner and Ambassador are the least satisfactory of the book. By the mid-1950s Dr. Conant had moved away from the Kennan view that the Soviet threat to Western Europe was largely internal, and had come to espouse both German rearmament and the conventional cold war military posture of the Eisenhower Administration. He obviously felt cramped in a highly official and ceremonial role where he was unable to exercise those faculties of enterprise and social invention in which he excelled. Regarding himself as a dutiful servant of Secretary Dulles (whom he seems to have disliked) there was little either original or creative that he was able to contribute to these posts.

But in the domestic field the story is entirely different. The qualities of ingenuity, thoroughness, intelligence, perseverance, and above all, enterprise, which Dr. Conant brought to bear on so many important aspects of American life ought to make this memoir required reading for every bureaucrat caught in a rut. True, Dr. Conant was President of Harvard and a member of the Establishment in the days when the Establishment counted. But this does not detract from the fact that on each of a dozen major national issues, and countless smaller ones, Dr. Conant took a constructive position, often unpopular at the time, seized the initiative, dictated letters to friends and colleagues, marshaled facts and figures, recruited supporters, drew up manifestoes and organization charts, and in his own modest but pertinacious way exercised the kind of citizen leadership that nowadays most people expect only from government. As Harold Taylor recently wrote in the *New York Times*, perhaps Dr. Conant's greatest social invention of all was of himself as a social inventor. We could certainly use more of his like today.

CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.



The My Lai Massacre

ONE MORNING IN THE WAR: THE TRAGEDY AT SON MY, by Richard Hammer. Coward-McCann, \$5.95.

TRAGEDIES are endemic to warfare. "One Morning In the War" is the true story of a tragedy in which American soldiers senselessly killed several hundred Vietnamese men, women, and children on March 16, 1968. This event, now called the My Lai Massacre, is one of the darkest stories of the involvement in Southeast Asia. Richard Hammer does a skillful job in weaving together the background of Son My village—its people and history and its reputation for being "the place where trouble does not come." The American unit which was to make this place a desert, Charlie Company, is seen racked with hate and fear: a group of young men with twelve months to survive in an alien and hostile land fighting in a very unconventional war. One day the village and the company met and both sides were the losers. This book graphically presents the problem. It is hoped all of its readers will ponder upon a solution.

—JOHN W. ZEROLIS

Essential and Outstanding

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN ASIA, edited by Robert A. Scalapino. Prentice-Hall, \$4.95.

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN ASIA is an essential book in the library of every student of Communism and of Asia. This collection of articles on the tactics, goals and achievements of Communist movements throughout Asia (China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam, Laos, Japan, Singapore and Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, India, Nepal and Ceylon) has as its editor Professor Robert Scalapino of the University of California at Berkeley, and as its contributors outstanding authorities on the countries dealt with.

In a lengthy introductory essay, Dr. Scalapino presents a comparative analysis of Asian Communism, in which he discusses the appeals of Marxism-Leninism to Asian intellectuals, the characteristics of Asian Communist leaders, the revolutionary tactics, party organization and membership of Asian Communist parties, and the

current and future policies of Asian Communist movements.

Chinese Communism tending to be the prototype for Asian Communist movements, "Building A Communist Nation In China" by Dr. Chalmers Johnson, also a political science professor at Berkeley, Chairman of the UC Center for Chinese Studies, and author of the seminal work on the Chinese Communist victory in China, "Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power," is of exceptional interest and value. Dr. Johnson sketches the main factors in the Communists' seizure of power in China and then deals with later developments such as the communes, the "Great Leap Forward," the split in the once-monolithic leadership of Communist China, and the Sino-Soviet dispute. A more lucid, concise *exposé* of what happened in China and what is happening there would be hard to find other than in this absorbing analysis.

The outstanding value of each essay in this assembly is due to the eminent scholarship of the writer and to the copious notes and selected bibliography that accompany each essay. Those who have not already received a copy of this coordinated study of Asian Communism may now buy it in paperback edition and rejoice in this 400-page bargain.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

No Escape from Commitment

A SENSE OF ASIA, by Sol Sanders. Scribner's, \$7.95.

SANDERS asks in his introduction "Why another journalist's book on Asia?", and with the spate of such volumes coming forth from presses it is a valid question. Sanders, who looks at the area from Afghanistan to Korea, has longer experience and a broader perspective than many of the newsmen-turned-author. He has had long experience in the area beginning as a representative of a Quaker organization, then for almost a score of years as a journalist (interestingly his rather long connection with U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT is omitted from his jacket biography).

Sanders sees disaster lurking around the corner for Asia. He cites the problem areas as burgeoning population, food shortage and lack of education and feels that there is little likeli-

hood for escape from the revolution which will follow this dismal prospect. The only escape in his view is greater commitment on the part of the West to the development of the region: "there is no escape from commitment" if we are to avoid a new series of communist inspired revolutions following on the Huks in the Philippines, Malaya and Vietnam. He fears inaction and lethargy on the part of both American and Asian bureaucracies will stymie any attempts to act decisively.

Unlike many of his colleagues Sanders is not totally disillusioned with the American role in Vietnam; indeed, he is critical of many of the press pundits but he also has criticisms of his own. Neither foreign service officers or AID personnel are entirely immune from criticism; here Sanders sees "careerism" and "conformity" as drawbacks.

Despite too many typographical errors (one suspects Sanders never read his page proofs), the book is a useful broad brush treatment, and one with a different, and at times more stimulating, viewpoint than much of what has been available.

—CRAIG BAXTER

Our Mission by Area

AMERICA'S WORLD ROLE IN THE 70s, edited by Prof. Abdul A. Said. Prentice-Hall, \$1.95 (paper).

THE invalidation of the premise of the American national mission has been an unusually painful experience for the United States during the past few years. Today, although the world looks on the American standard of living as a desirable goal, it does not sympathize with the American role in world affairs.

Abdul A. Said, Professor of International Relations in American University's School of International Service, thus begins his Preface. During the spring of 1969, he explains, the university's Kennedy Political Union "invited a number of prominent political scientists to explore the issues of changing requirements of American security." The representation of A.U. professors in this symposium is preponderant, only four of the thirteen contributors having come from other institutions.

There is an essay on each of the areas into which the world is usually divided: Western Europe (Hans Morgenthau), the Soviet bloc (Samuel Sharp), Latin America (John Plank), Africa (Charles Burton Marshall), the Middle East (Said), South & Southeast Asia (Richard Butwell), and the Far East (Takehiko Yoshihashi). The Balkans are also dis-

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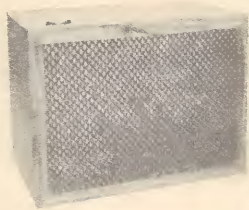
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essed as a distinct area, perhaps be-
cause that is the specialty of Theodore
Coulombis, Acting Dean of the
School of International Service. Be-
sides the area-by-area treatments,
there are additional sections on re-
cent American diplomacy (Whittle
Johnston), prospects for world gov-
ernment (Urban Whitaker), interna-
tional law (Lawrence Wadsworth),
"regionalism" (James Jose), and mi-
litary technology (Walter Clemens).

In this day when an increasing
number of anthologies are focusing
either on advancing new "conceptual
schemes" or displaying tables of quan-
titative data, a collection of the type
under review should be welcome to
those of more traditional bent.

—JOHN R. LEPPERD

Americans and Nuremberg

JUDGMENT ON NUREMBERG, by William
J. Bosch. University of North Carolina
Press, \$9.75.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM J. BOSCH has
produced a useful specialized study of
the trial of the major Nazi war crimi-
nals at Nuremberg. The task he un-
dertakes is to determine the judgment
and attitudes of Americans and spe-
cial groups of Americans on Nurem-
berg.

Each chapter discusses the opinions
expressed by a different segment of
the population: statesmen, lawyers,
Congress, clergymen, historians, mili-
tary, behavioral scientists, and the
public. While it needs must contain
certain tabulations, it is not difficult to
read. It probably will not command a
popular readership, but it should be
useful to those interested in war-
planning, peace-planning, and interna-
tional law. The similarities and differ-
ences between American attitudes on
this trial and on that commonly called
My Lai makes one realize that Nurem-
berg was not a one-time phenomenon
but rather will be with us always. If
aggressive war is a crime, as we
claimed at Nuremberg, and if superior
orders are no defense against war
crimes, as we also claimed, the whole
nature of war and especially the treat-
ment of war prisoners may change. It
may, therefore, be prudent to consider
setting up some true international law
in these areas, instead of resorting to
ad hoc, ex post facto law as was done
at Nuremberg.

The Nuremberg inconsistencies
were easily overshadowed by the
monstrosity of Nazi crimes. Hitler, his
mad cohorts, and his opportunistic
running dogs went out of their way to
make it easy to hang them. It was
simply unthinkable to reasonable men
that they should escape punishment.

Even today, the few who survived
their Spandau sentences tend to repel
us. In 1945, a number of influential
people believed they should be hung
without any trial at all. Twenty-five
years later, however, we can take a
more dispassionate view and should be
thinking about the long term effects of
this kind of international justice.

—AL STOFFEL

Ooze Oo in Whitehall

NEW 1969 editions have appeared of
the British Imperial Calendar and Civil
Service List, as well as the Diplo-
matic List. The former is the rough
equivalent of the United States Gov-
ernment Organization Manual while
the latter is, of course, our own be-
loved Biographic Register, a l'An-
glaise. It is tempting to dismiss both of
these publications with the comment
sometimes made about the telephone
book—great cast but no plot—but
this, it seems to me, misses the essen-
tial drama of such compilations.

Where else, for example, could one
find such intriguing locations as the
"Establishment Staffing Division!"
And how very British to conceal this
all-powerful group in the Ministry of
Transport. This is quite possibly the
best disguise since HM's PM took
cover as the First Lord of the Treas-
ury. In the same Transport Ministry,
also, we find the mysteriously titled
"Goods Vehicle Plating (Policy) Divi-
sion"—an unlikely coincidence which
is apt to persuade the apprentice
Whitehallologist that he has come
upon a rather transparent front for
MI-007.

If the Civil Service List represents
drama, however, the Diplomatic List
is sheer melodrama. Unfortunately,
with typical British reserve it fails to
adumbrate, as the American stud
book does, each stumble on the way
to early retirement. One is left won-
dering what could have happened to
good old Cholmondeley, who had
seemed such a brilliant chancery chap
ten years ago in Brussels, but who
now appears to have found fulfillment
as First Secretary (Commercial) in
Ouagadougou.

One thing that the British Diplo-
matic List does have, which is sorely
missing from its American counter-
part, is the name of the officer's
spouse—numbered consecutively,
where appropriate, and with dynastic
dates appended. The British list also
indicates the number and gender of
children, which can be useful infor-
mation on occasion. On both these items
the British presentation is far superior
to the rather sterile "m" one finds in
the US version.

—ED KILLHAM

... MEETS THE PRESS
from page 21

Mr. McCloskey: But the public reaction went beyond just the audience he spoke to.

Mr. Monsen: I've been involved in discussions just exactly like this, with any number of you over the years. I don't think I've ever seen them written or appear hardly anywhere in the press, with the possible exception of the *Columbia REVIEW OF JOURNALISM*. I think that the press might be a little bit vulnerable in its timorousness in discussing its own problem. I think that the *Columbia REVIEW OF JOURNALISM* is one of the few places where you will see regularly an honest discussion of these things, although you and I will discuss these privately, but...

Mr. Kalb: There have been these occasions and there have been, in fact, series of broadcasts on this particular problem. There was one that ran for about six years that Charles Collingwood did, called *CBS Views the Press*, and it ran every week, but I would share your

general criticism that there's not enough of it.

Mr. Nickel: Yes, even our press sections in *TIME* and *NEWSWEEK* aren't really doing the job as well as they should.

Mr. Trehwitt: I agree with that.

Mr. Nickel: Liebling tried to do it in *The New Yorker* for a while.

Mr. Monsen: And I think that government officials tend to be just about as intimidated by the press as the press might be by government officials. (Laughter)

Mr. Kalb: It's not that the press is intimidated by government officials; the issue here is one of economics. Networks, and stations in a network, require a license to function from the United States Government's Federal Communications Commission and any administration has control of that agency. Therefore, if any station does not wish to carry network commentary about a Presidential statement, for fear of raising the ire of the FCC, then it will simply cut out. We're all too close to it to understand the effect, but I know it has had a major effect.

Mr. Kennedy: But then, it's not only the broadcast media but the attempts to obtain reporters' notes which, I should think, would hit at the pencil press, as well.

Mr. Nickel: It's not happened on our beat yet, but...

Mr. Kalb: It's happened at the *NEW YORK TIMES*.

Mr. Grose: Yes, but not in State Department context.

Mr. Trehwitt: It hasn't worked and I believe most reporters are simply going to refuse to comply. I certainly would go to jail before I would ever, ever, ever reveal a source or turn over my notes. As far as I'm concerned, the court...

Mr. McCloskey: As a government official, I'm on the side of the reporters here.

Mr. Trehwitt: ... the court is entitled only to look at what I have printed.

Mr. Nickel: That's right. Fortunately, nobody can read my notes anyhow. I even have trouble myself. (Laughter)

Mr. Kennedy: Gentlemen, I'd like to thank you very much.

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The Kyrulian ambassador's wife ignored me until I started reading the *JOURNAL*. She still ignores me but I can smile to myself over Life and Love.

STATE OF THE ART

from page 32

cations provides the most effective mode of cross-cultural transactions.

Four: The communications resources of the United States Government are most effectively employed when its messages are directed in an articulated way to the present and future opinion leaders of the host country.

But, even given this essential articulation, there still remains the difficult problem of engaging the attention of a man surrounded by the pressing demands and messages of his own society and government.

Clearly, we can engage his attention on subjects of interest to him, also we have no reason to communicate except on subjects important to the US. The answer must lie, then, in an area of intersecting interests—subjects important to both of us and related to the short or long-term objectives of the United States Government.

It is my contention that we can

define the areas at which intersecting interests exist, that these areas are important to international relationships and that they take into account, in addition to our need to discuss them, the difficulties imposed by cross-cultural communications and the environmental wall I have described.

The philosophical framework within which these intersecting interests exist can be stated (if somewhat dramatically) this way: the nations of the world face in common certain problems and experiences which will determine whether we can survive at least until the 21st century, only thirty years hence, and, assuming survival, with what degree of quality. These are the problems where our interests intersect most importantly; and the answers to these problems bear mightily on the foreign policy goals of the United States.

In fact, foreign policy is the first subject matter with which USIA concerns itself: the objectives, formulations, issues and goals of our policies, for the magnitude of our

power means that it intrudes on other nations and therefore needs public definition.

In this area our interests probably intersect with the smallest of the various audience bases. Interest in foreign affairs becomes more intense and important as one moves higher in the power structure of a country. It is precisely at those levels that one finds the greatest degree of vested interest and therefore the greatest resistance to the influences of public persuasion. None of this invalidates the necessity of making a public record of one's foreign policy goals and objectives and positions; it simply puts perspective on what can be achieved by so doing. If we cannot always—or even frequently—gain support for our policies, we can certainly seek an understanding of them, a not unimportant condition for the exercise of power.

I would list next the issues of environment, education, political, economic and social institutions and the impact of science and technology on society as issues with

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which USIA should deal.

All of them are directly related to the question of whether and how we all survive in this world and therefore important to the longer-range international goals and objectives of the United States. Not only do they provide substantive points of intersecting interests; they engage us with audiences for whom USIA has essential responsibility within the mission; and the mix of audience and subject is ideal for the role of public affairs in terms of its potential.

I assume that audience to consist essentially of those who influence public attitudes in their country and who are involved or concerned with such concepts and ideas—or, those who will be in the near future. It is with this audience that USIA can involve itself in the most meaningful way.

The same is true, finally, of the general area of the creative arts, which has to do with both the shaping of contemporary concepts and with a broader perception of the United States, its value systems

and, as a consequence, another context for the understanding of its international projections.

It should be noted that the six areas of discussion which I have briefly described form a matrix which includes many of the issues around which we presently cluster ourselves and, in so doing, gives them greater relevance for our audiences. For example, to talk about youth is fair enough; to talk about the involvement of youth in problems of environment, in institution building or reform, or in the context of education and the function of a university, is more substantive, and it has the added virtue of forcing USIA to discuss relevant experiences and mutual problems rather than simply producing an unfocused portrayal of "the American story" to a busy, complex and worried world.

I HAVE dealt here more with the state of the art of communications and with subject matter as they apply to our work in foreign affairs

than with modes of presentation and a detailed description of audience. The latter two I dealt with in considerable detail in "An End to Anarchy," which appeared in the January 1969 issue of the *oreign Service JOURNAL*. The thrust of that article centered on a concept of program articulation that I called (much to my subsequent regret) "Packaged Programing."

In various places, the concept has come to be interpreted as some mechanical bringing together of communications resources in a neat, tidy, convenient and gimmicky way.

In fact, the concept derives from what I have said here about the realities of communications as a sociology, the limits and the potential, and about the nature of the audience with whom we must deal.

All of these—the real world of communications, the audience, the subject matter and the mode of presentation—creatively articulated could bring us to a state of professionalism now within our grasp but not yet realized. ■

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RADIO

from page 41

and shouting just won't work.

Despite deception and shouting, both Moscow and Peking no doubt have sizable world audiences, but this could well be owing more to the power and coverage of their transmitters than to the rather strident message they convey. In many parts of the world like Africa, the Middle and Far East, Moscow and Peking boom in with a strong signal, and a good many of the less sophisticated listeners spin the dial almost indiscriminately until they find the station that comes in best, with the least fading and distortion.

While audiences are often fickle and impossible to measure in totalitarian states, there seems to be only a rough relationship of audience size to a broadcaster's time on the air. There is every reason to believe, for instance, that VOA and BBC far outpull Moscow and Peking, at least in the competition for

the more sophisticated (and presumably more influential) listener.

All bets are off for a big story. VOA had the largest audience in radio history—an estimated 750 million listeners—for the Apollo 11 moon landing last year. VOA's coverage was picked up and relayed in whole or part by BBC, Deutsche Welle, Radio Australia and 18 or 20 other national radios, including Radio Havana.

VOA tells the world of the less savory happenings in this country along with the good things, not only because that reflects the kind of people we are as a nation but also because if we did not we'd be dead in the competition for world audiences. We believe that if we deal honestly with our listeners in our newscasts they will tend to believe us—or at least think seriously about it—when we broadcast what we might call a message, or editorial.

BBC has, indeed, high credibility, as solid as the ring of Big Ben. During the grim years of the Battle

of Britain, when the studio walls were crumbling in air raids, BBC broadcast the truth about Britain's desperate situation and never tried to gloss it over with lies as did the Nazi radio, which never admitted that things were not going according to plan. VOA has followed the same precept of being honest with the listener, and it has attained, in 28 years of broadcasting, equal credibility with our British friends.

Not all international broadcasting gets through, and one reason is the use by some countries of electronic interference, or jamming.

For five years the Soviet Union had not jammed the Voice of America. It was considered, we think, too expensive and electronic interference was not all that effective, since VOA could be heard outside the main cities of the Soviet Union. But in August 1968, coincident with the invasion of Czechoslovakia—a few hours after troops crossed the Czech frontier—on came the jammers to block VOA broadcasts



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in the languages of the USSR, and they have been at it ever since. Obviously the USSR did not want its own people to know what was going on.

The USSR is not the only country to employ jamming. The mainland Chinese, the Bulgarians, the Cubans (in a half-hearted way) and the United Arab Republic all seek to block some or all western broadcasts by transmitting either an irritating noise, or one of their own programs, on frequencies assigned to VOA. The UAR, interestingly enough, is the only non-communist country to jam VOA.

We consider the practice of jamming reprehensible. It violates the principle of freedom of information and is against the spirit and word of all international telecommunication covenants, and we have said so to the Soviets in diplomatic language.

Another dimension of international broadcasting is its effect on the conduct of international relations in time of peace. Prior to World War I, governments talked

only to governments. Now governments talk to the *people* of other countries—by radio. International radio broadcasting, both short and medium wave, came of age during that war. Germany, for example, used radio to disseminate false news bulletins.

Following World War I, most of the major powers began broadcasting to the people of other countries, in the languages of those countries, without consultation with, much less the consent of, the other governments concerned.

Today, no fewer than 92 countries, employing around 700 transmitters, engage in international broadcasting on short and medium wave. These include not only the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China, but also Andorra, the Windward Islands, and Tanzania.

Diplomats are still needed, of course, because governments always will have to talk with governments. But the point is that radio remains the one medium for transmitting ideas that demands nothing

of the audience in this era of the cheap transistor and government-to-people diplomacy except the will to listen and occasionally a few cents for a new battery.

And the future seems boundless, not only because of the expanding ownership of radio sets in the world but also because of communications satellites which, at some distant stage of development, probably will relay signals from outer space right to the antennae of home sets—and this means both radio and television. In this respect it is awesome even to contemplate the political and legal problems of international broadcasting rights and copyrights.

Maybe you can't swat a fly with a radio receiver but radio, even in this age of television, is not only alive and well but indeed expanding and growing prosperous as the world becomes ever more thirsty for information.

So prosperous, in fact, that one confident labor leader in discussing a possible work stoppage at a radio station warned management that "we can strike a happy medium."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To Preserve a Right

WE were very pleased to see the NEW YORK TIMES article of June 17 carrying the Association's announcement that AFSA had requested and received from the Department specific assurances that disciplinary action would not be taken against the signers of the widely-publicized letter to the Secretary on the Cambodian issue. Regardless of our individual opinions on the merits of the particular argument, it is essential that the right to vigorous debate and expressions of dissent be jealously preserved if the foreign policy process is to remain open, flexible, and objective. The Association's forthright action in this case is commendable, and should go far to relieve the doubts originally raised by the Association's letter to the President on this subject early in May.

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Calcutta

A Sop to Solipsism?

MANY thanks for Craig Eisendrath's entertaining, yet quietly perceptive, article. Having just spent my first three FS years in Washington, two of them on the board of the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club (JFSOC), I experienced (and watched others experiencing) many of the frustrations he describes.

Mr. Eisendrath would no doubt chuckle upon learning how many young, articulate and politically active (in JFSOC and AFSA) "trouble-makers" among FSOs are quite happy to let the system co-opt them into its better jobs (a sop to solipsism?). I personally suspect that, far from pursuing their causes with even more

reckless abandon, these FSOs are likely to acquire a more mature, while still constructively critical, attitude toward the government bureaucracy, of which they, like their former college classmates, are still wary. All of which may prove that the system, while terribly dishonest and immoral, may at times show signs of working well after all.

Whatever his personal reasons for leaving the government, Mr. Eisendrath can rest assured that, in so treating these "quiet battles," he continues to serve his country well.

FREDERICK H. GERLACH

Tangier

Looking for Light

THERE has been some heat but little light thrown on the subject of where the FSSOs stand in the new Management Strategy Program for the '70s as outlined in Under Secretary Macomber's speech of January 14, 1970. From the little information available to the staff overseas, the only "advantages" to FSSOs in this new strategy are (1) title of Foreign Service Reserve Unlimited Officer (FSRU), (2) inclusion in the Foreign Service retirement system and (3) an opportunity for selection out. Taking each item in turn, the advantage of Item #1 is in a title only, Item #2 is something we are entitled to now after completing ten years of Foreign Service duty and Item #3 is no advantage at all. Can someone throw more light on some real advantages to the FSSO corps? I do hope that a title and selection out will not be the only things to look forward to for the FSSO corps in the '70s.

EDWARD J. NOSKO

Istanbul

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Nosko's letter has been referred to FSSO Barbara Good, member of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Staff Corps Advisory Committee, who replied as follows:

THANK you for your letter of July 7 requesting that more light be shed on the real advantages to the FSSO Corps in the new management strategy program for the '70s outlined by Mr. Macomber on January 14, 1970.

The Task Forces have made many recommendations which if implemented will affect the Staff Officer Corps along with everyone else in the Foreign Service. Certainly the strengthening of the Department and its role in foreign affairs is in the interest of us all. Obviously, the many recommendations of Task Force V on working conditions and pocket book

issues are of benefit to all. As you point out, it is by no means so clear what the specific advantages to the Staff Officer Corps will be.

The advantages appear to be as follows: FSSOs who convert to FSO will now be eligible for promotion beyond the equivalent of FSSO-1 which now equates to FSO-3. It appears that this advantage would affect only a few members of the Staff Corps. Also, it would appear unrealistic to think that many of us would ever achieve promotion beyond the FSO-3 level when it is now so difficult to be promoted beyond the FSSO-3 level, although more strictly in-cone competition might be to our advantage.

In all countries FSO status conveys duty-free entry and other privileges which Staff Corps personnel presently do not always enjoy. However, an FSRU would have to be on the diplomatic list to enjoy such privileges, and the point will still have to be pursued.

On the other side of the ledger, many of us feel that we would have difficulty competing as FSOs and "selection out" might affect staff personnel in the same manner that Wristonization led to elimination of some of the civil servants who converted. If those of us who are eligible choose not to integrate, can we actually hope for further promotions? Mr. Macomber has said we would not be penalized but does that also rule out reward? The overall objective appears to be one of rationalizing and bringing together the various personnel systems, and selection out across the board is something I suspect has been on the drawing board for quite some time—as far back as the Hays Bill, if not before. I think many of us feel that there is a lot of dead wood in the Staff Corps and that a system to weed it out is inevitable.

In AFSA's recent statement on the Task Force proposals, we have urged that a special working group on the Staff Corps be set up to answer questions that all of us are asking concerning our future status. We believe an accommodation must be made during the transitional period, and AFSA will continue to insist that the administration consider the Staff Corps' point of view and think through the implications of reform measures for Staff Officers. We are urging that Staff views be sought and that contemplated measures be fully discussed and explored in advance.

I'm sorry that I am unable to find any real answers to your questions on the future status of the FSSO Corps and the advantages of lateral entry into the FSO Corps, but these ques-

tions are not yet resolved and there are not any ready answers. We have been assured by Mr. Macomber's office that clarification will be forthcoming.

BARBARA J. GOOD

Washington

Need for Script Writers

I enjoyed several tid-bits of information in the June issue which provided food for thought. So some 85 percent of the junior officers polled feel that there is no meaningful career planning, and some 80 percent feel that contact and luck are the primary determining factors in assignments. Such a belief after all the speeches and articles of reassurance during the past few years! Do we have a credibility gap or is the younger generation more realistic than their senior colleagues?

Then along comes Donald S. Harris with his none too scientific research, but research which does give him a figure of 47 percent attrition among Foreign Service officers within the past ten years. (It must have ruined his Easter Holidays.)

I'm reminded of a recent comment by a Career Development Officer who stated that "good work is not enough in the service today." Perhaps in the modern Foreign Service the road to success is by two possible routes: a flashy job (the longer and more nebulous the title, the better), or having a good script writer around to do your efficiency report. Otherwise one might become one of Mr. Harris's statistics!

THEODORE B. DOBBS
American Consul

Edinburgh

Pace Abou ben Adhem

"Not wishing to take any action in your absence, I have thought the matter over fully, and I feel even more strongly than at first that I am warranted in asking and expecting the consideration toward which this request is directed and that I would not be justified in accepting the undesirable and I think the undeserved distinction which the omission of my name from that list, considering the number and grouping of those that have been included, imposes upon me."

An FSO complaining about the last Promotion List? No, Stanley Hornbeck, long time (1928-44) chief of the Far Eastern Division, lamenting that his name did not appear in the press release listing the technical advisers to the American delegation to the Washington Conference (1921).

J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

Washington

Can Anyone Help?

I am a graduate student at Auburn University. I am researching General Felix Willoughby Smith, American Military Consul at Tiflis, Georgia from about July, 1917 till March, 1918. I was told that you might be able to give me some leads regarding any living relatives and perhaps a thumbnail biography. Any assistance that you could lend me would be most highly appreciated.

Thank you for your kind attention and consideration of this letter. I will be anxiously looking forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Donald G. Davidson
P.O. Box 221
Auburn, Ala. 36830

Toward Other Samplings

I was struck by the letter written by Donald S. Harris from Berlin on the issue of personnel attrition (*I like Mr. Harris's phrase*) among Foreign Service officers in the June, 1970, issue and I was interested in his methodology in determining that there is a 47 percent attrition rate over a ten year period.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

By S. I. Nadler



"I don't understand the inspector's remark about 'going native'. I thought they wanted us to fit into the foreign post. Heaven knows I've tried."

with fairness and efficiency. I am sure we all are reassured not only by Mr. Harris's effort but in the sure and certain knowledge that those who administer our Service are handling personnel matters in the same calm, cool and dispassionate manner.

VICTOR WOLF, JR.
American Consul

Cebu

History of a Landmark

IN Ted Olson's Washington Letter in June 1970 edition of your magazine, "R.I.P. for Another Landmark," he speaks of the four-story red brick house at the corner of 18th and F Streets and the fact that it belongs to "Mrs. Robert Low Bacon, widow of a distinguished New York Congressman." The readers of your magazine would probably also be interested to know that Robert Low Bacon was the son of Robert Bacon, Secretary of State in 1909 and then our Ambassador in France.

W. V. HALL

Alexandria

To Diminish Fear

THE editorial "On Dissent" in the June issue raised a question which deserves further discussion. What forms of dissent are consonant with a Foreign Service officer's responsibilities to both his conscience and his position? What bothers me now, however, is not the possibility of irresponsible dissent, but the reality of fear-induced silence. I have never been part of an organization so permeated by fear. Observers of the Foreign Service, both friendly and unfriendly, have repeatedly criticized it for its lack of creativity as an organization—paucity of new ideas, lack of innovative thinking. Some tinkering has been done in response to these criticisms. A psychologist has been hired for a few days here, a management consultant for a week there; a Deputy Undersecretary has urged incoming officers to approach their work with "passion" as well as intelligence.

Neither a speech nor a couple of lectures by a management consultant is going to convince an officer with a wife, two children and fifteen years of service that he ought to push ideas which challenge the basic outlook on the world of the boss who writes his efficiency reports. This is, of course, a problem in any organization. I think that it is a greater problem in the Foreign Service. It is also more dangerous. The Service is one of the three

or four groups of people in the country which contain substantial foreign affairs expertise. In this era we cannot afford to waste such a resource. The fact that the last three Presidents have drawn their major non-Cabinet foreign policy advisers from academia is a strong indication of the source from which they felt they were getting the most stimulating foreign policy information.

And really, haven't they been right? Where is the Foreign Service officer who is challenging basic foreign policy beliefs? Who is saying, for example, that international relations is not necessarily the kind of game in which every consulate that the Soviet Union opens represents some sort of loss for the United States? Who is challenging the relative weight given to military and political considerations in foreign policy decisions? The fact that such challenges may exist in classified memos of various kinds is of little use to the next President, who will never see them. They will never be sharpened by public debate. Under these circumstances, who ought to have first claim on the President's attention?

The implication of this argument is probably clear. I think that Foreign Service officers should have the right to publish articles or books on foreign policy regardless of whether the contents agree or disagree with elements of the policy which may exist at any given point in time. I do not think that any public disagreements which might occur would imply disloyalty. Aside from the fact that appointment by the President is a dubious justification for public quietism, I really wonder whether it is in the best interest of the President or the country for the foreign policy community to appear either incapable of or forbidden to dissent. Disagreement with particular foreign policies has tended to broaden into lack of faith in the decision-making process. This is the real credibility gap that the Executive Branch faces. Presentation of the foreign policy community as a monolith, whether voluntary or coerced, can only accentuate the problem. Accordingly, I think that it would be appropriate for the Foreign Service Association to lobby for the widest possible latitude for its members in contributing to public foreign policy dialogue. I realize that there are boundary problems. The effectiveness of the United States Ambassador to South Vietnam might be diminished if he were in substantial public disagreement with US policy in that region. These are problems at the extreme and ought not to serve as the basis for deriving norms of acceptable behavior for the great majority of

persons who are not in similar situations.

Adoption of this suggestion would not, however, serve to diminish fear and encourage innovative thinking among most members of the Department since, naturally, only a minority would find the time and energy to prepare material for publication during non-working hours. A more basic step would be for the Association to encourage a study of the uses and abuses of the efficiency rating system. At the risk of being redundant—efficiency ratings appear to be the most feared element in a system characterized by fear. I know that there are good reasons for using them. There are also serious costs. Some of the costs of the Army's system of efficiency ratings are discussed in a recent article in *THE NEW REPUBLIC* (May 30, 1970) by Edward L. King. He contends, for example, that it produces "fearful, overcautious men." That, of course, has also been the basic contention of this communication. It seems to me that the very least we should do is seek to determine clearly what the benefits and costs are. With such information it ought to be possible to find a way to minimize the costs in relation to the benefits.

Related to the efficiency ratings is the up or out promotion system. Again, a lot can be said for it. It makes sense to provide some means for turnover of people who are just not making it in their jobs. However, how many people are actually bumped out by this procedure? How does this number compare to those who are promoted on their last chance by kindly Boards because they have kept their noses clean and gotten no really bad efficiency reports? How likely are these people to be innovative? How likely are they to encourage or allow innovation by those under them?

I believe that these are questions which ought to be discussed frankly by members of the foreign affairs community. The pages of the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* would seem to be one appropriate forum for a dialogue. In closing, I would like to state frankly what may be transparently obvious. I am new to the Foreign Service, still training for my first assignment abroad. That means that I may be working under fewer preconceptions than those more experienced. It also means that I am probably working on the basis of less knowledge. If my ignorance has led me astray I will be happy to be corrected, since I think that the subject is important.

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No wonder the list of owners of this world-famous series of Trans-Oceanic portable radios reads like an International "Who's Who."

Check now and see for yourself why you'll want to be among the proud owners of this newest, finest, even more distinguishing Zenith Trans-Oceanic.

Model Royal 7000-1

New chassis! New styling! New features!
Better performance than ever before from a radio already world-famous for its year-after-year dependability!

New Beat Frequency Oscillator (BFO) Control for intelligible CW and SSB transmissions... Consol and Consolan bearings.

New "Norm-Sharp" IF Switch helps eliminate adjacent channel interference on SSB as well as AM, SW, and CW.

New RF Gain Control functions automatically in "Normal" setting. Adjustable to insure maximum sensitivity for SSB and CW and to permit navigational direction finding.

New Tuner Output Jack, readily accessible, feeds tape recorder or external amplifier speaker system.

New AC Power Supply built-in permits operation on either 115V or 230V with batteries automatically disconnected. Up to 300 hours of listening pleasure with "D" type flashlight batteries available anywhere.

New Tuning Meter lets you tune visually to maximum signal strength. Also determines a station's null for RDF. Serves as a Battery Level Indicator, too.

New solid-state chassis with carefully hand-wired and hand-soldered connections. No production shortcuts.

The new Zenith Trans-Oceanic Royal 7000-1 is available at Post Exchanges overseas.



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