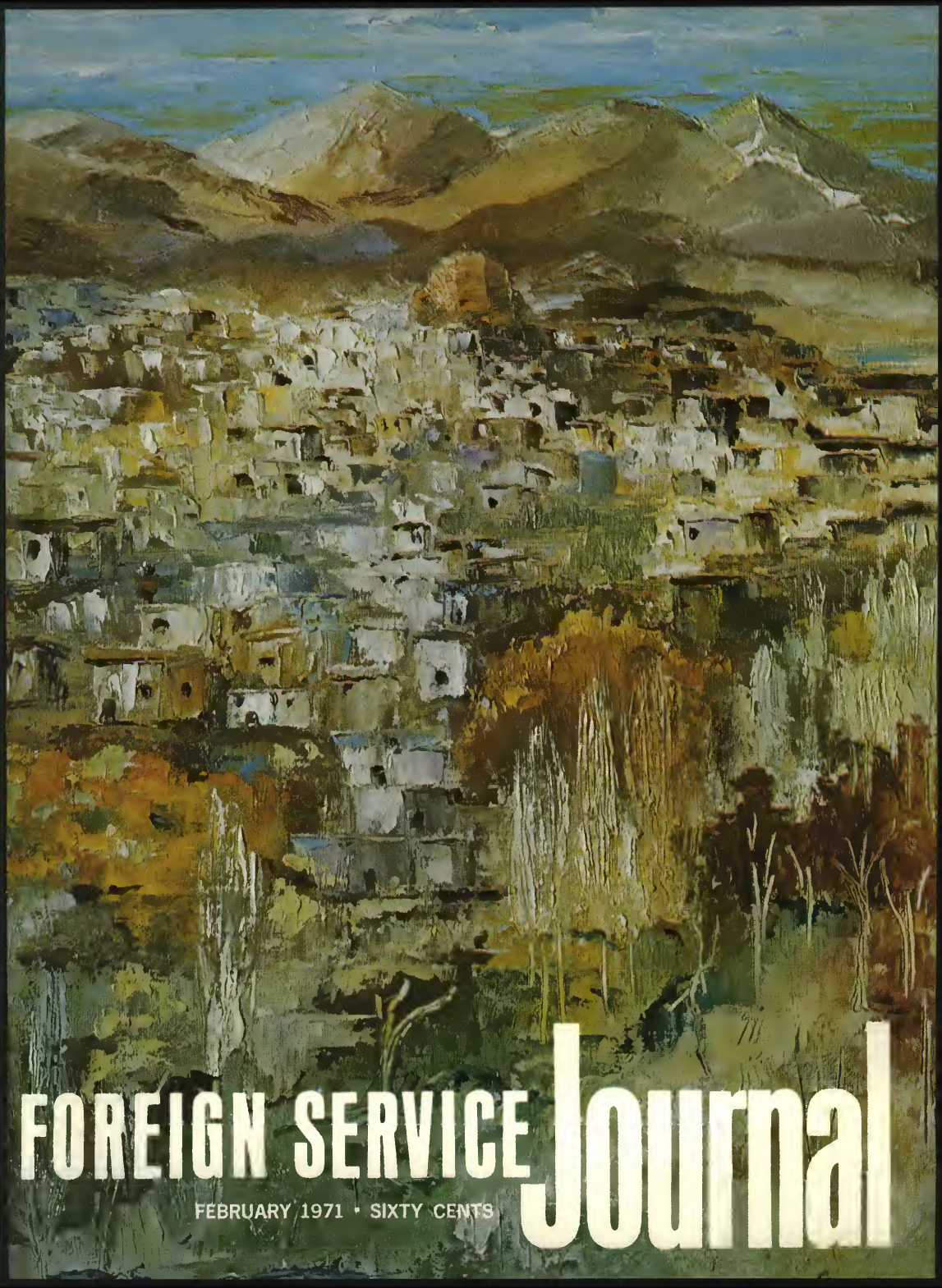

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FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

FEBRUARY, 1971, Volume 48, No. 2

DEPARTMENTS

OTHER FEATURES: Passing Thoughts on Consuls, by Kenneth Roberts, page 4; On Being a Foreign Service Wife, by Ginny Carson, page 10; Domesday, by Peter Bridges, page 37.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS: Penne Laingen, "Istalif, in the Fall," cover; Bachrach, photograph, page 17; U. S. Army, photograph, page 19; David Gulick, St. Louis POST DISPATCH, photographs, pages 39, 40, 41 and 42; Henry J. Paoli, photograph, page 48; S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 62.

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EDITORIAL

Toward A Modern Diplomacy

THE first stage of the reform movement within the foreign affairs community is complete.

The process began in 1968 with the publication by AFSA of "Toward A Modern Diplomacy." Secretaries Rogers and Macomber have responded with great perception and courage to this unprecedented desire for self reform. The 13 task forces have studicd the problems faced by the foreign affairs community in a new decade and have submitted their recommendations to the Secretary. The first phase of reform is realized; the second, and more difficult, is about to begin.

The second phase requires translation of the task forces' recommendations into practice. It will not be easy. Fundamental changes are always disconcerting and sometimes even painful; indeed the level of pain may mirror the success of reform.

It is too early to comment in detail on most of the implementation proposals—many are not yet fully developed. In some cases, such as the Foreign Affairs Specialist (FSRU) program and the recommendations concerning the need to bridge the traditional gaps between policy decisions and the management of resources, considerable work has been done. The results up to now have been mixed.

The Foreign Affairs Specialist Program promises to be a wise, well planned effort to correct many inequities which have existed in the personnel structure for at least a generation. In contrast, current proposals dealing with the coordination of policy and resources appear limited in scope and doubtful of accomplishment. They tend to look inward toward the Department rather than embracing the wider and more serious problem of inter-agency coordination of national foreign policy objectives and programs. The Department of State has direct control of relatively few material resources. However, it is responsible for the coordination and guidance of the international activities of the Government as a whole. Internal reform of the Department must focus clearly on this high responsibility.

In the coming months the Association will support genuine reform and will cooperate with Department leadership in bringing it about. The Association will oppose with equal energy measures which appear half-hearted or ineffective. ■

BOARD ACTIONS TAKEN

DECEMBER 1, 1970

E.O. 11491: The Executive Director, Mr. Lambrakis and Mr. Senser were designated to attend a meeting with the National Federation of Professional Organizations.

Reform: It was decided that Mr. Nevitt would obtain copies of the State Department guidelines for FSRU and copies of the AFSA statement regarding them. ASFA will ask for a copy of USIA guidelines.

The Board of the Foreign Service is to meet December 9 to evaluate Task Force recommendations. The AFSA Board was dissatified with the sketchy agenda for this meeting and with the piecemeal approach it appeared to represent. It was decided that the Chairman of of the AFSA Board would ask for consultation with the Director General on behalf of AFSA and JFSOC to emphasize the AFSA Board's feeling that the Board of the Foreign Service cannot understand the problem until the entire picture is presented.

DECEMBER 8, 1970

The Board unanimously approved membership on the Awards Committee, (chaired by Howard B. Schaffer) of the following. John Scafe, USIA; Roy Stacy, AID; and Mary C. McDonnell, William D. Blair, Jr., and Thomas Boyatt, State.

The Board unanimously approved a motion to appoint Mr. Franklyn Allen Harris to a vacancy on the AFSA Board.

Reform: A letter was sent on December 7 from William Harrop, Acting Chairman of the Board, to Hon. John N. Irwin II, Chairman, Board of the Foreign Service on the Foreign Affairs Specialist program (FAS) lateral entry, and the Junior Officer program.

Pay Review Task Force: Mr. Philip M. Oliver, Director of the Job Evaluation and Pay Review Task Force of the Civil Service Commission, made a presentation to the Board. The main thrust of Mr. Oliver's statements was that a typist is a typist, whether the typing is done in the US or abroad; that there are thousands of US civilians serving abroad, under different pay allowance systems; that all civilians, whether serving at home or abroad, should receive "equal pay for equal work." He would thus favor incorporating the entire Staff Corps and possible Foreign Service Officers, FSRs and FSIOs as well, into the Civil Service. The discussion that followed was rather heated. The Board and Mr. Oliver closed with the hope that future meetings might establish better communications.

DECEMBER 15, 1970

Legislation: The Department of State may request legislation to move FSSOs to GS or FSRU status. Mr. Oliver is expected to recommend legislation on job evaluation and pay comparability by March 1972. Messrs. Nevitt and Cohen will find out whether the Case Bill (Retirement after 25 years) is to apply to employees of Foreign Service agencies. Mr. Harris was asked to obtain a copy of the proposed pay raise legislation (Udall Bill), which the Chairman said will mark the beginning of collective bargaining in the Federal Service.

Membership: Dues for those earning less than $8000 per annum and for persons outside the government, and the general idea of associate membership, will be discussed in detail when papers on these subjects (now under preparation) have been presented to the Board.

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PASSING THOUGHTS ON Consuls

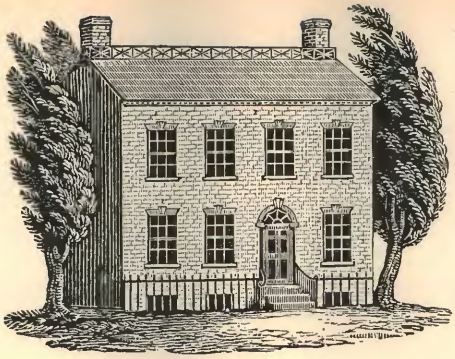
KENNETH L. ROBERTS

MUCH has been written on the perils of immigration in the past two years; but there is one aspect of the immigration problem which has never been adequately set forth. I refer to the severe loss to American letters that has been occasioned by the perpetual interruptions to which the European branch of the American Consular Service has been exposed since Eastern Europe decided to move to the Bronx.

In the good old days, when a Consul's time belonged only to the State Department, to the two million tourists who wanted passes to the local Government buildings, and to himself, he was able to sit down peacefully at his desk early every morning, extricate from his pen the long fuzzy mustache that a pen always picks up from foreign writing papers, and then give birth to a long, scholarly report on "The Use of Sheep Dip as a Beverage Along the Lower Danube," "The Russian Whisker Crop," "The Predilection of the Greeks for Sunflower Seeds and Other Parrot Foods," or some other equally illuminating and palpitating subject.

The result of these constant and sustained incursions in the field of romantic literature was a marked development of the writing power. Over-productivity became common in the Consular Service, so that when Consuls had finished their serious work for the day, they would branch out into light and unconsidered trifles for the public prints. Those who did this in the old days, were legion; it is only necessary for me to mention a few of the names of the most persistent branchers—at random, let us say, Bret Harte, Fred Simpich, William Dean Howells, George Agnew Chamberlin, Kenyon Gambier.

Times, however, have changed. Today a Consul or a Vice Consul in almost any of our leading European consulates may come down to work at an early hour in the morning with the idea of limbering up his writing



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muscles on one of the many subjects which the Consular Service offers. If he is stationed in Warsaw, for example, he prepares to plunge headlong into the engrossing subject of Pig Bristles. After marshaling his facts, his figures and his references, he begins to write somewhat as follows:

"The finest and bristliest pig bristles known to science are grown on the pigs of Poland. Stimulated and calloused by the climate, which is enough to surprise any pig bristle on earth, the bristles of Polish pigs become unusually hard, tough and virile at a comparatively early age. When full-grown, a Polish pig bristle is so well developed that it can be, and frequently is, used as a toothpick by the person whose social standing and leisure is sufficient to permit him to indulge in such luxuries."

Having thus freed the kinks from his knuckles, the consular officer clamps his knees more firmly against his typewriter, glances again at his notes and statistic-tables, and prepares to pry deeply into the more intimate family details of the pig bristle. At that moment, however, the door opens and a small man enters, preceded by a loud odor and followed by a large family. He wishes a visa which will permit him to go to America. Directly behind him and his family is another person with the same desire and the same smell. Behind him is another, and behind him is another, and behind him is another, and so on and so on and so on.

Laying aside his copy paper for the day, the Consul, assisted by all the Vice Consuls, clerks, translators and office boys on the pay-roll, begins to issue visas. He issues them until lunch time, and rushes out for a hasty bite of lunch. Then he rushes back to his office, forcing his way through the rich bouquet which his visitors have deposited in and around it, and again sets to work issuing visas. At the end of the day he goes home with a headache, a grouch, a few germs of sleeping-sickness, and typhus and diphtheria concealed in his garments. His highly important brochure on pig bristles dies of pernicious anemia, and his upward progress on the ladder of literature is definitely halted.

Some day, when I get old enough or weakminded enough to imagine that my personal recollections will be of vital interest to the people of the nation, I shall devote an entire volume to the subject of "Consuls I Have Bothered."

In this volume I shall seize the opportunity of correcting a number of erroneous impressions that seem to have sprung into existence in various quarters. I shall deal in detail, for example, with the pleasant occasion in 1919 when Mr. Fred Simpich and myself, in company with a number of other Uplifters, escorted a horse and cab under the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and halfway through the door of the Adlon at two o'clock in the morning in order to facilitate the discharge of the cab's passengers, who seemed to be dead or paralyzed. There is a rumor in existence that the horse in the case entered the Adlon, picked up a pen and wrote his name on the register. This rumor is entirely without foundation. The fact of the matter is that the horse stuck in the door, and remained there until the following morning, when a company of engineers took the front of the building to pieces and released him. It was physically impossible for

the horse to write his name on the register, because he couldn't get to it.

There will be no complaints in this volume, except, possibly, concerning the lack of perspicacity evinced by a Consul in a city in Scotland. I called upon this gentleman formally, exchanged the compliments of the season, and then inquired solicitously whether the Prohibition movement was making any headway in his neighborhood. He replied that it was not. I asked whether the whiskey was as good as it had always been. He replied that the brands on sale in the shops were a bit weaker than before the war, but that there was plenty of old pre-war stuff in the clubs. I asked him whether he had any of the old pre-war stuff, and then swallowed hard. He replied that he had plenty of it, and swallowed hard himself with a far-away look in his eyes. We swallowed alternately several times; and then, as the conversation seemed to have languished, I went away. If I make any complaints at all, I shall state that I am positive that this Consul had in the lower left hand drawer of his desk a quart of fine old Islay Malt whiskey with a rich ethereal bouquet, one inhalation of which would make the inhaler's eyes revolve rapidly in his head, and two drinks of which would induce levitation and a hazy materialization of the drinker's great-grandmother.

I think that I shall follow the Baedeker system of starring Consuls. A two-star Consul, for example, will mean that you don't want to miss him if you can help it. It would be a shame, for example, to miss the grate-fire in the office of Mr. Robert P. Skinner in London—a fire whose size and warmth bear the same relation to the normal London fire that Bunker Hill Monument bears to a toothpick—or to miss the sight of Skinner warming his coat-tails before the fire and, with a sweetly plaintive look on his face, saying: "I think your information will be helped if you see the King—I'll give you a letter to him—and possibly Lloyd George—I'll give you a letter to him—and maybe the Archbishop of Canterbury—I'll give you a letter to him—and, Oh, yes, the manager of the Bank of England—I'll give you a letter to him—and, Ah, a couple of brewers—I'll give you letters to them—and, hum . . . ." and then to doze in front of the fire while his pen sputters and scratches at his letters.

There would be double stars for Homer Byington in Naples, the golf and tennis champion, who has trained the waiters in the Gambrinus Restaurant to leap into the kitchen on his entrance and leap back again with steaming platters of succulent *spiedino di mozzarella alla Romana;* for Haven in Trieste, who has a flock of trained fishermen who rush to his hotel when they are fortunate enough to catch the succulent tiny lobsters known as *scampi;* for Keene in Rome, who, given a fair field and no favors, can tell three stories to anybody else's one; for Messersmith in Antwerp; for Anderson in Rotterdam; for McBride and Keena and Huddle, who have sat on the lid in Warsaw at various times.

As a matter of fact, I shall give every American Consul in Europe a double star; for I never yet have met one who failed to give me more than I asked, to make greatly needed and very welcome additions to my store of knowledge, and to make me very content with America's system of picking her consular officials.

Reprinted from the AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN, *January, 1922.*

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Letter to Hanoi

(sign, clip and mail)

Kính Thưa Tôn Đức Thắng

Sự phẩm giá của lòng thương là sự cảm phục qua cái quà địa cầu và sự chứng tỏ lòng thương của anh đối với các tù binh Hoa Kỳ, sẽ tăng gia cơ hội đến hòa bình và mang đến anh lòng kính trọng. Và thúc giục chúng tôi và lời cuốn anh thả các tù binh Hoa Kỳ, mà anh đang cầm giữ vì một tấm lòng thương xót sẽ mang đến hòa bình nhân loại.

_____

Office of The President
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam (Via Hong Kong)

TRANSLATION:

Honorable Ton Duc Thang

The quality of mercy is admired throughout the world and a demonstration of mercy by you toward American prisoners would enhance the opportunities for peace and bring you much respect.

We urge and implore you to release the Americans you have in custody as one step toward bringing peace to mankind.

On Being a Foreign Service WIFE

GINNY CARSON

WHEN your middle name is "Indiscreet," you really shouldn't be the wife of a diplomat. From the very beginning I knew this to be the case.

Then I read a book about the diplomat's wife and found I didn't qualify on a number of other points as well.

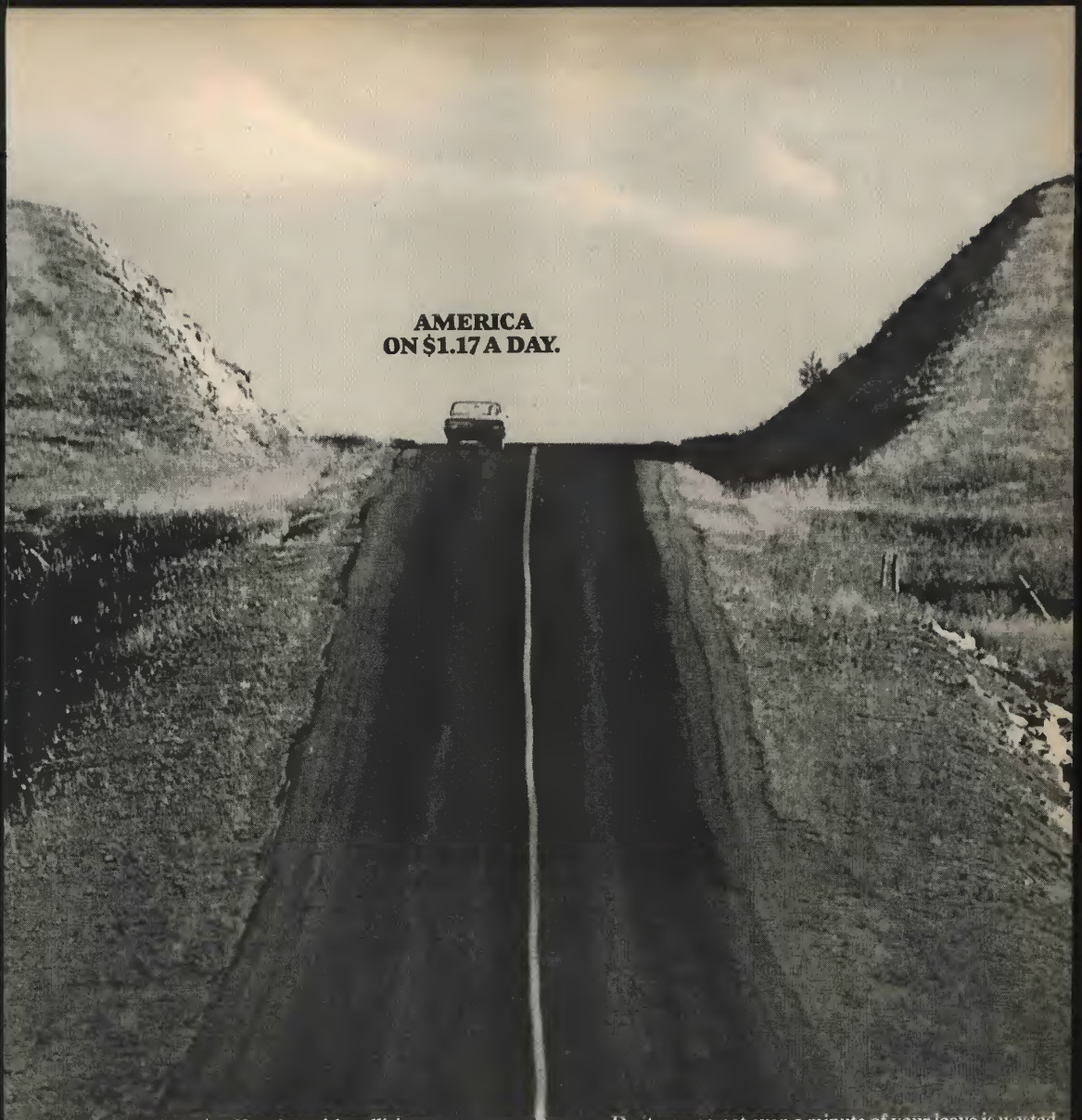
One paragraph in the book was especially compelling. It stated that, as a foreign service wife, my first duties were to the wife of the posts's principal officer. You must lend her anything she asks for, the book stated, "even if it is your last jar of Major Grey's chutney."

We didn't use chutney at all, much less Major Grey's. I was sure I'd be called upon for chutney at a crucial moment and upon confessing the bareness of my cupboards, would find I had ruined Jim's career.

Some time after this, I was interviewed by the widow of a distinguished diplomat—our talk replacing, I forget why, the customary orientation course for wives of new foreign service officers—and was told that I should have a long dinner skirt with me on post. I could then, she pointed out, alternate various blouses and always appear fresh and decent at the many black tie dinners we would attend.

The lady also said that if one didn't own real jewels, one shouldn't wear any jewelry at all, because of course the people we met would surely know if the diamonds were paste.

Visions of dinner after dinner, me wearing my dreary skirt and blouse, nothing to enliven my appearance but my wedding ring, crossed my mind. The thought came to me that



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under these circumstances maybe I really didn't want to be a Foreign Service Wife.

But I was already married to Jim, and he liked his job. So I persevered.

And, as I look back now, I find it was not the chutney (I have been asked to lend only very mundane things) that was my greatest hurdle. It was the cocktail parties. I am repeatedly told to "circulate" at official parties and just can't bring myself to break off a conversation in any reasonably gracious way. I remember once confiding to a friend that no matter how strong my resolution to move around, I inevitably ended up in a corner talking to the biggest bore in the room.

"You spent your last cocktail party talking to me," she observed.

I guess it isn't the moving around at the party that causes me grief, really. It's what I say at the parties that causes Jim a bit of grief.

I tried while in Germany to bridge the cultural gap resulting from my small-town west-coast upbringing and went to see my first opera.

"We saw 'Tales of Hoffman' last night," I announced to a German friend.

"Oh," she said, smiling indulgently, "Offenbach?"

Or maybe she just commented, "Oh. Offenbach," because everybody—every German certainly—knows who wrote the opera.

But I didn't. So I took it as a question, and remembering Offenbach as a rather industrial-type suburb, replied, surprised, "No, no. Here in Frankfurt."

You might think the diplomat's wife improves with age and experience. Many do. But after a number of years, I still seem to lack a certain adeptness in social gatherings.

Recently, though, I met the brand-new second wife of one of Jim's British colleagues. She also must have read about Major Grey's chutney and the difficulties of being a foreign service wife, for she worried about blurting unthought-out comments, and told me she had absolutely mortified her husband by admitting at a dinner party that she had neither read nor heard of their host country's most celebrated novelist.

I found her most refreshing. I especially enjoyed one of her comments: her husband, she said, had the ideal solution to his nomadic diplomatic life. He had one wife in London to look after the children and one with him to go to parties.

"The only problem," she added honestly, "is that Marjorie is much better at entertaining and I feel more at home with children."

At last, I thought. Someone truly delightful and candid. Not one of those careful foreign service wives.

Then one night she remarked to Jim that she thought *I* was the perfect diplomat's wife. He repeated her comment to me and I was genuinely touched. Dinner skirt or no, I had found someone who appreciated the real me.

But Jessica had continued.

"Yes," she told Jim. "Ginny is so good at going up to people at cocktail parties and saying 'um' and 'oh' and laughing in the right places."

So I guess I have made it. After a fashion. But it's a pretty hollow accomplishment. ■

Crush out the fly with your thumb and wipe your hand,
You cannot crush the leaden, creaking machine,
The first endorsement, the paper on the desk
Referred by Adjutant Feeble to Captain Dull
For further information and his report.
Some men wish evil and accomplish it
But most men, when they work in that machine,
Just let it happen somewhere in the wheels.
The fault is no decisive, villainous knife
But the dull saw that is the routine mind.

Why, if a man lay dying on their desk
They'd do their best to help him, friend or foe,
But this is merely a respectfully
Submitted paper, properly endorsed
To be sent on and on, and gather blood.

—*John Brown's Body*, by Stephen Vincent Benét

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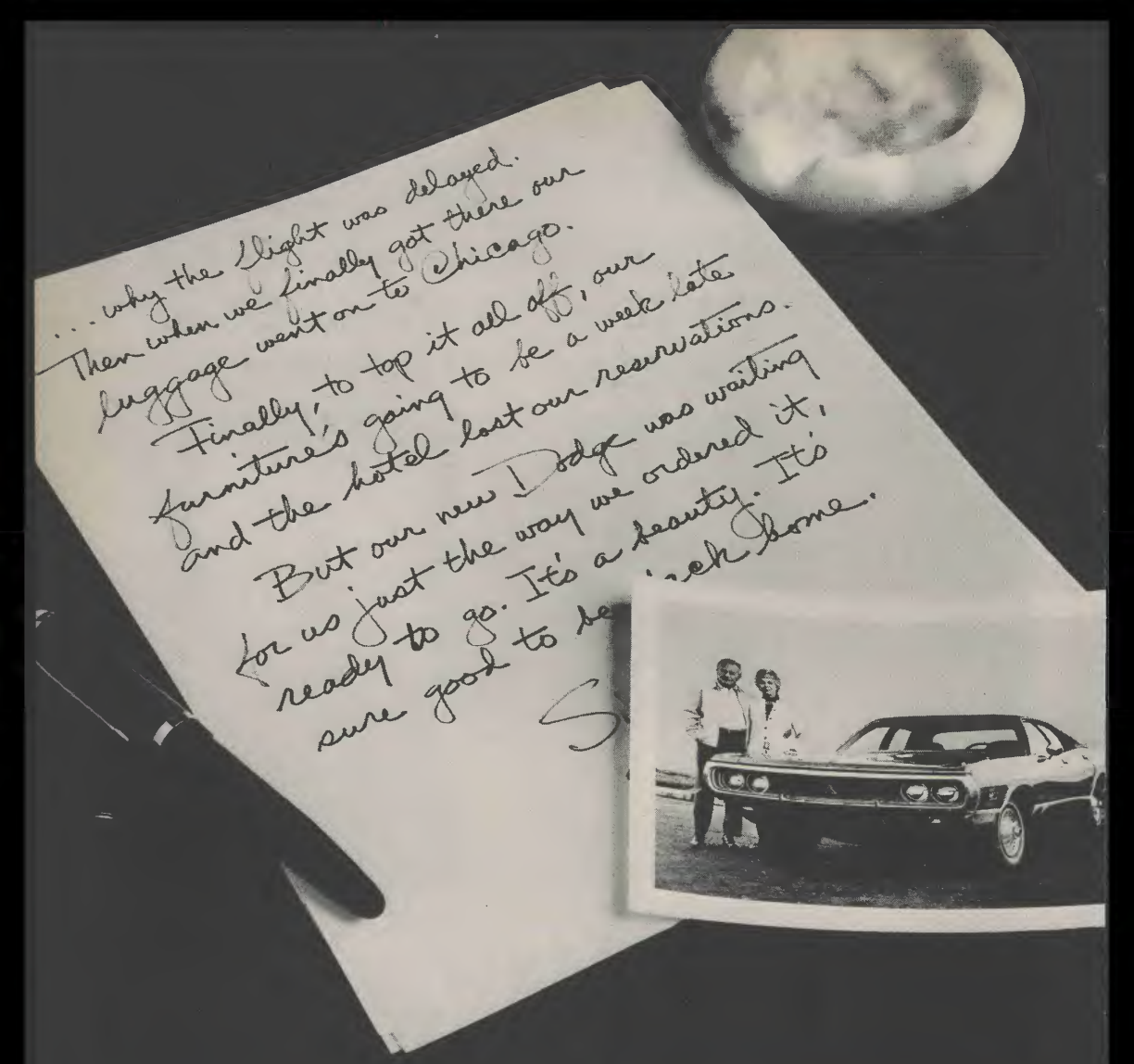

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An Interview with William C. Foster
NICHOLAS RUGGIERI

WILLIAM C. FOSTER was named in 1961 by President Kennedy to become the first Director of what is still the world's only governmental agency of its kind. As head of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a position he held until the end of 1968, he saw arms control advance from hesitant beginnings, surrounded by skepticism, to assume such tangible forms as the Washington-Moscow "Hot Line" agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Ambassador Foster is a man with an amazing record of successful public service, involving some of the most demanding jobs in one of the most demanding periods of our history. He was Under Secretary of Commerce under W. Averell Harriman in the Truman Administration in 1946, went on to launch the Marshall Plan with Ambassador Harriman in 1948 when the latter was appointed United States Representative in Europe, and became Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration in 1950. In the midst of the Korean conflict in 1951, he became Deputy Secretary of Defense when Robert A. Lovett was elevated to Secretary. A businessman, he returned to the business world in 1953 to become president of the prestigious Manufacturing Chemists Association, left it in 1955 to join the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation as executive vice president, where he remained until 1961. He found the time in 1957 to be co-chairman with H. Rowan Gaither Jr. of the blue-ribbon panel of distinguished citizens named by President Eisenhower to assess the preparedness of the nation in a threatening world.

He also served during this period as a consultant on the reorganization of the Pentagon, as an advisor to the Secretary of State on broad policies to be pursued in the search for the limitation and control of armaments, and as head of the US delegation to the Technical Conference on the Problem of Surprise Attack. In the end, he was drawn inevitably into the Kennedy administration's plans for an expanded effort in the direction of arms control, including the creation of a new independent agency which would coordinate all government activities in the disarmament field. When President Kennedy announced his appointment as Director of the new agency, Ambassador Foster accepted because he believed it to be "the most important job in the world." He brought to the agency his administrative ability, his comprehensive knowledge of the subject, and his abiding philosophy that a way must be found to reverse the senseless arms race. His pragmatic bent, his forbearance, his firm convictions and his clear perceptions were never so taxed as in the six long years it took to bring the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons into being. The Treaty—considered a bridge to SALT—is as much a monument to the skill and the patience of Ambassador Foster as it is a monument to the enlightened self-interest of nations.

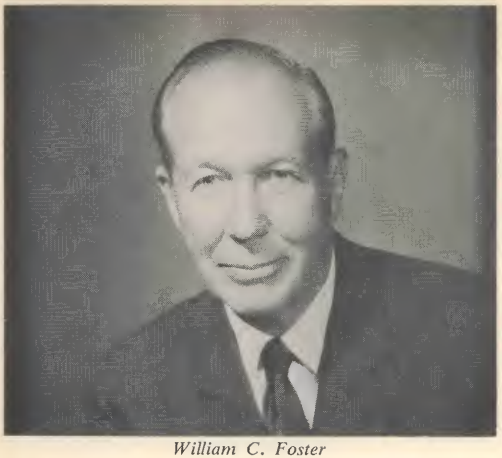
In this interview by a member of his former staff in ACDA, Ambassador Foster takes a wide-ranging look at the past, the present, and the future of arms control.

Q. Taking a reflective look at your many years in the complex and I suspect sometimes frustrating business of arms control and disarmament, what would you say in the way of a general assessment of attitudes toward the subject?

A. Well, as I look back, the thing that most impresses me is the change in the attitudes towards arms control. We've gone a long way from the skepticism that prevailed in 1960-61 when the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) came into being. The general feeling then was that people engaging in this kind of work must be crackpots or kooks of some kind . . . perhaps not necessarily crackpots, but surely people who were a little balmy. As it turned out, the business of arms control not only became respected, but respectable as well, thanks to the foresight and the courage of President John F. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy was not only deeply interested in the subject but was an enthusiastic supporter of the idea. With this kind of backing we managed to put together a team of practical men who were surely anything but dreamers. Pretty soon, what had seemed to most people to be a sort of pastime began to attract the very real interest of the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and of course that of our landlord, the State Department. Some of the brightest minds in the fields of foreign affairs, defense, and science joined us. But most important of all, we had a law—the Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961—to help us get things done. And we had some difficult work to do, not only externally but I might say internally as well.

Q. I imagine the sense of purpose within the ACDA organization itself deepened with the passing of time.

A. There's no question about it. As people saw what could be accomplished, they thought of more things that could be done, and they saw the need for greater depth in



William C. Foster

the things we were after. I can think of no better proof of this than our readiness in 1968 to engage in what became the SALT talks. Had it not been for Czechoslovakia we would have had a year's headstart. Unfortunately, the delay gave technological developments a chance to sprint ahead of us, so that the job today is much more difficult. But it is still not an impossible one, and we must somehow succeed.

Q. What is your assessment of developments, of actual achievements in the field of arms control. Is a pattern developing in the multilateral area of negotiations? What is it?

A. A pattern has developed. We can find the basis for it in the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles put together by McCloy and Zorin in 1961. While the Statement puts great emphasis on general and complete disarmament, it also contains as a sort of sub-title the fact that you might start with pieces of general and complete disarmament. I'm a pragmatist, of course, and the bits and pieces approach was partly my doing. In a complicated problem like general and complete disarmament, the view of it is so broad and so multi-faceted that one could easily get lost in its immensity and wind up with little more than generalities and abstractions. You can't save the world in one step. The bits and pieces approach at least gives you a chance to start. So we started by picking up the nuclear test ban negotiations again, and then suggested a number of steps which the United States presented as proposals before the most useful multilateral forum, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, which has now been enlarged and renamed the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Nothing really came of the attempts to negotiate a treaty on general and complete disarmament as such. We countered an initial Soviet draft treaty with one of our own, and there the matter stands, or, rather, rests. The step-by-step programs have usually been authored by the United States, and it is these that have turned into actual agreements . . . the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the Hot Line, the Outer Space Treaty, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and now the treaty to prohibit the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabeds, which we expect will become a reality shortly. SALT was a US proposal and we made others—limitations on various kinds of strategic delivery vehicles—which led to SALT. We took out pieces of the General and Complete Disarmament treaty proposals and focused on those pieces. After we brought the Limited Test Ban Treaty into being, we found in our private dealings with the Russians that they were now convinced this was the way to go . . . step by step, and we began to develop confidence in each other.

Q. Is confidence really developing between us and the Soviets?

A. Well, it certainly is the logical thing to expect, as one arms control agreement after another is shown to work. Of course, you're getting nowhere if at the same time that you're developing confidence on one side you do those things that destroy confidence on the other. The question of a Soviet submarine base in Cuba, for example, or the question of the Soviet missiles on the west side of the Suez Canal . . . these are things that tend to destroy confidence. However, there is still hope for arrangements because in time of trouble the necessity to develop limitations becomes increasingly clear. If everything were peaceful, there would be little incentive to get arms control and disarmament agreements. It is precisely when tensions increase that you get the greatest stimulus to offset these tensions. Now, people say the Soviets never live up to their agreements. But if you get agreements down in black and white and if you have complete understanding of the nature of the problem and the method of dealing with it, mutuality of interest in preserving such agreements becomes almost automatic. It has been my experience that where you do have that kind of understanding and have it directly committed, agreements do stand up. This has been true of the Antarctic Treaty, it is true of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, and it is true of the Outer Space Treaty. You must remember also, of course, that US arms control policy requires that there be means for adequately verifying compliance with agreements.

Q. Then you would not consider the Russian experiments with Fractional Orbiting Bombardment Systems (FOBS) as breaching the Outer Space Treaty.

A. I would not. Moreover, I find it hard to understand why they have gone that route because FOBS are not as effective as their long-distance missiles. The arguments that FOBS can breach our warning systems are true only up to the point where we don't install new warning systems against them.

Q. You made a point of the need for clear and unequivocal understanding in arriving at agreements. Even clarity needs to be nailed down. It was one of the questions I wanted to relate to your assessment of Soviet intentions in the general field of arms control.

A. Oh, they want it! I'm sure they want it—they want it as much as it is possible for them to get arms control on their terms . . . And so do we. This is what nations do . . .

Q. Perhaps personal attitudes may not be politically significant or indicative, particularly in the case of the Soviets, but I'd like to ask the question anyway: What changes have you observed in some of the Soviet officials you've known?

A. Well, I've always wondered how much personal relations count for in this kind of thing. Of course, we in the United States believe in personal relations as a basic factor in any arrangements you make, whether in busi-

ness or in government. To what extent the Russians are free to develop personal relations is questionable. But I do know that in the case of the half-dozen top Russians I had to deal with over the last 12 or 13 years, the confrontation was stiff and cold at first, formal, and to some extent slightly obnoxious. But over a period of some years—when they got to know me and I got to know them—we formed what I would call a close relationship, even friendship. Personally, I found that these particular individuals never did what is often charged against the Russians . . . telling you one thing to your face, and stabbing you when your back is turned. They always lived up to their personal commitments.

Q. I have another angle in mind. To what extent do you think that the Russians are by-passing ideology, if at all, in their willingness to talk arms control?

A. While clearly there is some inconsistency between a basically intolerant ideology and the rational approach of arms control, I believe they understand quite well that the latter is dictated by realism.

Q. Do you think then that this is causing them to modify some of their long-term objectives?

A. I think they are trying to keep them in parallel. But I think it's impossible for them to cling to some of their long-term objectives and move in the direction of peaceful settlement at the same time. I think the two are somewhat inconsistent.

Q. Now for the big question: What are your expectations for SALT?

A. Well, I have been optimistic about the possibilities of SALT. The onrush of technology has made the talks more difficult, but I would hope that even if we have to settle at first for a limited agreement we can then proceed to negotiate a comprehensive one. Also, the establishment of this strategic dialogue is extremely important in itself.

Q. Practically, could it not be simply a matter of eliminating or reducing at least the so-called overkill on both sides?

A. Yes, the name of the game now, of course, is "limitations." Later on it can be "reductions."

Q. Do you think that so-called "revelations" in the press about the SALT talks have had a seriously damaging effect.

A. No, I don't think they have. But I do think that we must be careful, since we've put such store on secrecy—which is desirable when you are discussing very sensitive things—about making too many outside public statements. The press, for instance, discloses what is contained in various proposals. This is not very helpful to negotiations. Some of our distinguished legislators make statements in ways that again do not help. Now, consultation between people in government, be it amongst our Allies, the Congress, or other US government agencies has been necessary as well as full, I think, as to the basic objectives of SALT. But when you go beyond this, when you try to do the negotiating in public view, you risk spoiling the negotiations. I recognize, of course, the theoretical desirability of open agreements openly arrived at; but when you are dealing with basic security, intelligence, weapons development, technology, you can't do that completely on the front counter. People are justified in wanting to know what the objectives are and in general how you intend to reach those objectives. But the details of how you do this should not be proclaimed in advance of negotiations.

Q. Let's go back to the field of multilateral negotiations for a moment. To what extent do you think progress in this field is dependent upon what happens between the superpowers?

A. In the world as it is today, the only two powers with overwhelming destructive capability of course are the Soviet Union and ourselves. I am not belittling the Chinese, the French or the British nuclear armaments, but the really massive arsenals are in the hands of the US and the USSR. In view of this, these two nations must somehow arrive at an understanding about what must be done to control this power. Otherwise, multilateral talks about general purpose forces and other kinds of the more conventional weapons can't really do a great deal to change the arms position of the whole world. As a forerunner of real progress toward the ultimate goal of general disarmament, the two nations must come to an understanding on nuclear weapons.

Q. This would be the keystone, I presume?

A. Keystone if you will. Of course people say everybody has weapons. But nuclear weapons are a new kind of world. And since these two great nations are the ones who control most of that new kind of world, they must—if you are going to move toward disarmament in a more general sense—they must come to agreements as to how they are going to handle that and how eventually they plan to get rid of this.

Q. In this same general vein of our discussion, to what extent do you think individual governments worldwide have come to recognize arms control as an important element of national policy?

A. Well, one great institution for education is the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, formerly the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, which in its eight years of existence has trained a great many experts in this field, over and above the Soviets and ourselves. And these are experts who in some ways carry more credence with the rest of the world at the United Nations than do the Soviet Union and the United States, who are thought to be prejudiced witnesses. The countries of the original ENDC have done a tremendous educational job and they are continuing to do an educational job. Now that the Committee has been enlarged to include eight more members, you will have an opportunity to educate eight more nations. So, with this representation, you are progressing toward an education in the most complex subject man has yet approached. And I am very hopeful of the contribution these nations can make.

Q. One final question. Do you think that eventually there will be a possibility that the so-called balance of terror may one day be supplanted by some kind of a collective moral force which might act to inhibit the war-making propensities of both big and small powers?

A. Well, this is possible. Certainly, the more one knows about the terrible force of nuclear weapons and the great threat they present to the survival of Western civilization, at least as we know it, the more important the basic fundamental human, spiritual and moral values become. I think the leaders of the world recognize that man for the first time has almost superhuman power in his hands . . . and . . . are we going to destroy ourselves? What is to replace this deadly process. Only moral leadership. I think this is what we need to emphasize, in a way that perhaps has been lost sight of in these troubled days. ■

Arms control and disarmament policy must be policy which has been carefully arrived at within the overall requirements of foreign policy and national security policy.

Arms Control and the Military Man

An Interview with Lt. Gen. John J. Davis
NICHOLAS RUGGIERI

The JOURNAL*'s interviewer worked as a reporter and editor before joining USIA in 1955. He served at Rome and Buenos Aires and as press officer at the Montreal exhibition. Mr. Ruggieri was detached to ACDA in 1967.*

THIS academic year, three of the nation's top Service schools—the National War College, the Army War College and the Air War College—each will offer a course in arms control and disarmament as an elective in their respective curricula. At the National War College, the course will be directed by an ACDA officer, Harland B. Moulton, who is also the school's Director of Individual Research Programs.

Arguments in favor of upgrading the subject of arms control in the senior service schools include the growing relevance of the subject to political-military planning. The relevance is seen in the light of the current Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union and the cumulative effect of agreements already in existence such as the 1959 Antarctic Treaty placing the sub-continent off limits to military activity, the Moscow-Washington "Hot Line," the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, the Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty and the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Other measures currently under consideration are the proposal to prohibit the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and proposals related to banning the use of chemical and biological agents in warfare.

The objective of the courses at the three senior service Colleges is to familiarize students with arms control agreements to date and the impact they have on US national strategy and security, taking into account strategic, political, economic and psychological factors governing the approach of the major powers to past proposals for the control of armaments.

The following interview with Lieut. Gen. John J. Davis, USA (Ret.) provides an interesting insight into the thinking of military men on the subject of arms control. General Davis, an intelligence expert, retired earlier this year after having spent the last three years of his military career as Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In ACDA, he was chief of the Agency's Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau (WEC). This Bureau is responsible for assessing the impact of possible arms control measures on the strategic balance and advises ACDA on arms control implications of new and developing military weapons systems. The Bureau contains military officers assigned to ACDA as part of their normal tours of duty. General Davis inaugurated the arms control course at the Army War College in the 1969-70 academic year, and the National War College and the Air War College are this year following its lead.

Q. As a military man, do you envision a day when arms control may become a new discipline for military men, a kind of career specialization that would take its place alongside the other military specialties such as infantry, artillery, etc. If so, why? How do you rate the performance and the attitudes of the military men who worked with you in ACDA?

A. No, I do not envision a day when arms control becomes a new discipline for military men. However, I do envision the day when the consideration of arms control options become an integral part of political-military planning; such integration is already taking place at the National Security Council level. As a result of the revised NSC way of doing business in the study of problems related to foreign policy and national security, one now finds interagency political-military teams carefully analyzing arms control options along with many other options. This has resulted in military planners having to learn a great deal about arms control in general, and the impact of potentially successful arms control agreements on military requirements in particular.

The military service schools, the National War College, the Service war colleges, etc. have recently shown a great deal of interest in arms control matters. The Army War College has made what I consider to be a real breakthrough in establishing the first elective course on Arms Control and Disarmament of any military school. I predict that other Service schools will follow their example and that the end result will be a far better understanding of arms control among the younger officers of the military services. They will come to understand what General Wheeler meant in testimony before a congres-

Lt. Gen. John J. Davis

sional committee: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff recognize that the national security of the United States can be improved by balanced, phased, and safeguarded arms control agreements limiting the military capabilities of nations in a manner conducive to the achievement of a secure, free and peaceful world. We are equally aware of the historical record in this regard and conscious of the need to proceed with hope but without illusions."

Q. In retrospect, compare your personal reaction to your initial assignment to ACDA with the convictions or opinions you have now formed as you leave ACDA.

A. My initial reaction upon being assigned to duty with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was one of extreme skepticism about the value of such an agency. I also believed that by its very nature, the objectives of ACDA must be exactly opposite to the objectives of the Department of Defense. I believe that this perception of ACDA is still widely held, not only by the majority of the military, but also by large numbers of civilians. On the other hand, I have found that the US atttude towards arms control has been changing slowly over the years, and that there is a growing awareness of the fact that the basic objective of ACDA and DOD is the same, and that is to enhance our national security and that of our allies. I personally believe that in the past, quite a lot of damage has been done to arms control efforts by the crusading attitudes taken by some arms controllers. Arms control and disarmament policy must be policy which has been carefully arrived at within the overall requirements of foreign policy and national security policy. Efforts by ardent arms control advocates for arms control and disarmament measures not related to the practical requirements of foreign and national policy are, in my opinion, counter productive. My attitude toward the work of ACDA has, of course, changed completely as a result of more than three years' duty as one of four Assistant Directors. Today one finds that officials of ACDA are serious, down-to-earth people, representing a wide variety of disciplines and all trying to do a responsible job of work. This, of course, does not mean that there is always agreement between ACDA military planners and civilians, or for that matter, among the civilians themselves. Most work, such as preparations for SALT, involves extremely complex issues, all of which have a potential impact on our national security. Military officers have a very important and useful function to perform in ACDA. They are well respected and they do contribute to ACDA's overall capability to assure itself that verified arms control proposals are in the overall interest of national security. Military officers assigned for a three-year tour of duty with ACDA are carefully selected to assure their qualifications in the various disciplines required, as well as their overall attitude toward work in the Arms Control Agency. I have found that most officers report to work with the same general attitudes I had, and leave after their three-year tour of duty not only having contributed a great deal to the work of the Agency, but with a greatly increased knowledge of arms control and a very real respect for the efforts of ACDA to espouse meaningful arms control proposals.

Q. What is your assessment of the role played by the Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau (WEC) in ACDA? In this connection, what was your overriding concern as WEC's Chief?

A. The role played by WEC in ACDA is largely a supporting one rather than an innovative role. In the past, all of the some 40 active-duty military officers assigned to ACDA have been on duty in WEC along with about half that many civilian professionals. During the early years of ACDA, I suspect that WEC was looked upon as the "watchdog" component of the Agency; its main purpose being to make sure that unrealistic arms control proposals from a military point of view were quickly brought to the attention of the Director and hopefully shot down. Today WEC is still very much concerned with analysis centering around adequate inspection and verification. Adequate inspection and verification has always been and still is the cornerstone of arms control policy. As a result, WEC has always been charged with Agency responsibility to propose arms control field tests and to actually carry out approved field tests. WEC has a very fine Operations Analysis Division with a nationally recognized capability to perform complex computer analyses relating to specific arms control proposals and their resulting impact on national security. In addition, the Bureau performs a variety of in-house and contract research relating to arms control and has a Division specifically oriented to the military aspects of the Agency's daily business.

My overriding concern as WEC's Chief has been to help assure a professional and well-balanced approach to the complex problems of what constitutes adequate inspection and verification. Everyone agrees that adequate inspection and verification is critical to acceptable arms controls; there, however, agreement ends. One will find some arms control advocates who would accept verification agreements which, in the judgment of others, would be downright dangerous to US security. On the other hand, some ultra-conservatives would demand such intrusive on-site verification agreements as to be clearly non-negotiable from either adversary's point of view. As usual, the correct requirements are found somewhere within the extreme positions. Today many verification requirements center around the so-called national assets

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"You don't have to like correspondents to deal with them (though it helps), but you should understand them and their ways."

A Press Relations Doctrine for the Foreign Service

BARRY ZORTHIAN

Mr. Zorthian, now a Vice President of Time Inc., is a veteran of twenty years of government experience, much of it involving news and the press. He served for thirteen years with the Voice of America, including four years as chief of the VOA newsroom. In 1961 he went overseas with USIS and served first in India and then from 1964 to 1968 as chief of press relations for the US Mission in Vietnam.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL's September issue on the press provided a highly welcome contribution to a subject that has received far too little attention from the career foreign service in recent years despite efforts during this period to improve and modernize the role and performance of the service generally. However, while the JOURNAL provided long overdue reportage and analysis, it did not attempt the next step of proposing a program to remedy existing shortcomings in the service's handling of press relations. It is this next task that now merits priority attention, for development and adoption of a program in this field—a press relations doctrine, if you will—is one of the basic needs for a foreign service that is adequately prepared for the problems of the '70s. The service must conduct itself in this frequently controversial and frustrating area with the same skill and knowledge that are expected in the political and economic spheres.

The very thought probably raises hackles among the traditionalists. Certainly, at one time the term "press relations" would have been regarded as anathema even in concept for the career foreign service. The posture for the foreign service was the one of a silent, professional, non-exposed service and the press be damned, sir.

We're past that stage now. Today, even the most conservative foreign service officer would concedc that effective conduct of foreign affairs requires an effort in the broad field of public communication. But even today, most officers would take the position that the task is one best left to the political elements of an administration on the domestic side and to the specialists (read "technician"; read "USIS") overseas. As for press relations specifically, most foreign service officers would rather deal with the devil himself, or even the local political party out of power, than plunge into that particular pool of professional jeopardy.

The proposition presented here is quite the contrary. The contention is that the foreign service needs much greater participation and expertise in the field of press relations. (It should be noted that the word "press" as used here means all the news media and most decidedly includes television.) The point can be demonstrated best within the larger context of public communication—and before dealing with the specifics of press relations, it is useful to examine the wider stage of the foreign service role in communication generally.

There is a great deal of appeal in the preference of the careerist for a passive role. It leaves a difficult—and usually thankless—chore to presumed skillful hands and permits the foreign service officer to devote his energies to those tasks for which he is especially trained. So powerful, in fact, has this appeal been historically that during the fifties and sixties, the foreign service establishment—in theory at least—adopted just such a division of labor, although we shall find that practice was somewhat different. Assistant Secretaries, Ambassadors, and occasionally DCMs were involved in communicating (although a surprising number of the latter said, "I will *never, never* talk to a correspondent and only reluctantly to the USIS"). But the average foreign service officer dealt with the press only in very exceptional circumstances—or when he had a touch of unauthorized "leakage" in mind.

Now, with the '70s ahead, this whole series of precepts should be re-examined. What is needed is an airing of the role of the foreign service in communication in general and, as this article will seek to argue, in press relations in particular. A conclusion that urges greater foreign service activism in this field will undoubtedly violate established practice, but here at least is one advocate who says that past practices are dated and the foreign ser-

vice had best be right in the middle of the communications arena.

The theory that the foreign service is not involved in the communication task probably had its origins in pre-World War II practice but became fully established in the post-war development of the foreign affairs organizational structure that led to specialization on an Agency basis. Those principles seemed valid enough at the time, but they are no longer adequate, certainly not in the '70s, and they need modification to a considerable degree both in theory and in practice.

On both counts, the foreign service proper has a role, an important role, and there is need for active training and participation. Certainly, this is not a plea for uncontrolled or, in current terminology, "unstructured" efforts at communication by everyone on the Department's payroll. The Department is already notorious for self-serving, and often uninformed, contacts with the press in Washington. It does not need more of this type of unauthorized press relations. Nor, before attack by former colleagues in USIA, is this a plea to undercut those quite esteemed professionals in the tasks assigned them either by law or by the President. And final disclaimer: an administration certainly must and should remain the principal public advocate of its foreign policy.

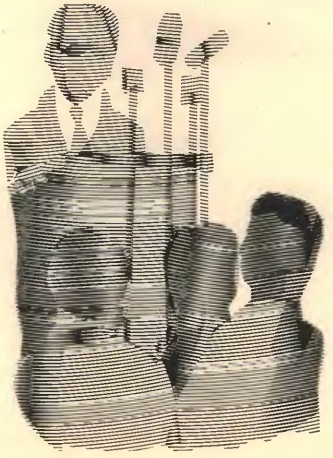
What then is suggested? Simply that the foreign service officer must acquire a much better appreciation and develop a much greater skill and undertake a much more active role in the task of communicating. Such a development should not displace the existing machinery but rather, provide greater body and depth to the present machinery. The officer should have the background, experience and feel for the task that will permit both skillful performance on a personal level and knowledgeable guidance to subordinates when he is given senior assignments.

Many foreign service officers today do just that. They are effective communicators. They constitute important assets in the task of communicating our foreign policies. But the skill is individual and almost accidental. It is still possible to become an Ambassador in a major post, or a senior Washington official dealing with extremely controversial and involved foreign policy issues, without any experience or training in the art of communication. Institutionally, the foreign service has no communication skill.

This judgment is not directed at the Department's press affairs office. The task faced by Deputy Assistant Secretary Robert McCloskey is quite distinct from the requirements for the foreign service, although the two obviously are related. What the judgment does say is that foreign service officers are not prepared for the task of communicating at home or abroad. It becomes largely a matter of accident whether they are at all effective in the field when they reach a position where it is important to have the skill.

The need for the skill is clear. Whatever the merits of particular policies over these past few years, the importance of public understanding and support for the successful execution of those policies has never been more apparent. And the key to public support is effective communication—not communication solely by specialists, whose effectiveness *may* be discounted simply because they are in the business, but communication by those who formulate and carry out policy.

The task *is* one for the political administration in office in regard to the broad aspects of foreign policy,



but the professional has an important supporting role to play even in this respect both here at home and even more of a role overseas where he is both more visible as the national representative and more available. And at a more detailed stage or on policies of lesser world magnitude, the professional has even more responsibility for its communication.

This utilization of the career man is perhaps unorthodox, but it is proper in both cases. For the public both wants and is able to receive more information about the conduct of its affairs, and since the professional at a minimum has great influence in the formulation of that policy and at a maximum is responsible for making it, he should be subject to public scrutiny and dialogue.

These considerations make foreign service activism in modern communication important in theory. There is an equally compelling case for visible activism when present practice is examined.

Except in unusual situations where the professional communicator (the press officer in Washington or the PAO overseas) has a specially favored relationship with the Ambassador or is an individual of unusual skill and strength of character, the foreign service officer either in the role of Ambassador or DCM or Political Counselor or Assistant or Deputy Assistant Secretary usually ends up making the basic decisions behind the scenes on issues of substance in communication. He may not decide what magazine or movie comes from Washington, but he usually decides when and how a particularly difficult foreign policy issue is surfaced—and even more important, how it is explained. Furthermore, very often it is the foreign service officer, rather than the communicator, who must bring the element of public affairs into the decision-making process simply because the latter frequently does not participate in that process. Thus in practice, decisions involving communications are very often made by the foreign service officer even though he may not be qualified to do so and even though he may not accept any responsibility for the actual task of communicating publicly.

All this is not necessarily bad. In fact, if you accept the thesis that the participants in the formulation and execution of policy must also play a role in communicating it, then this role of the foreign service officer in practice of making decisions on communication can be a plus. But it is a plus only if he is trained and experienced in the field. Just as he brings into play his training and accumulated experience in the formulation of policy in the political and economic areas, so he must have training and accumulated experience in communication to bring to bear.

Thus, the foreign service has a communications role both in theory and practice but its qualifications for filling that role are questionable. The remedy is not withdrawal but an even more active role based on training and experience.

THE primary area for this training and subsequent active participation is the field of press relations; foreign service officers cannot and should not attempt to duplicate the technical skill and experience of USIA personnel in the various media. But they should develop insight and experience in communicating foreign policy to the public—abroad or domestic. While public speeches and articles are important aspects of such a skill, the heart of the effort normally will be directed towards the press and the effectiveness of that effort in turn depends on "press relations"—the art of dealing with and communicating with the public through the press.

Even if the foreign service officer wants to contend that he should not deal with the press directly, he will recognize the importance of skillful press relations in the process of public communication by others. And if he is to participate, or even if he is to perform effectively in the role he fills behind the scenes in setting policy on communications, he has a stake and needs to be knowledgeable about effective press relations.

The career service hardly prepares him for the role. As a junior, he gets at best only a passing acknowledgment that there is such a field as press relations. What exposure he receives is usually limited to the most perfunctory tasks. The situation does not improve by mid-career. By then, if anything, he has accepted a deep-seated prejudice about the press from his seniors and he is given little opportunity to modify that attitude through firsthand exposure or dialogue with the press. By the time he reaches principal officer assignments where dealing with the press is often a critical part of the job, he is often indifferent or hostile and almost always ignorant about the press.

There are exceptions, to be sure —not just non-career Ambassadors who have earlier experience in communicating but competent, articulate foreign service officers who have an instinct and aptitude in dealing with the press. And there are, of course, a good many USIA officers who are effective in handling the press because of previous experience (although as the USIA becomes more and more a career service, this area of practical press relations experience is one that will suffer).

Whatever the number of exceptions, the charge of inadequacy is basically valid and remedies must be sought. The first and most important element in providing that remedy is development of a Press Relations Doctrine to serve as the basis for training and the framework for consistency in practice throughout the service. There is really no doctrine in existence today—not in the Department, or in the foreign service, or even in USIA for that matter. Individual senior officers may have personal concepts that they apply, but there is no institutional doctrine that survives the change of personalities.

It is tempting, of course, to ignore this institutional requirement for a press doctrine because it can lead to change and contention. Far easier to concentrate on the drawbacks of the press, which can absorb an evening of good cathartic dialogue that does away with the need for self-examination. But this article concedes readily that there are many, many flaws in the press in the United States. (Mr. Vice President, please note this positive and declarative sentence.) It then says that the purpose of the present discussion is not to propose solutions for the press's shortcomings, but rather to look for a doctrine that will help the service to deal better with that very same inadequate press. Furthermore, a doctrine that becomes part of foreign service tradition and practice can serve as a highly important influence on the determination of press policies at the departmental level.

That doctrine cannot be precise and absolute. Press relations is an art and the practitioners will disagree on many aspects because a good deal depends on personal skill and relations. But there are some basic elements on which it should be possible to reach consensus or at least utilize as a starting point for further discussion and refinement.

There is one important preliminary to making a press doctrine meaningful: the individual foreign service officer should learn more about the tribal customs and mores of that somewhat amorphous profession known as journalism, particularly of foreign correspondents. You don't have to *like* correspondents to deal with them (though it helps), but you should understand them and their ways just as you want them to understand foreign affairs and the foreign service. What is the difference in role and approach between the wire services and the specials? Between dailies and periodicals? Between the print and the audiovisual media? What are the characteristics of journalism in the United States that affect coverage of foreign affairs? Just as important, what are the ground rules under which you are dealing with a correspondent? What is "background"; or "attribution"; or "off the record?" These must be clearly understood and accepted for contact with the press to develop into mutual confidence and dialogue. All these questions are just starters. But while the field has its share of needless esoterics, just as any other profession, the elements that the nonspecialist has to learn are not so difficult that they are beyond the scope of reasonable inquiry. And the knowledge is important to the effective application of the ten principles listed below—the Ten Commandments of Press Relations.

These principles have been formulated in terms of a functioning free press such as we have in the United States. Clearly, there is an equally free press in many other parts of the world and the same

principles apply. Where there is not a free press, and the press functions as an instrument of the government in power, some of these concepts are not applicable although others are still worth practicing because they may have some impact. But regardless of the status of the press in the host country, the foreign service will still have to deal with free press representatives, including American, in that country and there is an important impact both in the United States and in other free press countries from communication through such representatives. So the principles are worth attention even when the local application may not seem worth the effort.

The ten:

• **Respect the Role of the Press:** The first and foremost of the cardinal rules is a genuine respect for the role of the press. And this of course requires an understanding of it. The statement of this principle may sound like the opening lines in a high school civics lecture. But the number of cases when foreign service officers pay lip service to the concept of a free press and object to it in practice is surprisingly high. The requirement is not merely acceptance of the simplistic schoolboy concept of a free press but full appreciation of the whole constitutional role of the fourth estate. Our system of society is, of course, based to a significant degree on the existence of a press that serves as a watchdog and observer of the government. And in this role of adversary to the government, the press is—and constitutionally should be—free and independent. Even when it hurts—as the press does at times. Even when it's irresponsible—as the press is at times. Even when it is simplistic or superficial or uninformed—as the press is at times. The foreign service officer must accept the function and the role of the press in our concept of society even when the press falls short of the mark.

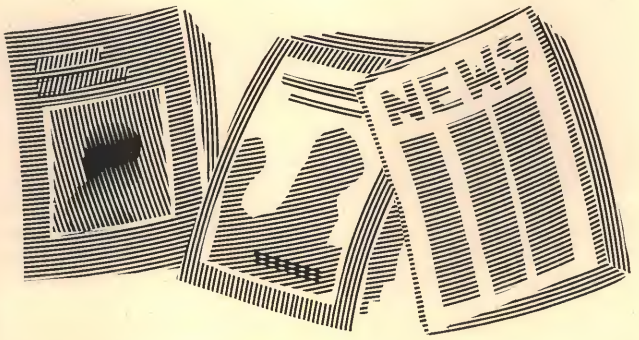
• **Look at the Press as an Opportunity:** This principle is almost a corollary of the first cardinal rule. If we accept the basic concepts of our society, the goal is an informed public which passes enlightened judgment on governmental policies. High school civics again? Perhaps. But again, this is a basic that is frequently overlooked in the course of aggravation by the journalist as an individual. The Jeffersonian ideal of an informed public is more important than ever today and the best means to that goal is the press. The press represents an opportunity and a channel, not a burden or obstacle to the effective conduct of foreign affairs which would be the evaluation given by most foreign service officers. Positive thinking about the press thus becomes a cardinal virtue.

• **Educate the Press:** This basic guidance sounds somewhat patronizing and would be if misunderstood. But in a constructive sense, education of the press by the foreign service constitutes a highly purposeful exercise. In many cases, the instrument of the press, the correspondent, is lacking information for either an accurate report or a balanced evaluation. The problem may be even more basic; he may not even be qualified. Rather than dismiss the problem out of hand, the effective foreign service communicator seeks to impart his knowledge and expertise to the press. He informs, he explains, he expands. Within the limits of national security, he provides the correspondent with all experience, knowledge and wisdom which he has acquired. He has little to lose. Regardless of the motivation or preconceptions of the correspondent, the subsequent product will not be less accurate—and might in fact be much more so. The fact is that most journalists welcome as much background information as possible—even though they will reserve the right to pass judgment on the accuracy or validity of that information. The foreign service's relationship with the press will be adversary; it need not be hostile for there is a joint, if parallel, responsibility to the public.

• **Distinguish between Information and Publicity:** All of which leads to principle four—the need to differentiate between information and publicity. Herein lies the source of many of the service's past and current problems. The State Department BULLETIN is publicity. Most press releases are publicity in concept and intent. Difficulties—and disappointment—arise when the press refuses (properly) to act as a conveyor belt for publicity, the transmission of information or facts from the originating source to the public without evaluation, review or screening. The government communicator has two obligations to the press: make the facts known as he knows them and explain the policies he has evolved and is seeking to execute based on those facts. He must recognize that the role—the constitutional role—of the press discussed under rule number one permits the press (obliges or requires the press would be more accurate terminology) to review, check on and pass judgment on the accuracy or adequacy of those facts and review and pass judgment on the wisdom and effectiveness of those policies. When the foreign service officer begins to stop being disappointed or hurt because the press has not served simply as a transmission belt for his version and interpretation of the situation but instead has acted as the independent watchdog and judge, he will be at the point of maturity in press relations.

• **Be candid and forthcoming:**

(*Continued on page 55*)



The "forces for change" officer (under his job description) would concentrate on forces placing pressure on the existing political structures.

Toward Professional Political Analysis in Foreign Service Reporting

JAMES FORD COOPER

Mr. Cooper entered the Foreign Service in December 1960. He has served in the field in Lima, Glasgow and San Jose in consular, administrative, political and economic positions. His Washington assignments have been as staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and as Officer-in-Charge of Costa Rican Affairs. He has just completed a year's study at Cornell University in Comparative Politics of Latin America.

OF all the persistent self-images of the Foreign Service, perhaps none is more cherished than that of the "born political officer." The phrase conjures up an image of a dashing FSO who, after a particularly informative cocktail party, rushes back to the embassy to fire off a despatch. The FSO, because of his political "sensitivity," exposes the political situation of Country X in such lucid and witty terms that even the most obtuse end-users in Washington cannot help but be dazzled.

Typically, so the image goes, the "born political officer," in the best British tradition of amateurism, scorns modern concepts of political analysis as impractical irrelevancies, preferring to rely instead on his first-hand observations, his personal acquaintance with the local political elite and his God-given political "feel."

This characterization, of course, seriously exaggerates the image of a good political officer and fails to acknowledge that political "sensitivity" is in fact a crucial intangible quality without which no political officer can truly be effective.

Nevertheless, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that the great bulk of current Foreign Service political reporting and analysis has a degree of sophistication that goes little beyond the informed observations and opinions of an on-the-scene political officer who may or may not be blessed with political "feel."

This is not to be construed as criticism of the usually highly competent political officers in the Foreign Service nor as criticism of individual political reports, most of which are very perceptive and insightful. Rather, the problem is that Foreign Service political reporting and analysis lacks a comprehensive framework within which political phenomena can be viewed as part of an integral national political process, and not simply as isolated pieces of political information. Because there is no conceptual framework, political reporting tends to be selective, impressionistic and unsystematic. It results in wide variations in political coverage from officer to officer with a consequent lack of continuity in reporting over time from individual posts as well as a lack of comparability in reporting from different posts. In short, the current approach to political reporting is sadly deficient in systematically providing the Department of State with relevant information, analysis and interpretation. These deficiencies could be greatly reduced by adoption of the following proposals:

1. The Department of State should develop a framework of political analysis appropriate to the political information requirements of the Department. It should be the responsibility of a small working group of FSOs with experience in Foreign Service political work and recent academic experience in modern concepts of political analysis. The working group should hire two or three specialized political scientist consultants.

2. After developing an appropriate framework the working group should develop a political reporting schedule, analogous to the Comprehensive Economic Reporting Program schedule.

3. The Political Studies division

of the Foreign Service Institute's School of Professional Studies (which might also be the appropriate place for the FSO working group) should develop a new short course of two to four weeks based on the new analytical framework and on the kind of political analysis that will be required under the new political reporting schedule. All officers assigned to political section positions should attend the course prior to leaving for the field; all desk officers would also be given the training. Additionally, increased numbers of mid-career officers who are prospective political section chiefs should be given one year university assignments in advanced political analysis and area studies.

4. Staffing patterns of political sections should be drastically restructured to meet the new reporting and analysis demands. Personnel requirements may vary depending on the nature of the analytical framework and reporting schedule adopted. However, it is to be expected that any serious effort at comprehensive political analysis would require a minimum of three FSO political officers in small and medium sized countries, more in larger countries.

Before looking at the four proposals, it will be useful for illustrative purposes to introduce an outline of a sample framework of political analysis. The outline selected here reflects my experience in Latin America; one of the tasks of the proposed FSO working group would be to determine whether a single analytical framework might be developed appropriate for use in all countries. The outline might look as shown below:

I. Foundations of Politics

(A) *The Basic Setting*—The framework of basic national characteristics, the interaction of which determines in large measure the dominance or power relationships of social groups within the nation-state. While for analytical reasons these phenomena, enumerated below, may be examined individually, in fact they are mutually interdependent and interacting.

1. *Geography* (climate, natural resources, population)

2. *History* (decisive historical events and influences)

3. *Social Characteristics* (stratification, social mobility, racial/ethnic composition,)

4. *Economy* (economic bases, level of development,)

5. *Ideology* (governing or competing ideologies,)

6. *International Position* (international influences)

(B) *Societal Dominance Relationships*—The relative power positions of the social groups, which are largely determined by the interaction of the factors of the basic setting and which, in turn, heavily influence the kinds of demands placed upon the political institutions.

1. *Social Groups Wielding Power*—Landed oligarchies, new industrial elites, the military, labor unions.

2. *Social Groups Lacking Power*—Peasants, urban inmigrants, nonunion labor.

3. *Demands of Dominant Social Groups*—Performance goals demanded from political institutions economic growth vs. social redistribution, for example), ambiguity or clarity of demand inputs.

II. *Political Institutions*

(A) Informal Political Agents

1. *Political Parties*—History, ideology, constituency, organization, etc.

2. *Political Leaders*—Ideology, influence, power base, biographical data.

3. *Pressure Group*—Kinds of interest and promotional groups, which social groups represented, organization

(B) Formal Government Structures

1. *Executive*—Powers, limitations, organization,

2. *Legislative*—Powers, limitations, organization,

3. *Judicial*—Independence, recruitment, powers, etc.

4. *Electoral Process*—Laws, practice, statistical history, proportion of participation.

5. *Bureaucracy*—Organization, appointment and recruitment, social background, training.

III. *Performance of the Polity*—Decision and action outputs evaluated for their impact on political stability, economic growth and social justice.

(A) *Political Stability*—Measurement, legitimacy, concensus, violence, institutionalization, evolutionary capacity, revolutionary potential.

(B) *Economic Growth*—Measurement, compatibility with political stability and social justice, direction of growth, industrialization.

(C) *Social Justice*—Measurement, social mobilization, political participation, distributive character of policy outputs,

(D) *Implication for U. S. Foreign Policy*

1. Short-run

2. Long-run

In an ideal analytical framework, analysis of all the categories and elements encompassed by it would provide all of the information about a nation's political system necessary to a full understanding of it. The framework does not necessarily presuppose, however, what relationships the categories have to each other or which relationships might be most important. The analysis of relationships is more the domain of "political models" which, as the term is used here, attempt to explain and predict political behavior on the basis of certain theories and hypotheses.

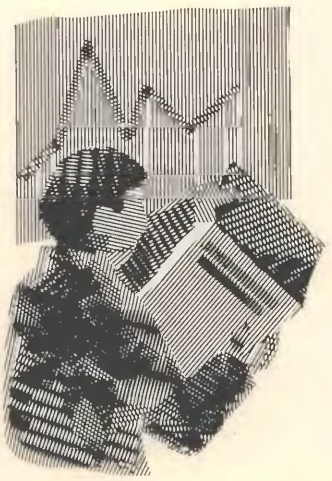
The field of political science is rich with extremely varied political models emphasizing the importance of one or another set of political relationships from one or another conceptual approaches, almost all of which provide useful insights for understanding such relationships. However, the political science discipline cannot in its current stage of development provide a generally applicable political model on which there is any degree of consensus. For this reason the writer considers that the Department should concentrate on the development of an analytical framework which is sufficiently broad and comprehensive to include all phenomena that might be examined under any number of political models. This is not to say that the framework cannot, as does the preceding framework, imply certain assumptions about the relationships of phenomena, provided that study of other kinds of relationships is not precluded.

After deciding on an analytical framework, the FSO working group with the advice of its consultants will have to devise a reporting schedule that will systematically provide timely information and analysis from each country concerning phenomena identified under the various categories of the framework. The timing and frequency of reports on the different categories will differ, depending upon the nature of the political phenomena.

For example, using the illustrative framework, some of the foundational aspects of politics (geography, history) are essentially unchanging, although reinterpretations may be in order from time to time. Thus, a reporting cycle of once every three or four years would be entirely adequate. Other foundational factors (economy, international position, societal power relationships) may change more rapidly and might warrant annual reports.

Comprehensive studies of formal government structures might be required only at rather lengthy intervals, unless there are sudden changes (coup d'etat, bureaucratic reorganization). The political elements included within the category of informal political agents are likely to be highly active and constantly changing, which might warrant semi-annual analyses in addition to spot reporting. The overall performance of the political system might be an annual evaluation which in Latin America would presumably be summarized in the CASP.

Within the categories under Performance of the Polity, as used in the illustrative framework, is included the concept of "political development," which clearly is an important political dimension meriting thorough analysis. In reaction to the excellent articles and editorial in the March edition of the JOURNAL, this writer firmly believes political development analyses and proposals should be prepared by the Embassy political section, acting as the political advisors to, and for this specific purpose responsible to, the AID Mission Director.



In addition to fixing a reporting schedule, the working group should attempt to develop guidelines on the kinds of information and analysis needed concerning each political element. For example, perhaps reports on the bureaucracy should analyze the organization, appointment and recruitment of civil servants, their social background, the salary structure, extent of civil service protection, degree of integrity/corruption and areas of possible AID technical assistance programs. However, because of widely varying conditions from country to country, discretion should be left with the political section chief of each Embassy to decide how best to meet the required reporting schedule.

In preparing the reporting schedule and guidelines, *heavy emphasis should be placed on the maximum use of quantitative data wherever possible, in order that a bank of comparable data can be accumulated over a period of time for computer use.*

In addition to training political officers in the kinds of analysis that will be required of them as a result of the new analytical framework and reporting schedule, the Political Studies division of the School of Professional Studies should acquaint students with many of the new political models and analytical techniques which have been developed over the past decade in the political science discipline. When it is remembered that a large number of FSOs received their undergraduate or graduate degrees in political science, government or international relations, it is entirely reasonable to anticipate that with proper orientation these officers could deliver high quality political analyses.

It is absurd to pretend that systematic and comprehensive political analysis in any country is possible with only one or one and one half FSO political officers.

If serious political analysis is to be a Foreign Service objective, it will require a minimum of three FSO political officers (including the labor officer) in even a small Embassy, four if the labor officer is not

sufficiently broad-gauge (or is too busy) to assume a substantial share of the political analysis load.

Responsibilities can be divided within a section to assure that all significant components of the political framework are being covered; much would depend on the nature of the analytical framework and reporting schedule. Using the illustrative framework, one rather unorthodox approach (applicable mainly to underdeveloped countries) would be to have a "status quo" officer and a "forces for change" officer, with the Chief of Section analyzing and evaluating the balance between the two.

The "status quo" man would concentrate his contact work and analytical studies on conservative groups: political parties (conservative and authoritarian or both); pressure groups (chambers of commerce, manufacturers association), social groups (large land owners, new industrial elites) and in general would analyze political phenomena tending to reinforce the political stability and institutional capacities of the system.

The "forces for change" officer would focus his political contacts and analyses among liberal, reform and radical groups and trends: political parties (liberals, socialists, far left), pressure groups (labor unions, students, peasant organization), social groups (labor, landless peasants, the military). He would concentrate on forces placing pressure on the existing political structures.

The Chief of Section would be responsible for over-all evaluation of the political system and the implications of its performance for United States foreign policy, in addition to acting as political advisor to the Ambassador and the AID Mission Director. He might reserve for his own analysis those groups he considers most important in that particular country (the military, the landed oligarchy, the urban middle class). He would also be responsible—under the Ambassador—for high level contacts across the political spectrum, and might also supervise, under the Mission Director, AID programs in political participation and public administration.

The Section Chief would set the tone of political reporting and analysis of the section, would determine which modes of political analysis are most appropriate to the circumstances of his country, and would organize the section in whatever way he deems necessary.

Two specific criticisms of the above proposals and one general critique are to be expected. The general critique will come from those who contend there is nothing seriously wrong with the current Foreign Service effort in the political area and that political science has no practical help to offer. Those who argue this way are unaware of the gap that has grown between what passes for political analysis in the Foreign Service and what has been going on in the political science discipline for the past decade or more.

One specific criticism may come from political officers who fear that imposition of a reporting schedule will seriously infringe on their freedom of action and independence. I admit that some officers may find the new requirements demanding and constraining, although economic section heads do not appear to consider themselves unduly circumscribed by CERP reporting requirements.

Under the proposals, political chiefs of sections would retain great latitude in determining how best to organize for and meet the new reporting requirements. Moreover, personnel resources available to the political sections should be expanded. In my view, the proposals taken together would offer vast new opportunities for serious political officers to pursue political analysis to a degree of sophistication and relevance never before possible in the Foreign Service.

The second specific criticism would be that it is unrealistic to propose increasing the amount of political reporting and the number of political officers at a time when budgets trend in the opposite direction. This dilemma can be resolved only by those in a position to decide what professional quality political reporting and analysis is worth to the US Government and how much quality they are willing to sacrifice to budgetary considerations. The costs to the State Department of sacrifices of quality have already been dear.

In the continuing discussion about why control of foreign policy has increasingly slipped from State Department hands, much attention —perhaps too much—has been given to the need for a managerial class within the Foreign Service or State Department which will give us the managerial capacity to control foreign policy programs once again.

I wonder if lack of managerial capacity has been the major cause of the decline of State's influence. The "stuff" of foreign policy formulations continues to be political, economic and military analysis. The State Department is supposed to have expertise in and primary responsibility for political and economic analysis. Limiting this discussion to political analysis, is it not possible that an important reason for the decline of State Department influence is that other agencies have been unimpressed by the quality and persuasiveness of our political analyses? It is a well known phenomenon that every intelligent person is convinced that his ideas on foreign policy are at least as good as any in the State Department. This simplistic approach to foreign policy is fostered in part by the curious system in which literally any citizen regardless of preparation may be named United States Ambassador.

However, does not the State Department itself downgrade the complexity of foreign policy formulation when it eschews rigorous political analysis, instead basing and justifying policy recommendations merely on "intelligent informed opinion" and "political feel" which as easily as not can be effectively countered by someone else's "intelligent informed opinion" and claim to "political feel?"

Not only can the quality, accuracy and relevance of Foreign Service political analysis be immeasurably improved through acceptance of recommendations along the lines discussed above. But also a modern, well-documented and rigorous analytical approach can help re-establish State's position of unique expertise in foreign political analysis, greatly adding to the persuasiveness of State Department council for foreign affairs. ■

A White House aide, speaking about the Business Council for International Understanding, told the JOURNAL: "The President feels that the Council's activities contribute significantly to the preparedness of both foreign service officers and employees of private business, bound for overseas duty.

"He is gratified by the continuing success of BCIU in realizing the service potential he foresaw when, as Vice President, he urged in 1958 that President Eisenhower's proposal for the Council be implemented."

American Business and Foreign Affairs

DONALD DRESDEN

The author, associate editor of the JOURNAL, *graduated from the University of North Dakota and Harvard Business School. He worked in Western Europe in business, journalism and the Marshall Plan, and served in the United States Information Agency in Washington. He was a staff writer on* THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE *and Kiplinger's* CHANGING TIMES, *an editor on* THE WASHINGTON POST/LOS ANGELES TIMES NEWS SERVICE, *and a contributor to* THE NEW YORKER, THE SATURDAY EVENING POST *and other magazines. His latest book, a biography, is "The Marquis de Morès, Emperor of the Bad Lands." He is restaurant critic for* THE WASHINGTON POST'S *magazine* POTOMAC.

THE BUSINESS COUNCIL for International Understanding (BCIU) provides a cross fertilization between the foreign affairs community of the United States Government and American business, especially companies with foreign operations or affiliates. It focuses on improving the climate for international business-government relations at both the policy making level and day to day operations. At the same time BCIU strives to help American businessmen and their wives who are going to be stationed abroad to be more effective and comfortable in their overseas work and living style through seminars at American University (AU) in Washington, D.C. and consultations with American businessmen. It also aims to make them good representatives of the United States.

BCIU, over its life of about twelve years, has arranged many consultations—the total runs into many thousands—for virtually every American ambassador before he has gone overseas, and for many Washington and foreign-based officers of the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency.

Taylor G. Belcher, American Ambassador to Peru, wrote that "The BCIU briefing in New York was invaluable to me as an introduction to the US investment presence at my new post. The pity is that one does not devote enough time to the process. At least two days of more sensibly spaced appointments should be arranged."

From Nairobi, American Ambassador Robert McIlvaine expressed this thought: "The BCIU program has since its inception been an invaluable tool for dialogue between the Foreign Service and American businessmen engaged in the international field. Those of us who participate in the program get to know the home office people of the firms represented at our post, which, of course, makes relations with the local representative easier and more meaningful. All in all the program has contributed greatly to a better working relationship between government and business abroad."

John C. Ausland, Chargé d'Affaires, a. i., at Oslo, wrote: "I found that BCIU arranged a very interesting day for me in New York just before my departure for Oslo. It gave me an opportunity to learn at first hand the extent of US investment in Norway and the attitude of certain US firms towards their investments. The BCIU tour was also valuable for the new chief of the Embassy's Economic Section who accompanied me."

BCIU also receives visiting statesmen and business leaders from abroad and arranges for them to meet and talk with executives in the American business and financial community. When French President Georges Pompidou visited the United States, BCIU arranged an informal breakfast discussion for him with a score of business leaders. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda received similar attention from BCIU, and it has been said that this greatly helped to smooth over ruffled feelings that resulted from Mr. Kaunda's not being received at the White House.

BCIU is a non-profit organization of more than 70 companies representing a wide range of business enterprise, and six associated organizations with industry and foreign affairs interests. Its inception, in 1955, was at the urging of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, however, Vice President Richard M. Nixon's talk to 50 corporate chiefs at a luncheon following his 1958 Latin American trip transformed talk to action.

A White House aide speaking about the Business Council for International Understanding, told the JOURNAL: "The President feels that the Council's activities contribute significantly to the preparedness of both foreign service officers and employees of private business, bound for overseas duty.

"He is gratified by the continuing

(*Continued on page* 35)

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Staff Corps Advisory Committee Activities

On January 6, 1971, the AFSA Staff Corps Advisory Committee held the first of its regularly scheduled Wednesday lunchtime meetings. The Committee intends to open one meeting a month to all members, and also invites AFSA members who are in the Department on consultation or leave to contact chairman John Ivie (Ext. 23874) to arrange attendance.

AFSA President Ted Eliot sent a memorandum to all Chiefs of Mission on October 12, 1970, citing problems encountered by Staff Corps members living and working abroad. The letter asked each post to comment on specific solutions to these problems which other posts might also find useful. Many of the responses received have contained useful ideas. At the January 6 meeting, Ellen Watson volunteered to review the replies and prepare a report for the **AFSA News.**

Some members of the Committee will be traveling abroad on TDY, and hope to be able to meet Chapter heads and interested Staff members at post. We wish to encourage Staff members to play a more important role in local chapters. At one or two post, the tendency to exclude Staff members from active participation in other areas of post life reportedly has extended even to the organization of the Chapter. The Committee decided against the idea of encouraging Staff members to form Chapter sub-committees to discuss their particular problems. AFSA's strength must lie in its unity and the equality of its members.

In a letter to Mr. Macomber dated October 14, Charlie Bray submitted the Committee's comments and recommendations on the Task Force proposals as they affect the Staff Corps. (The substance of this letter and its enclosures were mailed to all AFSA Staff Corps members on November 6.)

Members of the Committee have studied a first draft of the proposed Mustang Program which envisages participation of a very small percentage of Staff Corps employees. The Department appears still not to recognize the potential and ambition of employees within the system and instead plans to recruit from outside greater numbers of junior foreign service officers in the consular and administrative fields. The Committee believes that many Staff Corps employees can make a substantial contribution in these fields, if given the opportunity. Comments from those in the field who have read the Task Force reports reflect doubt that the Program will in fact provide upward mobility for the talented Staff employee. The Committee will be concentrating heavily on this subject during the coming months

The subject of overtime was discussed at length, and the Committee concluded that as long as overtime can be abused at post and in Washington without objection, Administrative Officers will not feel compelled to budget adequately for it. This matter will receive our continuing attention.

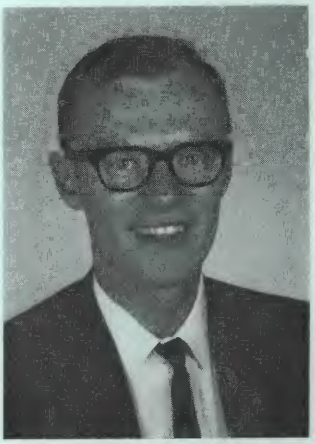
Stephanie Johnson and AFSA Staff Corps Board Member, Barbara Good, will be in charge of press and publicity for the Committee. Suggestions for articles in the **Journal** or other media should be forwarded to them. Information about the Committee's open meetings will appear in a future issue of the **AFSA News.**

Another 100% AFSA Post

Adana has now reported that it is a 100% AFSA member post, joining Niamey, Nassau and Durban.

Any others?

New Editorial Board Member



John D. Stempel, FSO-5, a new **Journal** Editorial Board Member, attended Princeton University, where he received his A.B. in Public and International Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School in 1960.

He entered the Foreign Service in 1965. His overseas assignments include Conakry, Guinea, and Bujumbura, Burundi. John notes that he is batting a perfect 1,000 on overseas assignments — both embassies he served in were stormed by local crowds.

Returning to Washington, he served as an Associate Watch Officer and Editor in the Operations Center, before becoming Staff Assistant to Under Secretary Elliot L. Richardson for 18 months. After assisting with the transition from Under Secretary Richardson to Under Secretary Irwin, he became Country Officer for Ghana in September, 1970. He recently served on two of the Macomber Task Forces — Management Evaluation and Training. John is married to the former Nancy Dean of Indianapolis, and the Stempels have one child, Amy, age 4, born in Bujumbura.

Income Tax Tips 1040

Maryland Drops Attempt To Tax Salary of FSO Stationed Abroad

AFSA reported in the October, 1970 **Journal** that Maryland and the District of Columbia had notified two FSOs who had resided there when assigned to Washington that they would have to continue paying Maryland (or District of Columbia) income tax on their income even after leaving the Washington area. AFSA referred the two FSOs to its legal advisors in Washington, who, representing the FSOs, sent memoranda to the tax authorities contesting the position taken by Maryland and the District that the FSOs were "domiciled" in those jurisdictions. We are pleased to report that the tax authorities in Maryland have now agreed to drop their case, and the District of Columbia authorities have agreed to give the matter further study.

In the Maryland case, the FSO was able to persuade the tax department that he had a permanent home or "domicile" outside of Maryland where he intended to return after retirement from the Foreign Sevice. In Maryland, and most other jurisdictions, a change of residence to enable a person to perform ths duties of a civil office, whether elective or appointive, does not of itself constitute a change of domicile. Even though a person is absent from his domicile for many years, and may return only at long intervals, he nevertheless retains his old domicile unless he manifests an intention to abandon it and to acquire a new domicile elsewhere. The Maryland authorities agreed that an FSO who comes to Maryland as a result of his being stationed in this area by the State Department, and who can substantiate his claim of having a permanent domicile elsewhere, is subject to Maryland income tax on a non-Maryland income only for years in which he actually resides in Maryland for the statutory six-month period. It is presumed that the same conditions would apply to any other category of employee in any one of our agencies.

Determinations of domicile in this type of case are necessarily factual, often turning on the number of "contacts" or "ties" an individual has with the place he claims as his permanent home (e.g., property owned, relatives, church memberships, business interests, etc.), as well as his expressed intention to return to that place after leaving the Government. Nevertheless, AFSA regards the action of the Maryland authorities as a hopeful sign and one that may be useful to other foreign affairs personnel with similar problems.

Members Interests Committee Reports to Members

More Tax Tips

In discussing income tax deductions for moving expenses with the Internal Revenue Service (reported in January **AFSA News**), we were reminded that out-of-pocket outlays for expenses covered by authorized allowances are deductible. In other words, if your agency cannot reimburse you for a specific expenditure that should be covered by an authorized allowance, you can deduct that outlay as a legitimate business expense. Most officer personnel have had experience with this type of deduction in the category of representation allowances which are chronically underfunded by the appropriations committees. However, we are assured that the same rule applies to any allowance for which there are either no funds, or insufficient funds appropriated to cover actual costs.

This is especially interesting to all foreign service personnel, regardless of rank, because we are all incurring substantial out-of-pocket expenses during transfers which should be (but aren't) reimbursed by the transfer allowance authorized under section 221(2) of P.L. 86-707 of September 6, 1960. AFSA continues to press hard to have this authorization put into effect for the Foreign Services.

Legislative history indicates that Congress intended to reimburse, at a minimum, extraordinary clothing purchases, the re-wiring or replacement of appliances due to a change in type of electric current, and the insurance premium covering household effects in transit. In addition, it is fairly safe to include under this category extraordinary expenses of moving into your overseas residence, including the installation of light fixtures and switches, bathroom fixtures, drapes and rugs (which must be cut specially to fit that particular dwelling place).

Under present practice, we are now reimbursed a maximum of $175 for clothing costs under this category only when we transfer from one climatic zone to another. All other types of transfer, and all other types of expense are not covered. As stated above, AFSA is pressing management to fund this allowance fully, and will ask that the appropriations committees do so if management fails to budget for this allowance. In the meantime, however, all employees who transfer should take advantage of available tax deductions.

AFSA has requested that management establish procedures for the certification of unreimbursed transfer expenses, similar to the system used to certify unreimbursed representation expenses. We are still awaiting a reply, but if you can persuade your administrative officer to give you a certificate for transfer expenses incurred during 1970, it should be possible to enjoy some deductions (in some cases they will be substantial) when you file your 1970 return. Even if your inquiries to your administrative officers result only in a flood of requests for guidance to Washington, it will help us achieve our objective that much faster. In addition, all employees who transfer from now on should keep detailed records and receipts in the event we achieve an appropriation for the full allowance, or failing that, management establishes a certification procedure.

Bread and Butter Issues:

Travel on foreign airlines: Some alert AFSA members in the diplomatic courier service have discovered that the General Accounting Office is a lot less rigid about travel on foreign airlines for its employees than are State, AID and USIA. GAO auditors stationed in Frankfurt can fly all the way from the USA to their post on an American airline any day of the week. But if they choose to stop off enroute in another European country for leave, they are then permitted to take a foreign airline to their destination if American airlines do not have traffic rights on that segment (i.e. Paris-Frankfurt). A foreign service employee who does the same thing has to pay the cost of that segment on the foreign airline out of his own pocket. To rub salt in the wound, management's method of calculating the penalty results in a larger payment than the actual prorated amount paid to the foreign airline for the trip. AFSA has protested these unnecessary restrictions, and has requested that the regulations be rewritten to allow indirect travel on foreign airlines so that employees can take leave enroute to or from posts of assign-

ment. AID management agrees with AFSA, but cannot move forward until State and USIA concur. One argument we do not now expect in rebuttal is "the GAO won't stand for it." We will keep pushing on this one.

Housing Allowance Restored: An AFSA member on home leave discovered that he would not be returning to his post as expected, but would be transferred instead to another post. This meant that his household effects had to be packed and shipped by the Embassy without his presence. Naturally, before departing post, he paid advance rent on his residence for the period he expected to be away. Only part of this payment could be recovered. The post, however, cut off his housing allowance as of the pay period in which his household effects were removed from his residence. The Department demanded repayment of several hundred dollars in housing allowances paid while the employee was on home leave. He asked AFSA if it could help.

AFSA protested that the designation of the pay period in which the effects left the residence as the pay period of transfer was arbitrary and unreasonable. On appeal, the Department agreed because the employee had every reason to believe he was returning to the post, and was perfectly justified in paying his rent to cover the home leave period. In this case, the Department had already begun deducting the money from the employee's salary, but stopped after AFSA's appeal was upheld. We win some, we lose some, but we were very happy to win this one.

Kindergarden and First Grade Education Allowances: AFSA has requested that the minimum age for the payment of a first grade education allowance (five years and eight months) be abolished. While legislative history indicates that Congress did not intend the education allowance to cover grades lower than first grade, there is no indication that Congress wished to set a minimum age for entry into first grade. The practice has been to set the minimum at the national average for public schools (now five years and eight months). AFSA believes the minimum should be whatever local conditions at the post dictate. In short, if your child can enter first grade at age five years and three months, the allowance should be paid. We have some sympathetic ears on this, and some hope of success.

We are also supporting management's legislative effort to obtain an education allowance for kindergarten since the majority of public school districts in the United States offer free kindergarten, including all those in the Washington area.

Grievances: If you have a grievance and have not been able to obtain satisfaction, write to your Association, attention Members Interest Committee. Between the Committee and the AFSA-sponsored Ombudsman in each agency, you'll get an answer, perhaps even a satisfactory one.

New to Editorial Board

James D. (Dan) Phillips joined the Foreign Service in 1961. He has served in Paris, Elizabethville, Kinshasa and Washington. His present assignment in the Department is Officer-in-Charge of European Energy and Technology, Office of the OECD, European Communities and Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs (EUR/RPE). Mr. Phillips is a graduate of Wichita State University where he received a B.A. and an M.A. in Political Science. He also completed three years of graduate studies at Cornell University where he was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa. Just prior to entering the service, he was a teaching assistant at Cornell. Mr. Phillips is also a graduate of the Advanced Economic Training course at the Foreign Service Institute. He is married to the former Rosemary Leeds and they have one son and two daughters.

Foreign Service People

Deaths

ARMSTRONG. George Alexander Armstrong, FSO-retired, died December 31, 1970 at Neptune, New Jersey. He served with the American Expeditionary Force in France in World War I. Following his entry into the Foreign Service in 1924, he was assigned as Secretary and Consul at Nice, Zurich, Monaco, Warsaw, Berlin, Kingston, Colombo, Dublin, Lisbon, Malaga, Manchester, and Munich. He was a member of AFSA for over 25 years. Upon his retirement in 1946 he engaged in philanthropic works involving the blind in Latin America for several years. His son, George, Jr. of Chevy Chase, Md., and a daughter, Mary Eustis of Milton, Mass., survive.

ARNOLD. Dorothy Moore Arnold, wife of Henry F. Arnold, USIA-retired, died December 18, 1970, in San Diego. In addition to her husband, at 10273 Jerabeck Drive, San Diego, two sisters also survive her.

BLAKE. Gilson Grant Blake, FSO-retired, died December 17, 1970, at Asheville, N.C., Mr. Blake served with the U.S. Navy from 1917 to 1919 as an ensign, and entered the Foreign Service in 1920. He served in Australia, Ottawa, Georgetown, Geneva, Rome, Leghorn, Valparaiso and Washington. He had been an AFSA member since 1922. He is survived by his wife at the home address, 15 Bushee Road, Asheville, N. C. 28803.

GILMORE. Eugene Allen Gilmore, Jr., FSO-retired, died January 8, 1971, at Iowa City, Iowa. Mr. Gilmore had been a professor of economics prior to joining the Foreign Service in 1941. He served in Montevideo, Calcutta, Nepal, New Delhi, Tehran, Lima, La Paz and Habana, until his retirement from the last named post as Consul General in 1961. He was a writer and lecturer, and from 1965-1969 a professor of Economics at Baylor University. His wife, who resides at 13221 Leisure World Drive, Silver Spring, Md., and a sister and brother survive him. The family requests that memorial contributions be sent to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

GULLION. Phillip Paul Guillion, AID officer, died December 5, 1970 in Washington, D.C. A brother of former Ambassador to the Congo

Edmund Gullion (presently Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) Mr. Gullion had served abroad since 1945 with various international and federal agencies and commissions in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. His last eight years were spent in Laos as an AID Adviser on Relief and Rehabilitation. He is survived by his wife, four children and two sisters and brothers.

HANNAH. Edna McCoy Hannah, wife of FSO Norman Britton Hannah, died suddenly at Ardmore, Pennsylvania on December 15, 1970. In addition to her husband, who is serving as Diplomat-in-Residence at Haverford College and resides at 628 Overhill Road, in Ardmore, she is survived by two sons. Mr. Hannah recently served as DCM at Bangkok, with the rank of Minister.

IRWIN. Jane Watson Irwin, wife of Under Secretary of State John N. Irwin, II, died December 31 at her home in New York following a long illness. Mrs. Irwin had been active in civil and philanthropic affairs with various foundations and hospitals prior to her illness. She is survived by her husband, two children, a sister and two brothers, including Honorable Arthur K. Watson, Ambassador to France.

McKENNA. James Edward McKenna, FSO-retired, died December 31, in Washington. He joined the State Department in 1910 as a clerk and after serving in the Army overseas with the rank of Captain, rejoined the Department in 1919. He transferred to the Foreign Service in 1925, serving at many posts, including Canton, Antwerp, London, Zagreb, Shanghai, and Nanking. He is survived by his wife at the home address, 1868 Columbia Road, N.W., and one brother.

MERRICK. Christopher Merrick, only son of FSO Roger B. Merrick and Mrs. Merrick, died suddenly in Frankfurt, Germany, December 25, 1970. The family were on leave from Jidda at the time, and burial was at Hagerstown, Maryland. The parents request that in lieu of flowers, contributions be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

MURDOCK. Thomas Glenn Murdock, FSR-retired and UN Aide, died January 2, 1971 in New York. A former North Carolina geologist, Mr. Murdock served overseas during World War II as an employee of the Office of Strategic Minerals. From 1947 to 1961 he was employed by the Department of State as a Minerals Adviser at Ankara and as a Consular Officer at Elizabethville, Belgian Congo. He joined the United Nations as a Senior Technical Adviser on minerals and mining policy in 1965. Mr. Murdock is survived by his wife of the home address, 2782 Fort Scott Drive, Arlington, and one daughter.

NOONAN. Tom A. Noonan, FSIO, died December 13, 1970 at Bombay, where he was serving as Cultural Affairs Officer. Mr. Noonan's service with USIA began in 1950, and covered posts in Germany, Malaysia, Jamaica and India. He received State Department meritorious awards in 1964 and 1968 in recognition of his work. In addition to his wife, Victoria, he leaves two sons and a daughter, at 3829 Taylorsville Road, Louisville, Ky., 40220.

HUDSON. Joel Carrington Hudson, FSO-retired, died in December, 1970, in Arizona. He had been a member of AFSA since entering the Foreign Service in February 1923. His assignments took him to posts in Australia, Indonesia, Latin America, and Europe. He served at Cairo and Bucharest during the late years as Commercial Attache, and retired following a tour as Consul General in Milan October 31, 1953. His wife survives him at the home address: 10647 Mission Lane, Sun City, Arizona, 85351.

MONSER. Paul Coleman Monser, FSS-retired, died January 12, 1971 in Maryland. Mr. Monser joined the Foreign Service Staff Corps in 1942 and served at Quito, Panama, Cairo, Mexico City and Manila prior to his retirement at Guadalajara in 1963. At the time of his death, he resided with his wife at 3507 Dodge Park Road, Landover Maryland. In addition to his wife, two daughters, five grandchildren and a sister survive.

JACOBS. Hon. Joseph Earle Jacobs, FSOCM-retired, died January 5, 1971 in Washington. Mr. Jacobs joined the Foreign Service in 1915 and served for 42 years in the Department and at overseas posts, including Shanghai, Cairo, Tirana, and Seoul. He was appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia in 1948, but six months later resigned to take the position of Special Assistant and Adviser on Military Assistance and NATO Affairs to the American Ambassador at Rome, where he remained until 1955. He became Ambassador to Poland in 1955 and served there until his retirement in 1957. Mr. Jacobs is survived by a sister, Mrs. Elbert S. Harrell, of Florence, S.C., and a brother, Clarence, of Oceanside, N.Y. The family requests that in lieu of flowers, memorial donations be made to the Welfare and Educational Fund of DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired), 1718 H St., N.W., where Ambassador Jacobs had been active in the interests of retired Foreign Service officers and their families since his retirement.

Artists in the Foreign Service

Penne Laingen, wife of L. Bruce Laingen, Deputy Chief of Mission in Kabul, Afghanistan, studied at the Abbott Art School in Washington, D. C. A graduate of Randolph Macon Women's College and George Washington University, Mrs. Laingen has long had an interest in crafts of various types, but began to paint seriously under Habibur Rahman, noted East Pakistani artist, while in Karachi, and exhibited several of her works in a show at the Pakistan-American Cultural Center.

Since coming to Kabul, she has studied with Freda Majzalin of New York City, and several of her paintings hang in the Embassy. Last Fall, her paintings were exhibited along with other American artists in the lovely yard of her home under the auspices of USIS. She is at the moment manager of the American Women's Club "Samovar," an outlet for Afghan craftsmen, the major aim of which is to promote and encourage new ideas in crafts and design for Afghan craftsmen.

The Foreign Service Club is now featuring an exhibit by Ruth Boynton, our November cover artist. Helen Semler will have an exhibit starting in late February and one of her paintings will appear on the cover of an early issue of the **Journal.**

Club News

The laws governing private club liquor licenses in the District of Columbia provide that beverages may be served only to members and their guests. It is obligatory for all AFSA members to show an Association membership card or Club charge account card on request, before being served a beverage.

Members who do not have membership cards should notify the Association or call in person, Room 36, and cards will be issued on verification of status. Those who have current (green or yellow) charge account cards need no further identification.

THE CLUB

Now Open to All Members of AFSA

2101 E St., N.W. 338-5730

★

New Buffet Service
in
Main Dining Room

★

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Arranged on Request

★

Champagne Cocktail
and Candlelight
Theater Suppers
"Before the Curtain"
Cocktail, Complete Dinner
and Wine
$6.00
including tax and tip
(By reservation only)

★

CLUB INFORMATION

Location

The Club is located at the corner of E and 21st Streets, across from the Department of State. It is well marked by the large red, white and blue canopy which displays the AFSA eagle and the name of the Club.

Hours and Reservations

The Club is open for luncheon from 11:45 A.M. until 2:30 P.M., Monday through Friday. Club facilities and services will be available at other times and days for special functions.

Tables may be reserved until 12:30 P.M. Special arrangements will be made by the Manager for obtaining a table after 1:00 P.M. for four or more persons.

Reservations may be made by calling the Manager, Mr. Inman, 338-5730.

Foreign Flags

Members who have foreign luncheon guests may arrange to have the flag of their guest's country placed on the table, if they will call Mr. Inman at least one day in advance.

Facilities and Functions

In addition to luncheon, the Club facilities are available for a wide variety of functions, including receptions, dances, buffets, dinners, bridge games, and meetings, on a reservation basis.

Dining and party facilities are available on two floors; the main dining room is on the ground floor and should be entered by the door under the large canopy. The Lounge, which seats about 25, is available on the second floor for daily use, and the Library, seating up to 35, is also available daily on a reservation basis for private luncheon meetings of groups of twelve or more. Entrance to the Lounge and Library may be made through the double door entrance on E Street, or the single door entrance around the corner on 21st Street, under the small canopy.

Prices are modest and are on a sliding scale for various types of functions.

Special arrangements are available for *official representation functions.*

A Club feature is the Champagne Cocktail-Candlelight Theater Supper, ready "Before the Curtain." Constitution Hall, the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and Lisner Auditorium are only a short walk from the Club. Parking is available across the street.

The manager will be happy to discuss arrangements and costs for the Club's standard function, or arrange a special function on request.

Accounts

Members may pay cash or use their Club accounts. Those who were members of the Club and thus had accounts, may continue to use them. New accounts will be established for AFSA members on request. A service charge of $5.00 will be billed with the first month's statement. Additional service charges will be made for delinquent accounts.

Application forms for Club accounts are available from the Club Cashier.

Inquiries regarding Club accounts or payment for *official representation functions* should be addressed to Mr. Justis, AFSA Accountant, 338-4046.

JOIN AFSA
and
USE YOUR CLUB

In New York, Albert V. Nyren of the economic and commercial section, Canberra, receives his detailed schedule from BCIU program officer, Charles Powleske. Among the New York companies visited were Rheem Manufacturing, First National City Bank, Westinghouse and International Paper.

In Boston, BCIU and the International Center of New England co-sponsored a luncheon offered by the First National Bank of Boston, where Mr. Nyren met representatives of firms with operations or prospects in Australia. Shown are Warren Heckman of Heath Companies, host Ogden White, Jr. of the bank and Claude Feninger, ITT Sheraton Hotels.

American Business
continued from page 28

success of BCIU in realizing the service potential he foresaw when, as Vice President, he urged in 1958 that President Eisenhower's proposal for the Council be implemented."

In addition to signing up companies, BCIU arranged and financed international area and language studies at American University.

From its beginning, BCIU has enjoyed the backing of prestigious companies and their top personnel. The first chairman of BCIU was Charles White, then board chairman and chief executive officer of Republic Steel Corporation. He was succeeded by Fred Foy, chairman of the Koppers Company Inc., who was followed by A. N. McFarlane, chairman of CPC International Inc.

Today the BCIU chairman is George C. McGhee, whose distinguished career includes three ambassadorships, high level State Department offices (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs) and a galaxy of directorships on corporate and institutional boards.

On taking office, Mr. McGhee said, "Although we do not wish to duplicate the efforts of others, I will, as Chairman, encourage BCIU to explore new ways to make the best possible use of the valuable experience it has gained over the years—and the great potential of its supporting companies. We will look for productive opportunities to bring our strength to bear on international issues affecting the US business community. We will offer full cooperation to the government wherever we feel we have a contribution to make. It is clear that key members of the Nixon administration know what we have to offer and are glad to be working closely with us."

Mr. McGhee was one of the first customers, so to speak, of BCIU when he went through a series of consultations, or talks, with business leaders in New York prior to leaving to be Ambassador to Germany. He thought this most worthwhile and so told President John F. Kennedy. From that time on BCIU-arranged consultations became the fashion for newly appointed Ambassadors, and Ambassadors changing assignment.

The modest sized staff of BCIU is in New York and headed by John Habberton as executive director. Mr. Habberton's long time experience includes UNESCO, the War Manpower Commission, the Economic Cooperation Administration in France and Turkey, and the Free Europe College, in Strasbourg, where he was dean. His deputy, John Walter, came to BCIU from a variety of positions with Jersey Standard here and abroad.

In the middle to late 1960's BCIU's consultation program was moving into high gear. But at the same time the organization was looking ahead to something approaching total immersion for six months in business for foreign service officers who seemed destined for top diplomatic positions. Robert Cleveland, an FSO-1, who had had some private sector experience prior to entering the Foreign Service, was selected to be the first.

Readers of the JOURNAL may recall Mr. Cleveland's piece in the August 1967 issue in which he related his experience.

He first set up residence in New York City. BCIU had previously arranged to have him thoroughly exposed to top management executives at a number of companies, among them First National City Bank, Columbia Broadcasting System, Farrell Lines, General Electric, IBM World Trade, J. Walter Thompson Company, Pan American World Airways, Texaco, Time-Life, and Young and Rubicam.

Mr. Cleveland enjoyed a kind of "fly on the wall" view of top level business executives in action, making policy, threshing out problems and seeing that decisions were carried out. The lengths to which business went to see that Mr. Cleveland saw the proper action is illustrated by one of Young & Rubicam's executives inviting him over whenever the agency had a particularly interesting client conference.

Mr. Cleveland thought his experience valuable. He wrote:

"What did I get out of all this? It was a unique and rewarding experience providing a fresh outlook and a new insight. I dropped a lot of stereotyped ideas; I met and enjoyed many interesting and friendly people; I had an intensive education in business philosophy and methods. It

In Cleveland, Mr. Nyren met with Quinton Groth of Eaton Yale & Towne, host Edward Carpenter, Paul Neidhardt of Glidden Durkee and C. J. Pillod of Goodyear.

SCM subsidiary president, Paul Neidhardt of Glidden-Durkee, demonstrates a miniaturized instant computer to Nyren, center and Robert Lozon of Glidden-Durkee at their headquarters. Mr. Nyren spent a tightly scheduled ten days of his home leave at company meetings and selective group luncheons in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Seattle, San Francisco and Honolulu.

was useful for me, and I think would also be valuable to many other members of the Foreign Service."

This was a two way street. Businessmen had an opportunity to see an FSO in the flesh, which many of them had not experienced before. Moreover, from a long range standpoint, business could observe the advantage in having senior diplomats acquainted with the workings of American industry. This would be particularly true of multinational firms. Several wrote to BCIU at the end of Mr. Cleveland's stay with them.

General Electric said, "This experiment developed a better basis for understanding within our company of the work the State Department is doing and of their objectives. We are glad to find men such as Mr. Cleveland in government service and will be pleased to participate in further assignments."

Texaco also liked Mr. Cleveland, terming him "an exceptionally able 'student.'" But the company thought that two or three officers could be assigned simultaneously, thus increasing the impact. Mr. Cleveland disagreed with this point of view on the grounds that the personal relationship of a single officer with company executives would be diluted.

Thirty First National City Bank officers, including the chairman and the president, talked to Mr. Cleveland. They thought his economic background valuable in posing questions and discussing bank problems, and said "We belicve that American private business has much to gain from greater familiarity on its part with the personnel and problems of the Foreign Service. FNCB officers continuously endeavor to do this and are aided by BCIU in this respect through the regular program of consultations with Foreign Service officers in New York." The bank thought that the assignment of FSOs such as Mr. Cleveland, should be studied further, and said that it would be pleased to participate in such an exercise.

A Pan American World Airways official wrote that "In all aspects I feel that this undertaking was a complete success," and that Mr. Cleveland "clarified the image of the State Department in a most favorable light where possibly heretofore it might have been fuzzy."

As was to be expected, some organizations harbored reservations about their part in the program.

J. Walter Thompson Company, the largest advertising agency in the United States when measured by billings, said it was unsure that it would repeat the same kind of operation as that with Mr. Cleveland. The grounds: the agency did not find it easy to fill Mr. Cleveland's time to advantage.

CBS Television Stations, a division of the Columbia Broadcasting System, said, "Regretfully, we did not and cannot provide exposure at our policy level." The reason was twofold: the relationship with the federal government because of station licensing and news and public affairs responsibilities. Nevertheless, that division of CBS "would be pleased to see other foreign service officers in the future," but for a one or two day indoctrination, instead of the two weeks Mr. Cleveland spent there.

Two Task Force reports recommend increased temporary exchanges of personnel between the foreign service community and American business, the kind of thing that Mr. Cleveland did, and beyond it. The AFSA is working toward the goal of broadening its base of support to include institutions in the private sector that have an interest in foreign affairs. The Department also has expressed a favorable attitude toward expanding its relationship with business, municipal governments, universities and allied institutions.

There are further stirrings, such as a proposal that a feasibility conference of, say, two days, be held that would bring together a small but representative group of people from business, government, foundations and academe. BCIU would like this. Meanwhile, the consulting part of the BCIU program continues, and so does the involvement of American University.

(*Continued on page* 51)

"Yet, Ah, that Spring should vanish with the Rose!
That Youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close!"—The Rubaiyat

Domesday

PETER BRIDGES

The JOURNAL's *frequent contributor, Peter Bridges entered the Foreign Service in 1957 and since then has served at Washington and in Panama, Germany, the Soviet Union and Italy. He is currently first secretary and political officer at Rome.*

THEY had thought of stopping for a couple of hours to show the children Williamsburg, but Aunt Sally said on the phone she would wait lunch for them and so they just drove around the restored Colonial houses for ten minutes and then down the Peninsula and by the bridge-tunnel across Hampton Roads until at one-thirty they reached the house, after a final half hour in thick Saturday traffic on Military Highway which had filled up in the last five years (while they'd been in Paris and Kabul) with every sort of steak house, streamlined hot-dog stand and filling station. But once off the Military Highway the same little road as years ago ran along the rusty and grassy Norfolk Southern Railroad, until at the mailbox that said "Stubblefield/Greenacres" they turned into the driveway that ran through Uncle Henry Stubblefield's ten acres of woods to his quiet house in the glade, half circled by the tidal stream. Tom turned off the Volkswagen's motor and they could hear mockingbirds and cardinals singing. He realized what a precious place it was; more precious than he had known on visits years before.

It took a minute or two at the door before Uncle Henry and Aunt Sally answered, and then when they came it seemed they were no older, though the last time Tom had seen his father's brother and his wife had been on a short vacation trip to Virginia Beach more than five years before.

Now Tom's wife Mary (she was a Cleveland girl) and their three children got out of the car, and everyone shook hands and kissed and came into the house. They were late and everyone was hungry, so Aunt Sally, that famous cook, put lunch on the table right away: a Smithfield ham, vegetables and a salad, home-made pickles, and hot rolls and jam. They fell to and presently Tom decided that Paul, seven, was going to name Sally his favorite aunt if she kept urging more rolls, a favorite food, on him.

It wasn't long before Uncle Henry remarked to Tom, who had just said how good it was to be at Greenacres again, "You know we haven't more than a month to live here, Tom; the highway department is taking our house for a freeway."

Tom thought, Isn't that why you invited us down? You've been living in this house in the woods by Norfolk ever since I was born, never well to do but always hospitable to all of us, and now the bulldozers are coming and you in your age have got to watch the woods get ground to pulp and dust. You'll never be able to show us such hospitality again, he thought, almost angry at his uncle.

Tom's dead father and his Uncle Henry had been two of ten children of a Gloucester County farmer who sold his farm and moved to Norfolk in 1910. Henry stayed in Norfolk when he grew up, working for a hardware company and buying this house in the woods after he married in 1926, when it still lay miles from the city. And here he had remained, while his brother, Tom's father, had gone rambling and ended up as an executive in Minneapolis. Now Tom, in the Foreign Service, was rambling around the world.

Tom thought of the spring so long ago when he had first seen Greenacres. He was five years old and his parents took him to Norfolk on a trip, by Pullman through the Appalachians in the moonlight and Tom looked out and saw, dimly and for the first time, the American mountains. At Greenacres his aunt took him fishing in the creek and he carved his initials in the big beech tree along the driveway. Henry and Sally always encouraged relatives to do that, and now when Tom left the people at the house and walked down the driveway after lunch he found thirty or forty sets of initials on the tree, including his and Mary's from their honeymoon visit; but his boyhood T.J.S. had thickened and become unreadable. Next to the beech tree was a little red-painted stake that showed the edge of future pavement. All the woods were coming down.

Paul wanted his father to play catch, and they did, while his little daughters Sarah and Ann swung on a swing that hung from a high limb of a tree in the yard. The two girls had a funny private game going; they were singing "I am the queen of the United States of America." It was maybe a little cold for March in Norfolk, but the sun was shining and after playing catch Paul got his father to play croquet while Uncle Henry watched them and in his flat Tidewater accent told Tom the latest doings of the Williamsburg Society. Henry was very proud of his family's past and of his State's. Everyone recognized him as the family historian. Tom himself liked to think how many generations of Stubblefields must have lived and died in Gloucester, but he thought he knew the limits of family-tree work a little better than his uncle did. For the courthouse records had burned up fifty years ago, and nobody really knew where Stubblefields first came from, or when.

Mary and Aunt Sally came out of the house after doing the dishes, full of bird-watchers' talk. Sally and Henry had

been putting out feed for the birds for years, outside the kitchen window on the lawn, and Sally talked of the faithful mockingbirds and cardinals, red-winged blackbirds and jays and nuthatches, mourning doves and even quail. Tom thought of walking into the woods, to search for a little glade where at five years old he had first in his life found himself surrounded by and almost lost in green woods. But the trees were bare now. And he was too big to get lost in a ten-acre wood.

Two cousins arrived from Gloucester to say hello. They all went inside, but Paul pestered his father to come back out and play croquet and finally Tom, irritated, told him sharply to shut up. His children weren't so badly behaved, but Tom always thought of his Virginia relatives as the most polite people in the world, and he didn't want them thinking the kids were rude. But he could see Mary was irritated at him for talking to little Paul that way. Tom gave her a look that meant "I'll be quiet" and settled in his chair.

Henry Stubblefield had never been a great conversationalist, but he liked to talk. Now he was telling Tom and Mary and the Gloucester cousins about some prints of Colonial governors that he was arranging to be presented to the Colonial Williamsburg Corporation. (Or was it the State Historical Society?) And now he was talking about a forgotten little graveyard just discovered in the woods in Gloucester. Everyone listened with interested looks—people are proud their family or their State has a history—but Tom knew they all thought Uncle Henry a bit of a bore. Henry asked after his older sister with a broken hip up in Gloucester, and the cousins (the sister's children) told him she was doing right well. Tom, bemused, thought of the fine vibrant woman that aunt had used to be—and looked at his Uncle Henry and saw in him all aging Stubblefields—and his uncle was saying that soon the woods were coming down and they would be moving to Virginia Beach. Tom thought, Green America is being hacked to pieces. Aunt Sally had lit a fire in the fireplace although it wasn't really that cold, and suddenly the room was stuffy. Tom called Paul and went abruptly outside and they walked into the woods. Paul asked where they were going but his father just said "Come on" and walked into the pines and beeches looking for the green place that persisted in his memory after thirty years. But he didn't find it. They went back toward the house, Tom thinking, this son of mine will never know how secret these woods felt then. But he'll know woods; we'll save this green country yet. Or will the world burn down? They played a little more croquet.

That afternoon and evening a succession of relatives came calling, alerted earlier by Uncle Henry that Tom and his family would be there on a rare visit after their years of the diplomatic life abroad. Tom felt a little sorry for his children, having all this family sprung on them. He could remember his own childhood and old kinfolk asking him to remember their names that he had barely ever heard before. And still Uncle Henry talked about old books, old churches, old Stubblefields.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the children in bed and the visitors all gone, Uncle Henry seemed to realize that Tom was making an effort to keep listening.

"Tom," he said in his soft voice, "Did you know you can send fifty cents to a New York paper and get a facsimile of any front page since January the first of 1900?"

Tom hadn't known.

"Your aunt sent away and got the first page from the day I was born—April 3, 1900. The Boer War was going on then . . . I reckon that's why I'm such a bore."

Tom hastened to protest, but Uncle Henry smiled and shook his head gently. Tom realized that this man knew himself pretty well; knew he was always to be a minor figure and had probably known it from youth; knew good manners, and how to live graciously even if the money was short; believed in family honor—and that, most of all, was what had defended him in life. But Lord, Tom thought to himself, how can he bear to let this pretty place get torn to pieces after living here more than forty years? How can he put up with all this cement and traffic and Mobile Homes? If it was me I'd want to dynamite the bulldozers.

Henry seemed to know what Tom was thinking. "I do believe the best place for us to move from here will be out to the Beach, Tom. Of course we'll miss these woods and our birds, but there's the sea to rest our eyes upon. And they say once you live by the sea you'll never want to move again. You know your great-grandfather Thomas Tabb was a sea captain; back in 1957 the Historical Society printed his diary in the Annals, I believe it was in the spring issue, and . . ."

Soon Tom and Mary went to bed, in a room with dead relatives' pictures on the walls, and Tom thought of a white ocean beach just before he slept.

Sunday morning the children woke early in the big bed all three were sharing in the next room (Henry and Sally had slept in the attic room for their guests' sake) and soon Sally came down to start breakfast and Mary got up to help her. Tom lay still in bed, half aware of the world, and listened to the two women talk of feeding birds. Sally must have put some feed out, and the children came running to see the birds through the kitchen window and Tom, more awake now, listened until he heard Mary say "Quail!" and he jumped out of bed to see a covey of a dozen quail, too wild and cautious to come near, eating corn where the lawn edged the woods. It made him think of some old movie, the Indians flitting through the woods at the edge of the settlers' clearing, unsure of settlers' power.

After a big breakfast they all drove out to Virginia Beach for a look at Uncle Henry's and Aunt Sally's new apartment. Tom suspected that his uncle, a vestryman at his Episcopal church, was sorely missing morning service but when he asked him he denied it. More Virginia politeness. Anyway, it was a glorious morning; not a cloud was in the sky and by the time they reached the Beach the temperature was up near sixty. The apartment was quite nice, on the second floor of a house with big windows looking out to the sea across a hundred and fifty yards of sand covered with the coarse grass they call sea oats. Little Ann was surprised with the sea; she had thought it took three whole days to get to the sea from Washington. Then the children wanted to go down to the water. So they all went out and walked down through the sea oats to the beach. The tide was at very low ebb and the sand by the water was brown and hard, good for walking, and they walked a mile or more along the edge of the restoring ocean that lapped at their feet. A fresh breeze blew, and the sun climbed high in the sky far from the people in a small sad world. ■

Typical scene at a station on the Trans-Siberia Railroad.

Russia on our minds

PART II—Our travelers complete their journey, ending at Khabarovsk, at the meeting of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

FREDINAND and DELIA KUHN

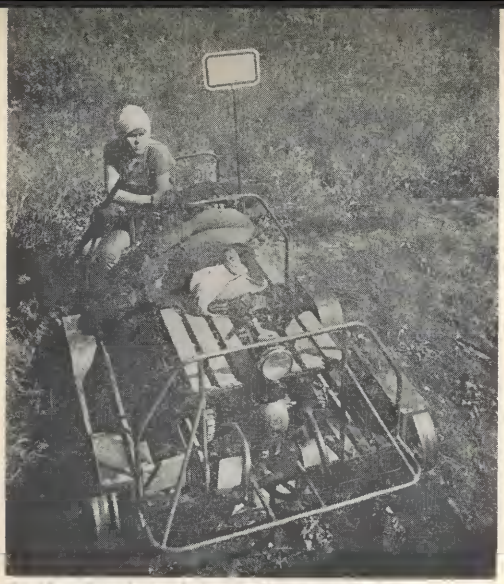
Both authors of "Russia on our Minds" worked for the Department of State, Mrs. Kuhn for five years in the Office of Public Affairs and the Technical Assistance (Point Four) program, Mr. Kuhn as head of the International Information Service of the Department.

ON the third morning, the entire landscape changed. The narrow valleys opened into a flat plain, and for the rest of the day we crossed a wide, treeless steppe that might have been the Texas Panhandle. The wheat had been harvested, and there was little for cattle to eat or for tractors to do. The towns along this part of the route showed more sophistication, and probably higher standards of living, than the log villages we had passed the day before.

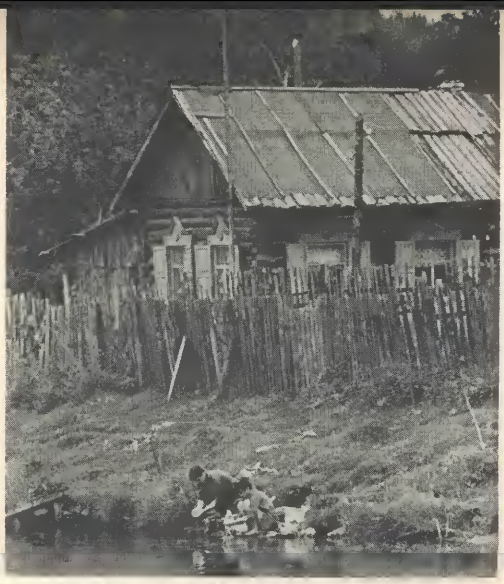
Our last evening aboard the Rossiya blossomed into a kind of gala, such as cruise ships and ocean liners stage on the final evening. The Rossiya's had the advantage of being spontaneous and basic: no paper caps, no balloons, no artificial noisemakers, only beer, the socialist equivalent. The scene of the gala was the dining car, the only place where "hard" and "soft" passengers could gather in numbers. By nine o'clock the comradely spirit, the joking and moving among tables, had reached a plateau of noise. Even the waitresses joined in. The Party Woman either knew enough to stay away, or had business elsewhere. We suspected the latter.

Among our "hard" acquaintances who showed up were two Australian youths who had been to a university in England and were homeward bound the cheapest way. The long voyage had been rough on their English tweeds, which would be ready for the Salvation Army when they reached home. They had been sharing a compartment with Russians. In the Soviet Union the word "student" opens doors, and of this the two young men were not unaware. They had been around the country, and Russians of their generation had gravitated toward them. Here on the Rossiya they had held a nightly seminar in their compartment. As usual, they found themselves answering questions. Where did they come from? What did their fathers do for a living? Their mothers? Why didn't their mothers work? Did the family have a car? What! Two cars? What did cars cost in Australia? What did their fathers earn? How much living space was the family allowed? And so on, far into the night. Before the seminars ended, the Siberian sun was near the horizon and eighteen Russians had learned about bourgeois life down under. The last question, the Australians told us, nobody could answer. It was, "How can one get to Australia?"

The roadbed that night made sleep impossible. The jump seats in the corridor tempted us more than our jiggling bunks, especially since a full moon was shining on a black and silver landscape. Now the train began crossing what is still called the Jewish Autonomous Region of



A railroad worker with her handcar on a siding as the Trans-Siberian passes.



Village scene along the Trans-Siberian.

Birobidjan, a curiosity in the history of Russia and of the Jews alike. In the Soviet Union Jews are regarded as a nationality. In Irkutsk, for example, we asked a teacher whose parents had come from the Ukraine: "Are you a Ukrainian, then?" "No," he said, "I'm a Jew." His identity card labels him as such and he is admitted to universities under a quota, as are students of other non-Russian nationalities. But unlike Ukrainians, Armenians, and other major minorities, the Jews have no geographical home; they are scattered all over the Soviet Union, mostly in European Russia and the Ukraine.

In 1934 Stalin had two purposes in his policy toward the Jews. One was to rid European Russia of as many as possible by deportation, without creating an international scandal. His own daughter says he was anti-Semitic, probably because of his long feud with Trotsky, a Jew. The other purpose was to plant more people in the thinly settled country along the China frontier. To entice the Jews he created Birobidjan as a Jewish "region," and pretended that he had thereby given them status equal to that of other non-Russians. This equality was a fraud. Birobidjan was neither a separate republic nor a compact home. It was almost as remote as any place could be from the centers of Jewish population and culture. It is a cold and wind-swept region, with a severe six-month winter and a correspondingly short growing season.

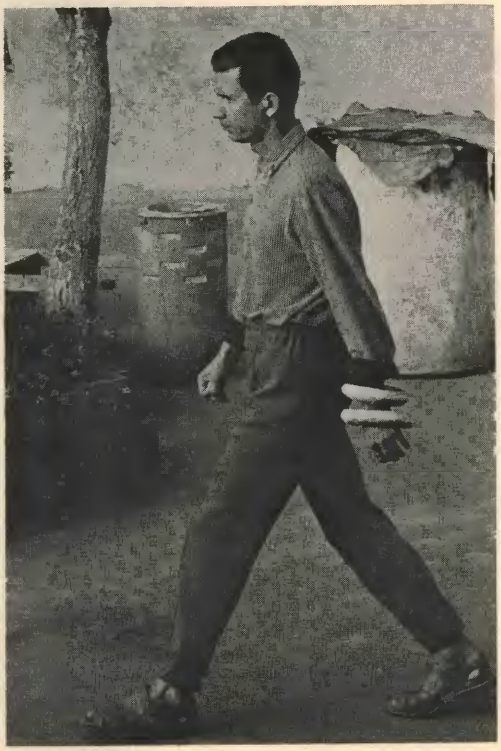
Yet as we watched it from our train window in the moonlight, it seemed to us that Stalin could have chosen even worse places than this for the Jews. We had seen worse ones along our route, and in Central Asia. The

Another mode of transportation from the windows of the Trans-Siberian.

train stopped only a couple of minutes at the city of Birobidjan, at two o'clock on a clear, cold morning. We had neither time nor permission to get off. We did notice though, that this was one of the few stations without its bust of Lenin on the platform; that the factory buildings, houses, and apartments looked solidly built; that the town, or what we could see of it, was a modern place, well lighted and well kept. Only 18,000 Jews still live and work there out of about 40,000 assorted people in the city. Those who remain have the advantage of a small metropolis, Khabarovsk, only three hours away. The rest, presumably, were permitted to move back westward after Stalin died.

On our fourth morning, the train rolled slowly across the broad Amur River into the Station at Khabarovsk. It came to a stop two minutes early—after a run of 5,298 miles from Moscow. It still had 488 miles to go to reach the end of the line at Vladivostok. But for all foreigners aboard, and for Russians taking the once-a-week ship to Yokohama, Khabarovsk was the place to change trains. Foreigners are not permitted in Vladivostok, the Soviet naval base on the Sea of Japan. Civilian traffic now uses the new port of Nakhodka, about fifty miles to the east of Vladivostok, and passengers must travel there from Khabarovsk on a boat train, like those that connect the cross-Channel ships in France and England. For us, the change was a stroke of luck, for it gave us an eleven-hour day in which to bathe, after three bathless days and nights on the train, and to wander around this industrial center of the Soviet Far East.

Traveler dressed for the occasion with bread on his arm.



At Khabarovsk we saw the last of the neighbors to one side of us, the Russian army officers and their little boy. We wondered about the boy and what memories he would store away of his Trans-Siberian journey. In another fifty years, when he is close to sixty, will transcontinental passenger trains be as nearly obsolete as they are in the United States? Fifty years ago the greatest thing that could happen to an American child was to ride the Overland Limited to California. We grew up in those days before the highways and the airways had become the racetracks of travel. It took the Overland Limited four days and nights from Chicago to cross the Mississippi, the Great Plains, the passes of the Rockies. In winter, snowdrifts sometimes blocked the passes and the Overland would stop dead for twenty-four hours until the plows could reach it and open the way. Then the dining car might run out of fresh milk. But prudent parents would have brought cans of malted milk for such an emergency. They would send the children out for snow to melt, so that the powdered milk could be dissolved. As the train sped along at a dizzying sixty miles an hour, a child could stand on the rear platform of the observation car and watch the tracks rush away. No matter if his eyes filled with cinders. Sometimes there was a moment of suspense when the train made an unscheduled stop in the prairie, to remove a cow from the catcher on the front of the engine. At breakfast the dining car steward might lean over to whisper, "Would you care for some quail we took aboard this morning in Nebraska?" Or, "I expect to have some fresh mountain trout this evening in Utah."

The Trans-Siberian, like the Overland Limited, had an elegant past. In the days of Czar Nicholas II, privileged passengers slept on soft beds, bathed in marble tubs, and dined on reindeer meat. The Rossiya of today is in tune with the Soviet economy of today. It is basic, serving most needs but few comforts. In one respect, it sets an example the rest of the economy cannot match. It fulfills its plan —or timetable—precisely. Trains do occasionally collide, tracks do buckle, bridges do collapse in the melting of the permafrost, but one hears nothing about this. Such accidents were common in the years after the Revolution, when chaos and civil war gripped Siberia. Today the rolling stock looks sturdy, there are no bandits along the line, and the only antisocialist force still to be reckoned with is Siberian weather.

In one respect, this railroad has not changed since it was built. It is still unique as the lifeline of small, isolated hamlets scattered across continental Russia. Jet planes, to be sure, now link the cities, but without the railroad the thin ribbon of human settlement that parallels the tracks would wither and die. Men may work the land on either side, but they live along the tracks.

The railroad has one companion that is relatively new. This is the parade of electric power pylons on the horizon. They tell better than propaganda that settlements have been electrified, that factories run on power, that even the farmer's hut may now have an electric light bulb. But one looks in vain for other signs of change in the Siberian farm village. It is still a collection of one-room wooden huts, each with its outdoor privy. When the unpaved streets are not frozen, they are rivers of mud. The farm

women pump their water from the village well and carry it home in buckets. The Rossiya herself is here on coal and steam. But the pylons march across the sky, promising better things. Khabarovsk, which has two lifelines, the Amur as well as the railroad, is one evidence of the promise.

One does a double take in walking the windy streets of Khabarovsk. This is a Russian city. Everyone looks Russian, talks Russian, acts Russian; there is not an Asian face in sight. The crowds on the streets, on the buses, and in the shops are so overwhelmingly Slavic that one could forget where Khabarovsk is. Only when one remembers that Moscow sits more than five thousand miles to the west, at the far end of a thin thread of track, that China is only thirty-five miles to the south, and that the salt water of the Sea of Japan laps the shore two hundred miles to the east—only then does the drive and scope of Russian expansion take on meaning.

It was the Amur River that put the city here, and it was the river that made us glad we had come to Khabarovsk. Leaning against a northwest wind that cut us to our bones, we pushed down the main street, named of course for Karl Marx. There at the end lay the Amur far below us. It is roughly the same length, 2,700 miles, as those other giants, the Mississippi and the Mekong. At this moment, the end of the dry season, its thundering waters were reduced to about the volume of the Seine in Paris. But the dry riverbed looked to us at least two miles wide, and one could imagine those early summer floods, when the water level can rise as much as thirty feet in no time.

The Amur is one of Russia's great inland waterways, its one sin being that its mouth, four hundred miles northeast of Khabarovsk, is full of sand. This makes it useless for seagoing ships that need more than twelve feet of water, and thus all but useless for foreign trade. And it makes Khabarovsk a domestic supplier of the Russian Far East. For that purpose the city was founded in 1858 at the strategic meeting place of the Amur and Ussuri rivers. It was the year in which the Russian took title to the Amur territory and then ratified the act in a treaty with China, a treaty which the Chinese still lament and repudiate.

For its first thirty-five years Khabarovsk was just a little frontier town. Then came the railroad to link it with the Sea of Japan, and, finally, with Moscow. Today the Soviets, with characteristic enthusiasm, call Khabarovsk a "giant." Considering where and what it is, we cannot argue. In 1968, if Soviet figures are correct, some 423,000 people were living and working there. Among the enterprises that keep them busy are a cable and wire works, an oil refinery at the end of a pipeline from Sakhalin Island, a steel mill, and a sprawl of smaller state factories. The city is still in the making and it keeps a raw, half-finished look. The Amur is its playground as well as its reason for being. The steep shore has been made into a people's park, and a sports stadium named for Lenin stands nearby.

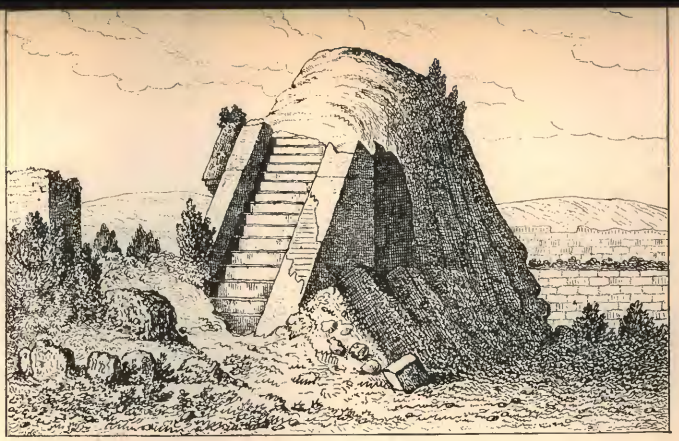
Congealed by the northwest wind (and it was only the month of October) we let it blow us down the main street and away from the river. We mingled with Russians hurrying home at the end of the working day, tough and ruddy-faced men and women. What had brought them to this raw and wind-swept town? Could any of them have been descendants of the original explorers, the Cossacks of 300 years ago? Where they children, perhaps, of exiles or of prisoners? Had their families been deported to the East in Stalin's day? Or were some of them the advance guard of a new and dedicated Siberian Man? If they had come of their own accord, it was hard for either of us to imagine what had drawn them and why they stayed. ■

Rounding a bend at Lake Baikal.

Ten were appointed, four made it to post, one served a full tour. The years 1824-42 were rough on diplomats.

Perils of Appointment in

CENTRAL AMERICA



View of the Place of Sacrifice in Ruins at Santa Cruz Del Quiche

K. C. TESSENDORF

Mr. Tessendorf, the JOURNAL*'s frequent contributor of historical vignettes, served as a diplomatic courier in the '50s and is now a freelance writer. The drawings are from John L. Stephens book, "Incidents of Travel in Central America."*

TEN doughty diplomats; then there were nine . . . and then there were none. Our attempts at a diplomatic presence in Guatemala City during the years (1824-42) when the Central American Confederation, or the myth of it, was in power do have a dolorous affinity with the old rhyme. Though the Department ordered ten men out to Guatemala, only four arrived at the post; and just one served a full tour, if ineffectually.

Getting there was more than half the problem. Man's best friend was his mule on the terrible trek from the fevered coast across the mountains to the populated highlands. Nervous Dr. Lavagnino passed that way in 1824 and noted:

> The road we traversed . . . was horribly bad, and we often sank deep into the mud. In the rainy season the mules often perish in lakes of mud. Sometimes the traveller passes on the verge of precipices, where it is necessary to shut his eyes not to be terrified by beholding danger in its most frightful aspect. . . . If his attention be diverted from his perils and difficulties, he hears the roarings of lions and tigers, and a confused sound arising from the howlings of animals, and the singing of birds, the beautiful and lively colours of whose plumage, seems to be brought into view in some sort to qualify the scenc of horror and fright around.

What lay beyond the yowlings of the animals? The geographical "entity" called Central America slipped into independence by default. The Spaniards were too busy trying to save more valuable properties to pay any attention. Mexico soon attempted to move into the vacuum, but the district of San Salvador resisted; they sent envoys to Washington to offer their country to the United States. Mexico fell into revolution, and local patriots formed the Central American Confederation, constitutionally patterned after the United States. But the outlook was critical: atrocious communications supported an attitude of national conciousness bounded by the visible horizons. Indeed, "Central America had made a sovereign state of every village."

SECRETARY John Quincy Adams was flattered by the overtures of the Salvadoreans, though in no mood to gratify them. He sensed vaguely the commercial presence of Great Britain in the region, and wished to neutralize, or at least monitor it on the scene. So he determined in the spring of 1824, to send forth an envoy. His charge to appointee Thomas N. Mann was standard for the next twenty years:

> The first and constant object of your attention, then, will be to obtain and to communicate to this Department, by every opportunity of conveyance that may occur, information, as well respecting the physical condition of the country, as the moral and political condition of its inhabitants . . . the geographical boundaries of the Republic; its standing with . . . neighboring countries . . . present state of its government, its prospects . . . the state of its relations with European powers . . . You will especially observe the country with reference to its fu-

UXMAL, House of the Dwarf and House of the Nuns from Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan by John L. Stephens.

ture capabilities of a commerce mutually advantageous with the United States. . .

What little is extant on Mr. Mann indicates an ambitious attitude; as well as a critical one concerning the scarcity of information at State. He boarded at Norfolk the naval vessel which was to ferry him southward; and died of a seizure before it sailed.

NEARLY a year later William Miller, a former Governor of North Carolina, was readied as chargé d'affaires by Secretary Henry Clay. He boarded the *USS Decoy* at Norfolk and died aboard this vessel at Key West of yellow fever. Next up was John Williams; a younger man, a stolid army veteran. In April 1826 he had reached Havana, and wrote drily:

> Mr. McIntosh who sailed as my private secretary has become so terrified at the description of the road from Omea to Guatemala that I have consented to his return. He supplied many reasons in favour of his return, any of which was sufficient with me—the most cogent one was that he had received his education in Europe and that his politicks would not suit a republic.

Williams pressed on to Guatemala, bearing the simple primary artifacts of office: his commission, letter of introduction, the engraved design of the uniform to be worn at formal affairs, letter of credit, a cypher, book of commercial regulations of foreign countries, laws of the United States in six volumes, Niles Weekly Register in twenty-six and Waite's State Papers in twelve, and two reams of despatch paper.

He was able to ratify a trade treaty preferential to US interests. A prudent and practical man, Williams departed after a bare six months, predicting "There are restless spirits ready to seize on the discontent of the army to put others out" and tartly adding "I shall not wish to return to Guatemala."

A new chargé was appointed in March 1827, but he proved to be an artful dodger. William B. Rochester of Rochester, N.Y. had, according to the delightful account of historian J. B. Lockey, already "served" and drawn salary as delegate to a Panama conference without attending. After a year of canny delays, highlighted by successful forays for monetary advances, he finally went forth, coasting Central America ingesting and reporting all available gossip; then returning, having concluded the way was unsafe and the government in revolution.

Palace at Palenque

State took him at his word, and it was 1831 before another embryo chargé was despatched. William N. Jeffers was anxiously awaiting a naval vessel at Pensacola when State recalled him: ". . .that you have been indicted for forgery in the court of common pleas for the county of Hamilton, Ohio in the term of 1810, and that you had forfeited the recognizance which you gave on that occasion. . ." Written in the boldest script across Jeffers's letter of resignation is the notation—"Accepted, Andrew Jackson."

NOW it was the turn of James Shannon of Kentucky, whose bright and positive attitude briefly illumines these gloomy annals. He took his wife and niece with him, reporting upon arrival on the pestilential coast at Omea: "The *USS Vincennes* is a beautiful specimen of naval achitecture, sails well, and is kept in fine order." Within the week, at the inland port of Izabal:

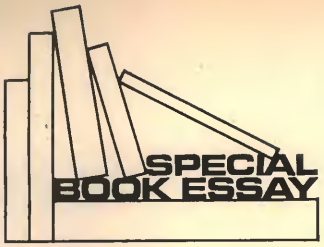
> The niece, a young and blooming girl full of health, was attacked by the fever peculiar to the country, and in forty-eight hours after was a lifeless corpse. The suddenness of this catastrophe produced such an effect on Mr. Shannon, as to disturb his mental facilities. He became delirious, was seized with the fever, and, in like manner, fell victim two days after he was attacked.

IN early 1833, with customary élan, the Department addressed Charles G. DeWitt; "the position of chargé now being vacant. . ." DeWitt was an ex-congressman, and mildly eccentric editor. His correspondence is peppered with memorable thrusts and parries.

"I am extremely anxious to depart . . . in plain Republican style" he wrote in February, and then became dilatory. In April, neatly encompassing an era in a phrase, he announced: "There is a peculiar difficulty in reaching the capital of Central America from the United States." He proposed passage round Cape Horn. Filtering Jackson's wrath, the Department replied that when he reached Valparaiso, he would be twice as far from Guatemala as he was in New York.

This "enemy to procrastination" was then laid low by a "bilious fever." Prodded in summer to depart, he figuratively rolled eyes and clasped hands in adjuring: "In the name of Humanity, do not hurry me off before I am fit to go!" This cowed his tormentors for a season, but a fall deadline was fixed. In October our "envoy" sailed—"a passage of nineteen days, during which I suffered more than I will undertake to describe." His morale buoyed at Belize by a British 13-gun salute, he paused to implant

(*Continued on page* 57)



Placing the Responsibility

THE LOST CRUSADE, *by Chester L. Cooper. Dodd, Mead, $12.00.*

THIS is the best book so far on the origin of the war in Vietnam, its Washington background, how the decisions were made during the initial phases, and especially on how the United States tried to engage the North Vietnamese in negotiations.

It is not a book, on the other hand, that will give the reader a good understanding of the situation in Vietnam today or even of the actual negotiating problems; for "The Lost Crusade" ends for all practical purposes with the Tet offensive in 1968 and the sparring that preceded the bombing halt later that year.

The war itself has been better analyzed in Sir Robert Thompson's "No Exit from Vietnam," and the various abortive efforts to get negotiations started have been more entertainingly, though less authoritatively, covered in "The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam" by David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory.

What is outstanding about "The Lost Crusade" is that it tells in detail how certain fateful decisions came to be taken, or how we drifted into them, how certain snafus occurred, how certain apparent opportunities were missed, and who was responsible. This probably accounts for the acclaim from people who were personally involved, many of whom would have wished to see things done differently.

In short, Cooper's book is important for the insights it provides on one aspect of the decision-making process in the United States Government. Yet this is also the most questionable aspect of the book—questionable as regards its propriety, and questionable as regards balance. It is a book on tactics, not on strategy.

There is a great deal of succulent detail, for instance, on how President Johnson's personal interest in the bombing campaign against North Vietnam interfered with certain allegedly promising opportunities for the opening of negotiations. Yet Mr. Cooper is honest enough to ask himself whether Hanoi really would have entered into negotiations earlier if there had not been the missteps that he recounts in such detail; and his conclusion is:

"Probably not. Johnson's March [1968] offer with respect to a bombing cutback was actually not as favorable from Hanoi's point of view as the one made in the autumn of the previous year when the North Vietnamese were offered a complete bombing cessation in exchange for a commitment to start negotiations."

The whole question whether Hanoi would have been willing to sit down with us earlier may, however, be a false one. What matters is not whether North Vietnam was prepared to "negotiate" but whether it was, or is, prepared to conclude a compromise peace. Hanoi was surely always prepared to negotiate in the sense of accepting an unconditional American withdrawal.

It is poignant to see how often the Vietnam experts misjudged what the North Vietnamese would do. First President Johnson's partial bombing halt was judged insufficient to bring them to the table. Next it was judged that the Administration was putting itself in an untenable position when it refused to meet in Phnom Penh, and later in Warsaw. (Had not the President said he was willing to go "anywhere" to negotiate?) Yet the North Vietnamese agreed to meet in Paris. Later there was the question of the seating arrangements where Hanoi again compromised after it seemed impossible that they would do so.

Since Cooper no longer wrote them from first-hand experience, the last portions of his book are relatively sketchy and less well-informed. The failure of the South Vietnamese to go to Paris immediately after the bombing halt, for instance, is explained (or rather not explained) by one sentence: "Either the Administration had goofed, or the South Vietnamese Government had double-crossed the Administration."

Lacking from the concluding portions of the book is any conception of a possible common American and South Vietnamese interest in the outcome of the war. Cooper follows the practice that is usually found among less well-informed critics of the war, of inferring from the disunity on the anti-communist side that there is great strength on the procommunist side.

"A political settlement is not so much a means of extricating the US from the war . . . it is the very crux of what they have been fighting and bleeding over."

It is true that unity among the non-Communists in South Vietnam leaves much to be desired; but there is a considerable body of evidence that the strength of the South Vietnamese Communists has steadily declined during the last five years—the process was vastly accelerated after Tet 1968—until today they represent only a smal minority. Perhaps that is one reason why they refuse to discuss how honest, internationally supervised elections might be held in South Vietnam.

The rather bitter concluding chapters of "The Lost Crusade," on the other hand, represent the point of view that not Hanoi but the present government in Saigon is the principal obstacle to peace. The book ends with the strong suggestion that free elections would result in a Communist victory. Cooper would also, however, force the Communists into a coalition government even if elections show them to be only a minority.

Not surprisingly, after advocating such far-reaching concessions to the enemy, Cooper takes a very tough attitude when it comes to hammering out a negotiating strategy with our South Vietnamese allies: "While the American people may be ready to look with sympathy and forbearance on Administration efforts to negotiate the modalities of a free election with the NLF and the North Vietnamese, there is likely to be little patience or understanding if American negotiators have to engage in tough bargaining with our Vietnamese allies on this issue."

It is perhaps understandable that the South Vietnamese see this matter rather differently. To them a political settlement is not so much a means of extricating the US from the war, as it is the very crux of what they have been fighting and bleeding over. They have been taking proportionately twenty times the casualties that we have taken, and they think it not unreasonable that they should have the preponderant say when it comes to the allocation of power in their country. At any rate, the US will have less and less to say about a political settlement as we phase down our role in the war.

—M. F. H.

Two Views of "Alliance Politics"

ALLIANCE POLITICS, *by Richard Neustadt. Columbia University Press, $5.95.*

THERE are few successful practitioners in the foreign affairs community in Washington who don't know that United States "foreign policy" is the product of intra-governmental jockeying and bargaining. How surprising it is to discover, then, that these same policy-makers do not always realize that the foreign policy of other nations is made in the same sort of way!

In the same vein, officers of the US Air Force may find that it is advantageous to work with friendly air force officers of allied countries to push for an allied defense policy solution which favors an airborne weapons system. The mind does not even boggle at the thought of a cabal of agronomists or meteorologists who find it tactically useful to work with right-minded people in allied ministries.

In robbing "foreign policy" of a simplistic aura, and in recognizing the complexity of the processes which goes into its making, Dr. Richard E. Neustadt has made a significant initial contribution to thinking in this field in his new book "Alliance Politics."

With a brilliant and non-partisan analysis of two crises in the US-UK alliance, the Suez crisis of 1956 and the Skybolt affair of 1962, Professor Neustadt demonstrates convincingly that both situations were exacerbated quite considerably by a failure on the part of the principals involved fully to understand and to appreciate the fine inner workings of the other's political system. To overgeneralize in this review (which Professor Neustadt does not in his book) the Americans seemed to think of the Brits as "clever chaps" who would (in 1956) never betray a "friendship" and break the peace in the Middle East or (in 1962) could easily understand the failure of Skybolt to pass the "cost-effectiveness" test of McNamara's Defense Department.

A question raised by this important book is how can we learn to untangle the political decision-making processes in, say, Bonn, Bangkok, or Saigon if we have had such trouble in the past in such a familiar *ambience* as London? A fresh approach, a more modern State Department (hopefully the direction the Task Forces under Mr. Macomber are taking), much more academic area and language training for Foreign Service officers, better communications, more attention paid by top Washington officials to Embassy reporting, and more guidance from on top as to what most needs reporting on, are some of his suggestions.

In sum, the book is at once a challenge to the top political leadership in Washington to improve on past actions based on faulty knowledge, and an even more direct challenge to professionals in the foreign affairs field to train themselves more fully to supply their principals with the right information at the right time.

Dr. Neustadt is Professor of Government and Associate Dean in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. He teaches political analysis, and is Director of the JFK School's Institute of Politics. He is the author of "Presidential Power," already a classic in the field of political science.

—CLINT E. SMITH

NEUSTADT has produced a book of fundamental importance to every Foreign Service officer reporting on, or dealing with foreign governments. Though ostensibly an examination of Anglo-American relations in the 1956 Suez crisis and the 1962 Skybolt debacle, it deals with the crucial general problem of misperception between allies.

The author's principal thesis is that neither British nor American politicians/diplomats *really* understand the internal workings of each other's systems, and misperceptions and wishful thinking that occur are the result of each set of officials seeing the other person's problems in terms of it's own perspectives. As Neustadt puts it:

> The villain of the piece is blurry vision by the light of hope. . . . These men made few mistakes when they took note of what the other side was *doing*. . . . Comprehension of what lay behind the behavior was the problem. There they made innumerable mistakes.
>
> They did so because they repeatedly projected onto the other side two things stamped "made at home": an outcome which would suit their own convenience, and a series of alleged constraints sufficient to induce it.

Neustadt raises a key question in his final chapter: "whether we can expect that men in such machines should have been able to do better." The thrust of his argument, which deserves reading *in toto*, is that effective policy depends on simplicity—not asking governments to produce more than their political systems can deliver. The more complex the question, then, the more room for perceptual error and procedural foul up. Governments can not do this alone. Neustadt pleads for expanded university concentration on the real dynamics of external political systems. He contends the money and talent are there, but:

> none of this is practicable without unremitting interest from the top of our machine, an interest manifested in continuous concern and maintained through the life of more than one Administration. This is the problem. Not for twenty years has a Secretary of State consistently concerned himself with the administration of the Foreign Service or with its aims and measures for professional training.

He makes similar remarks about the Defense Department, too; his concern is for leadership in the broadest, most perceptive sense.

This book goes beyond its announced subject, giving closely reasoned expansion from specific to the general. To say it's about Anglo-American politics is like saying "Macbeth" is about a bitchy woman. Neustadt telegraphs this in his final paragraph when he refers to the meeting he was to have had with President Kennedy after the latter's return from Dallas:

> One of the things I toyed with lay outside of my assignment, to say nothing of my field of observation: I considered asking whether, in the light of our machine's performance on a British problem, he conceived that it could cope with South Vietnam's. Had I seen him I might well have lacked the time to ask, or the presumptuousness. But it was a good question, better than I knew. It haunts me still.

It probably haunts us all. At least it should.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Powerful

POWER, *by Adolf A. Berle, Harcourt, Brace and World, $10.00.*

ADOLF BERLE'S latest book, "Power," aims to analyze power objective-

ly, as a fact of life and not as a term with pejorative implications. Early in the book he writes "Power is an essential ingredient in every level of human organization."

The essence of "Power" is Berle's list of its five laws: it 1) fills any vacuum in human organization, 2) is invariably personal, 3) is always based on a system of ideas, 4) is exercised through and depends on institutions, and 5) meets and operates with a field of responsibility. The best part of the book is the section in which the author explains these five laws with appropriate examples; from there the quality drops off.

In going on to analyze power in all its myriad forms and applications, the author spreads himself too thin. He ends up with a catalogue of examples presented with largely superficial analysis and without sufficient penetration to reach significant conclusions. This is a book to browse through for tidbits of insight into this very timely subject, but you won't find it a major contribution to the world's literature on political science or economics.

—A.M.B.

Crises in Diplomatic History

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION, *by Robert H. Ferrell. Norton, $2.25.*

THRESHOLDS TO AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM, *by Paolo E. Coletta. Exposition University, $8.00.*

ALTHOUGH the two major wars of this century have been waged under Democratic Presidents, the Republicans have had to contend with their share of calamity and war. These two books throw light on some of these crises in American diplomatic history which had an important and lasting impact on our relations with the outside world.

Paolo Coletta, professor at the United States Naval Academy, has edited a series of essays on the foreign policies of William McKinley. Of principal interest to the reader will be the analyses of the Spanish American War and the Boxer Rebellion in the era of incipient American imperialism. Our role as an Asian power in effect dates from this period and these essays provide an interesting appraisal of some of the threads which are still woven into our policy today.

The period of the Hoover-Stimson foreign policy is closer to our own day and in some ways is parallel to it. It differed sharply both from the McKinley era and the present in that American diplomats of the early thirties seemed to believe that the world had been made safe for democracy. Yet the natural complacency of the post-Coolidge era was overwhelmed in the crisis of the Great Depression. An event of profound internal and international significance subsumed virtually every other issue, obscured the vision of those making policy, and led to an obsessive concern with financial and monetary problems. The situation is in many ways the reverse of that prevailing today in that under the Hoover Administration one overwhelming internal issue affected virtually everything the US government did in its external relations.

Of the two books that by professor Ferrell is much the more stimulating. It is a paperback edition of a 1957 work which remains the basic study on the diplomacy of the Hoover Administration. Professor Coletta's collection of essays is uneven in quality, but contains several which merit the attention of readers interested in the origins of American imperialism.

—ANTHONY C. E. QUAINTON

Understanding the Middle East

ISLAM: A WAY OF LIFE, *by Philip K. Hitti. University of Minnesota Press, $6.50.*

IN this age in which religion has lost so much "relevance" (to use the hackneyed expression) as to have been declared dead, one tends to overlook the central role religion has always played in creating the basic values of a society. This is true of Americans, who, whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew are inheritors for better or worse of a Protestant cultural heritage from the Puritan Fathers. It is infinitely more true of Muslims, particularly Arabs. For them, Islam is more than a religion; it is an all embracing way of life, encompassing theology, law, statecraft, literature, art and the sciences. To understand much of the seeming contradictions of Middle Eastern politics, therefore, it is necessary to have some feel for the Islamic heritage of its people. In his latest book, "Islam: A Way of Life," Professor Hitti presents an excellent overview of the all embracing nature of Islam. Unfortunately, he does not thereupon fully relate Islam to the nature of modern Middle Eastern society.

Professor Hitti divides the book into sections on Islam the religion, Islam the state, and Islam the culture. By his own words, the content, based on lectures given at the University of Minnesota in 1967 but considerably expanded with material from Hitti's earlier works, makes no claim to originality. The book is in the historical style familiar to anyone who has read Hitti's earlier works. Predictably, he is at his best when discussing the earlier historical developments of Islam. The concluding chapter, "Confrontation with Modernity," however, is disappointing. In what is potentially the most important chapter in the book, it is unfortunate that Hitti gives a rather superficial treatment to the impact of Islam on modern Middle Eastern society. Nevertheless, the book is very readable and well worth the time for any one seeking a better understanding of the Middle East.

—DAVID E. LONG

Asia, Once Over Lightly

ASIA AWAKES, *by Dick Wilson. Weybright & Talley, $10.00.*

DICK WILSON, financial editor of Singapore and Malaysia's English language daily STRAITS TIMES, has undertaken an ambitious project. His "Asia Awakes" is a broad-brush survey of the whole of Asia. His intellectual tapestry stretches from Pakistan to Japan, Mongolia to Borneo, an area of the globe containing half of mankind. This giant slice of the planet Earth with its myriad languages, civilizations and peoples does not lend itself easily to facile generalization. The "Asian analyst" will take issue with a number of points of debatable conjecture or factual inaccuracy, while American diplomats with long tenure in Asia will bridle at his statement that ". . . the Russians are delighting new Asian countries with their linguistic finesse and their respectful interest in local traditional culture, two areas of diplomacy in which Americans do not excel."

Journalist Wilson has, on the other hand, isolated a central truth. It took Europe four centuries to complete four essential revolutions: the establishment of strong central government, the attainment of internal order, the development of a sense of nationalism and the flowering of the principles of democracy. Most of Asia is trying to telescope these four revolutions into one.

"Asia Awakes" is a useful introduction to a more profound examination of each of the states of Asia. Journalist Wilson's fifteen years of experience in Asia have produced one noteworthy result. His sensitivity to Asian attitudes and problems creates the illusion that the author is an Asian.

—JAMES D. MCHALE

The Road to Lhasa

TIBET: A CHRONICLE OF EXPLORATION, *by John MacGregor. Praeger, $13.95.*

FOR six centuries Western explorers have been drawn to Tibet as if by magnet.

First came Catholic missionaries; last of all marched Britain's Francis Younghusband. In between came other priests and soldiers, merchants and secret agents. The story of their combined efforts to delve into the mystique of Tibet has now been brilliantly recorded in a single work by John MacGregor.

Handsomely illustrated and documented by eight maps and an extensive bibliography, the volume details all the major western excursions and incursions into Tibet since Friar Odoric wrote in 1327:

"In that city (Lhasa) dwelleth the *Abassi,* i.e., in their tongue, the Pope (Dalai Lama) who is the head of all idolaters."

MacGregor (a pseudonym for a State Department officer by the way) rightfully makes no attempt to document the current Chinese occupation of Tibet. Instead he applies to this situation the valedictory prayer of George Bogle, an erstwhile East Indian Company envoy to Tibet, who intoned:

"Farewell ye honest and simple people. May ye long enjoy the happiness which is denied to more polished nations, and while they are engaged in the endless pursuits of avarice and ambition, defended be your barren mountains, may ye continue to live in peace and contentment, and know no wants but those of nature."

—JAMES O. MAYS

The Security of China

THE SECURITY OF CHINA, *by Arthur Huck. Columbia University Press, $4.95 (Paper: $1.95).*

IN what he has modestly chosen to call an "essay," Professor Huck of the University of Melbourne has summarized the general conclusions of a multi-national group of authorities on China who, under the auspices of the Institute for Strategic Studies at London, discussed Chinese approaches to problems of war and strategy.

The authoritative nature of their conclusions is enhanced by the highly readable manner in which they are presented. There is no political-sociological jargon, nor involved, how-was-that-again sentence structure—just pellucid prose. This "essay" was deliberately written for the general rather than the specialist reader; both will read it with edification.

With regard to a widespread fear in the USA, USSR and elsewhere of "an irrational, nuclear-armed China which in some cases assumes nightmare proportions," the group concluded that such phantasmagoria were ill-conceived for, although China may, with luck, become the France of Asia, "she is not in the foreseeable future going to become a super-power whether rational or not." Not only that, depending on the reactions of the great nuclear powers, a nuclear-armed China may find herself with fewer military options than before.

In appraising the bellicose pronouncements that come out of Peking (and, for that matter, out of Taipei: "Counterattack the Mainland," and the like), the following observation seems helpful:

> Different political cultures have different types of ritual performances; . . . intelligent observers rapidly learn to distinguish ritual utterance from statements of specific policy; the two things are only remotely related. In highly ritualistic cultures like the Chinese it is more than ever important not to interpret ritualistic utterances as planning statements.

The "two-Chinas" solution, which has so long been touted in academic and other circles, is unlikely to be accepted by *any* Chinese regime:

> . . . any solution must at least give the appearance of unity restored and preclude any foreign interference . . . Taiwan could conceivably be given some sort of autonomous status as long as it was not the seat of a regime claiming to be the legitimate government of the whole country.

Noting that regionalism—"warlordism"—in Chinese politics might lead to a *de facto* fragmentation of China in the aftermath of a violent succession struggle after Mao's demise, the group felt it much more likely that a reorganized Communist Party would strive to preserve national unity at all costs and would agree on a program of normalization—all the while paying lip service to the revolutionary canons of Maoism. A nominally Maoist regime could, without much difficulty, improve China's relations with other countries; a more realistic assessment of her foreign-policy options might follow the Great

STATUARY RAPE *by Henry J. Paoli*

"I don't care—Clay, Frazier, Foster."

Leader's mounting the dragon.

For those who want the "big picture" in striking outline and balanced composition, this survey of China's security issues and attitudes is a real bargain at $1.95 in the paperback edition.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

The Thinking of the Left

EMPIRE AND REVOLUTION, *A Radical Interpretation of Contemporary History, by David Horowitz. Random House, $5.95.*

EMPIRE AND REVOLUTION is a "reinterpretation of the Marxist world view from the vantage of the new left." The period covered is 1917 to present times. Opening chapters deal with the theoretical Marxist basis of the Leninist revolution and the rise to power of the United States and the Soviet Union as the leading exponents of two opposing world systems. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, of which author David Horowitz was the Director of Research from 1963 to 1965, gave "material support" to the writing of this volume. Given the neo-Marxist premises of the author, who is currently a Senior Editor of RAMPARTS, his conclusions about Vietnam, the third world, Cuba, and the race problem in the United States are predictable. The book is worthwhile as an introduction to the thinking on current international problems of one well-known member of the American new left.

—W. L. SWING

Can the Silent Majority Solve the Problem?

NIXON AGONISTES, *by Garry Mills. Houghton Mifflin, $10.00.*

NIXON AGONISTES, by Garry Mills, is one of the best pieces of political reporting of the last few years and certainly the most literate. Taking the whole panorama of contemporary American life as a backdrop, with the leading political figures of the last twenty years as *dramatis personae*, the author uses the arduous ascent of Richard Nixon to the Presidency as the *leitmotif* of a stark and compelling appraisal of the contemporary political scene.

To Mr. Mills, the 1968 election, as personified by the President himself, represents the final change of rootless, mobile, middle-class America—the silent majority of the suburban supermarket—to solve the problems of the nation. Unless it succeeds, Mr. Mills regards the present political system as doomed—a victim of titanic demographic, economic and social forces beyond its control.

The book is filled with striking vignettes of the trials and tribulations of politics. The story of Mr. Nixon's struggle for success in the face of venomous opposition by the liberal Democrats (a residue of the Hiss affair) and chilly neglect on the part of President Eisenhower and the Republican Eastern Establishment, leaves the reader with a sense of admiration for his dogged determination and repeated willingness to endure reverses, rebuffs and humiliations in the pursuit of political office.

Mr. Mills is also the first journalist of impeccably liberal credentials to deflate the Kennedy myth and give President Eisenhower his due as both politician and statesman. We undervalue the extraordinary qualities of judgment, tact and political finesse that enabled General Eisenhower not only to lead a coalition of allied armies to victory, but to keep under rein such prima donnas as Montgomery, Patton and de Gaulle while still retaining their respect and affection. We forget that both as general and politician, Eisenhower was always a winner—a prudent and sagacious professional who never entered a fight without a painstaking assessment of the forces on each side and who managed the country's affairs with a minimum of bluster, pyrotechnics and rhetoric. Life in Washington may have been dull during the "faceless fifties," but there was no Bay of Pigs, no Vietnam, and no Dominican Republic. Both the Korean War and Joseph McCarthy were consigned to oblivion with economy and despatch, and when the marines went into Lebanon they were out four weeks later.

Mr. Mills is from Baltimore—the hometown of Mr. Mencken—and shares the latter's healthy skepticism about politicians of every persuasion. He reminds us that Adlai Stevenson had a far bigger "slush-fund" than Mr. Nixon at the time of the so-called Checkers confession; that the Kennedys invariably employed the most cynical methods of patronage, vote buying and political blackmail; that Nelson Rockefeller poured $5 million into his unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Republican nomination; and that New York City is no better off after four years of John Lindsay ("the stricken eagle") than it was before. These and other insights make the book well worth buying.

—CHARLES A. MAECHLING, JR.

Economic Dependence

DEVELOPMENT has more to do with people than with other resources, and people are creatures of history.

The authors of this volume remind us not only that the Latin American countries continue to have "colonial" economies but that Spain and Portugal, the mother countries, were themselves economic dependents of the more modernized states of Europe during the colonial period. And a principal cause of Iberian and Latin American dependence has been the dominant and deadening role of the State in economic affairs.

There is little indication that Latin Americans are yet ready to break away from their position of economic dependence, and one senses from the volume that only by breaking away from their statist heritage, and the oligopolist heritage that goes with it, by really plunging into the waters of economic freedom instead of dipping their toes into it and drawing back in fear as they so often have done, will they succeed in "modernizing" their countries.

—WILLARD L. BEAULAC

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE OF LATIN AMERICA, *Essays on Economic Dependence, by Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein. Oxford University Press, $5.00.*

Specialized Magazines: Their Story

MAGAZINES FOR MILLIONS, *by James L. C. Ford. Southern Illinois University Press, $11.75.*

THE American diplomat abroad frequently is asked by his contacts for the names of specialized American publications in the field of business, industry, labor, the professions, agriculture, religion, hobbies and recreation—or what-have-you.

Southern Illinois University's Professor James Ford has provided the answer—an up-to-date, highly readable story of America's 22,000 specialized publications.

Here is an attractively illustrated volume that not only meets the needs of the foreign service officer abroad, but also those everywhere with the yen for writing. It is also a practical presentation gift for media representatives abroad, and for schools of journalism.

Above all, this is the exciting story of a little known aspect of American journalism. William I. Nichols, publisher of THIS WEEK, puts it this way:

"The specialty magazines are booming. Whether you are a New Yorker, a pornographer, a skin diver or a raiser of Nubian goats—somewhere there is a specialty magazine made just for you."

—JAMES O. MAYS

Lady Bird Writes

A WHITE HOUSE DIARY, *by Lady Bird Johnson. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $10.95.*

THANKS to Lady Bird Johnson, we now have a detailed account of what it's like to be the wife of the President of the United States. Or perhaps we should say, wife of a certain President—Lyndon Baines Johnson. For certainly Mrs. Johnson's days in the White House were shaped by the tremendous pace, the increasing burdens, and the ever-present desire to assist her husband.

In "White House Diary" Mrs. Johnson gives an almost daily record of her five years at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, from the tragic day in Dallas in November 1963 to January 20, 1969, when she gratefully made her last round of the memory filled rooms.

The amazing detail of the book—she even gives us the names of the Head Start children who greeted her during a Newark, New Jersey visit—is due to the fact that every evening she assiduously "talked" her day into a tape recorder. From this collection of 1,750,000 words she selected some 250,000 for publication in this book. The result is the first published personal journal written by the wife of a President while in office.

The book describes in delightfully feminine terms the comings and goings of the thousands of White House guests; the never-ending planning for receptions and dinners; her many trips in behalf of beautification, the poverty program, and the encouragement of historical and cultural projects throughout the country. There are the happy times, like Luci's and Lynda's weddings, and the ominous events, like the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy. Through all her busy days one senses her constant concern for her husband's health and the desire to spend more time with her daughters. Although the Vietnam war takes up relatively few words, it hangs like a shadow over the pages, and the reader knows that it is the reason for the sense of relief when the day comes that she says goodbye and the family flies to the privacy of the Texas ranch.

—ALVADEE ADAMS

A Collective Conscience

CONGRESS AND CONSCIENCE, *edited by Congressman John B. Anderson. Lippincott, $4.95.*

MOST FSOs who resign after only a few years of service leave quietly and are never heard from again as they slip into niches in other organizations. John B. Anderson is not among them. Since he left the Foreign Service, he has completed 10 years of service as a Congressman of increasing influence on the Republican side of the aisle. "Congress and Conscience" is his effort to show that there are individual Congressmen who make a serious attempt to obtain guidance from Christian teachings when they make day-to-day decisions as legislators. The book consists of contributions from Senators McGovern and Goldwater and Congressmen Bennett, Quie and Wright, as well as Anderson's own essay. Some of the contributions appear to be largely boiler plate from old addresses on the communion breakfast circuit and do not measure up to the tone and quality of the editor's essay. The book does, however, get across the point that any large organization, whether it is the Congress, the Pentagon, the Foreign Service or General Motors, does not have a collective conscience as such but rather consists of individuals whose motivation and performance vary widely, depending upon the values involved. Senator McGovern's essay gives a good example of how a Christian conscience can be applied to a single problem, namely hunger. Congressman Anderson's essay is the best balanced one in the book and can be faulted only in its excessive attention, considering the space available, to defining "liberal" and "conservative" in different contexts. Each essay contains some useful insight into the issues which face legislators in particular and public servants in general.

—JOHN W. STEPHENS

A Thorough Guide

THE GOLDEN GUIDE TO HONG KONG AND MACAU. *Far Eastern Economic Review Ltd. $3.80.*

THIS is a remarkably informative guide to anyone intending to visit these two regions. Not only does it give the usual basic information like entrance requirements, customs formalities, currency, transportation, but it supplies the visitor with a detailed guide to the many shops; hotels, restaurants (including menus of the different regions of China and the written characters necessary for ordering each dish), and many other points of scenic and historical interest. There is a historical and geographical survey of the land and its people that manages to be both comprehensive and concise. A separate map is supplied in a special pocket at the back of the book.

—JANET MAECHLING

AMERICAN BUSINESS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

continued from page 36

THE part of AU in the BCIU program began 12 years ago when BCIU underwrote the cost of setting up and running academic but practical seminars, now two weeks long, for the heads of families going overseas for American business. Despite tuition fees, BCIU lost money on the operation.

BCIU still gives AU some financial support for the courses, and acts as an advisor. But virtually all of the fiscal responsibility now devolves on the university. AU's president George Williams accepted the responsibility for giving BCIU's courses because he believes that the presence of business people on the campus of the institution is healthy, just as is that of other segments of American society. But at the same time the question of money is a real one for AU as for most colleges and universities. The BCIU program will have to pay off, that is, the tuition income from companies for their employees has to be sufficient to meet operating expenses.

It now appears that the skies are reasonably bright for the financial side of the AU part of BCIU, but an overriding fact must be admitted: while many businesses support BCIU, the endorsement is not exactly universal. One of the reasons for this attitude is the distrust that many American businessmen have for organizations, despite the fact that many of them are creatures of business. Also, there lingers in the minds of some business executives an almost litmus-like (red) reaction to government in any form. As for business attitudes toward the Foreign Service, there is also in many instances a negative feeling. Here the Foreign Service must accept some of the responsibility for this attitude, for some ambassadors have been known to express their conviction that helping American business was not a part of their jobs.

THE AU Seminars in International Studies are well conceived. They are run by Samuel Burt, under the direction of Herbert Striner, dean of the College of Continuing Education. Mr. Burt has broad experience in the private and government sectors, and is the author of books on manpower development and training. He is trying to expand the scope of AU-BCIU program to a number of other universities, and he is also reaching out to persuade the embassies of foreign governments in Washington to send their newly arrived people to AU for an indoctrination on the United States.

Mrs. Virginia S. McHenry, the wife of a retired United States Information Agency officer, is deputy to Mr. Burt. She draws on wide foreign experience in her duties, which include a concentration on the distaff side of a family working and living overseas.

The first week of AU's seminar is planned to educate an American businessman and his wife for the lives they will lead when they arrive at a foreign post. AU describes this part of the program in these words: "The unique character of the United

States—its tradition, government, business and people—is compared with other nations around the world, and insights are developed into the attitudes, perceptions and stereotypes which Americans have of foreigners and foreigners of Americans."

These first week sessions include how to deal with a foreigner critical of the United States. In one of these sessions, a skilled amateur impersonates a critical foreigner, and he badgers his students with the kind of questions they may well encounter overseas. He finally identifies himself.

BCIU recognizes the importance of the distaff side of a family living and working overseas, and so there are seminars centered exclusively on the role that a wife plays when a family is assigned abroad.

Coordinators at AU—most are faculty members—discuss with the participants their backgrounds, interests and the kind of job assignments that they will be filling abroad. And so the second week's program centers on the host country: culture, economics, politics, religions, and the day to day problems of working and living there.

The intricacies of economics may not seem to be important to a wife accompanying her husband to a new business post overseas, but almost inevitably she will be drawn into some kind of discussion about what makes the United States run. And so wives attend classes that give them the basics—things such as what the gross national product figures mean, employment and unemployment, the costs of various things. As one close to the program put it, "To have a wife know what he is up against can be very helpful to him, and to the life of the family."

AU has handled seminars for people going to all areas of the world, and it is prepared to tailor make a program for any country, given the proper notice. This is important, for there is no stereotype of what one is to expect in various areas of the world, and to prepare a man and his wife for just what to expect in a given country is uppermost in the minds of those who plan the courses.

It works. This is borne out in the impressions of those who have gone through the seminars. The reactions of students to the professors who teach the courses is impressive. Encomiums for the dedication and wanting-to-help attitude of the instructors runs through reports and several conversations.

Also, sitting in on some of the sessions confirms this point of view.

For instance, a professor who has had foreign business experience is bound to be listened to with respect by younger men who are going to do the same thing the professor did some years ago in, say, Western Europe.

Then there is Mrs. Barbara McDonald from the Foreign Service Institute. She is a most effective lecturer, drawing on her experience abroad and that of many friends and colleagues. She makes her points clear in telling outbound people that everything isn't going to come up roses, that something called "cultural shock" (not a particularly felicitous or descriptive expression)

will set in after the first thrill of a new place and people becomes ordinary. Then she goes on to prescribe a remedy for this condition: do things to compensate, should they be writing, singing, cooking or whatnot. Throughout these meetings, (quite informal) students are encouraged to ask questions and to discuss the problems they think they may encounter in XYZ country.

In one instance, a husband chose to attend the session conducted by Mrs. McDonald rather than another that centered on economic, political and allied problems of working for an American company abroad.

It is interesting to note the reaction of Mr. and Mrs. Erastus Corning, who went to Moscow for Pan American World Airways, and were returned by the company after about six months for the course at American University. Both were enthusiastic, saying that they felt they were better equipped to take advantage of the seminar, in their view, than if they had not been exposed to life in the Soviet Union. (Mr. Corning is in a somewhat unusual position in that he has a masters from Yale in Soviet studies, and knows the languagc.)

Both of the Cornings were enthusiastic about the quality and dedication of the instructors at AU. "I got the feeling that they were really pleased to come and help prepare people to become good representatives of American business and the United States abroad," Mrs. Corning said.

THE companies pay the tuition charge for their employes. The rate per person for the two week course is $700 for eight or more in the class; $850 for less than eight. Special arrangements can be made for only one person.

This seems to be a good investment. The fact that some 1,600 have gone through the course attests to the fact that business executives, hardly given to using stockholders' money loosely, believe that their companies will benefit in the long run. They will avoid having their employes exposed to some of the pitfalls that can be averted with proper preparation, and this, in the long run, means a better figure at the bottom line of the profit and loss statement.

Forecasting any activity is risky, and so is trying to predict what will happen to BCIU and the AU seminar program. But certainly this can be said: the climate for international trade improves as new markets open, and this alone makes the trained professional abroad valuable to American business, and to the United States government.

In business-government relationships, BCIU hopes the program will be extended to cities other than New York for a broader look at American business by the participants. This should work for the mutual benefit of business and government. Also, the Department has asked BCIU to study the full text of the Task Force reports and to suggest programs that would increase the participation of business in the workings of the foreign affairs community. ■

ARM CONTROL & THE MILITARY MAN

continued from page 19

or unilateral capabilities. To determine just how much reliance can or should be placed on national means of verification to properly monitor an assumed arms control agreement, is a national problem of very great importance. My past experience within the US intelligence community has been of very great assistance to me in working with others in ACDA to make sure that we are competent to work with the intelligence community, as well as with the political-military experts of governmental agencies in continuing analysis of these crucial problems. In my opinion, a great deal of reliance can be properly placed upon the US unilateral capabilities to monitor carefully worked out arms control agreements that would operate to enhance our national security. On the other hand, there are arms control options which would require some on-site verification agreements before they could be accepted. Working in this field to help narrow the disagreements over verification requirements has been my chief concern. In many areas I believe that well-coordinated field tests can be of assistance in helping to solve these difficult problems.

Q. Would you discuss some of the specific advances (if the activity is not classified, of course) in the various areas of verification and inspection to which WEC (or ACDA) contributed significantly during your tenure?

A. I like to think that during my tour of duty with ACDA that the WEC research and field testing has been made more realistic than it formerly was. Formerly, contract research and field testing were both conducted to determine overt verification requirements for on-site inspection. The results were usually requirements for large numbers of inspectors which would be highly intrusive and therefore probably non-negotiable. Due to my intelligence background, I looked at the problems to determine how much reliance could be placed on unilateral capabilities and where that ended, how much was needed in the way of on-site inspection to do the job.

Q. How would you describe ACDA's greatest challenge as the world's only Government agency dedicated to reducing the risks of war

A. ACDA's greatest challenge is to become completely credible in the eyes of its political-military-congressional colleagues, as well as in the eyes of the general public, as a professional, objective agency, dedicated to sponsoring arms control options which can be adequately verified and which, if negotiated, would operate to enhance our own national security as well as that of our allies.

Q. What is your personal estimate of the future of arms control world-wide?

A. My personal opinion is that increased arms control measures will gradually be adopted. Progress in this field, however, will be painfully slow because arms control agreements, to get anywhere, must obviously operate to the perceived benefit of all parties concerned. As we see every day, bilateral or multilateral agreements among nations are difficult to achieve, and arms control is no exception. A large part of the problem will be for an accepted ACDA to operate in the area where it can clearly show that specific arms control proposals are sensible substitutes for doing other things, and that they can be logically perceived to be to our interest, as well as to the interest of the other parties concerned. ■

PRESS RELATIONS DOCTRINE

continued from page 23

Is it still necessary to state the obvious: "Don't lie"? Well, don't. A far more necessary warning: don't be disingenuous either. Or even too clever by half. It never works and credibility gaps are born from ignoring such fundamentals. A "no comment" is far preferable to deception or obfuscation. The world has come too far for the service to depend on the rhetoric and circumlocution of the past. The public is too sophisticated; the press too skeptical. What may have been acceptable even a few years ago is no longer good enough. The gap between words and reality must be eliminated. The terminology, the concepts, the style must be credible, forthright, sophisticated and balanced. Otherwise, it will almost certainly be rejected out of hand or at best lead to such a degree of skepticism that it will face increased security or hostility. And when legitimate security considerations enforce silence, once more the "no comment" approach is far preferable to deception or verbal camouflage and certainly much more respected by correspondents.

• **Restrict National Security to a Minimum:** National security is a legitimate restraint that is highly abused in practice. Today's world is almost a goldfish bowl and there is little that remains confidential for long. The responsible journalists—and most are—recognize that certain situations require discretion and respect the limitations of information when this is the case. But they also object to misuse of the protection when it is simply camouflage for either shortcomings or a cloak for activities that merit public exposure. Properly limited, national security will be respected; normally, it is resorted to so frequently that it has tended to lose meaning. The basic principle for the foreign service practitioner is the greatest possible limitation on its use.

• **Take the Initiative:** One of the characteristics of the modern press that leads to this cardinal principle is its intensity and pervasiveness. The facts of life decree that most of the time the first cast to a story provides the shape for its ultimate thrust and impact. The old policy guidance, "If asked, etc., etc.," is a dated concept. Far better to surface your story, even the most negative one, under circumstances and terms of your own choosing. Just about anything damaging is going to become public somewhere along the line if you let nature take its course, and a variation of Murphy's Law seems inevitably to come into effect: the story will emerge under the worst possible circumstances. Call it managed news if you will, but usually you'll do better, even in a negative sense, when you take the initiative and provide the setting and time. And in view of the brevity of the public span of interest on most stories, contrary interpretations may never catch up with your pre-emption of the field.

• **Bear in Mind the Interrelationship of Government:** Gone are the days when State was State and Defense was Defense and never the twain need coordinate. Even State

and Commerce now have to get together. The reality once more dictates the concept that all government agencies are interrelated. It is becoming increasingly hard to differentiate between civilian news and military news, or between political news and economic news. Agencies of the same government have to pay more than lip service to each other's existence and interests. Coordination, common press policies, even inter-government communication would seem in order.

• **Bear in mind the Interrelationship of the World:** There was also a time when there was a foreign audience and a domestic audience. Witness the restrictions placed upon USIA. But if the distinction was ever valid, it is not valid any more in this era of instant communication. The words from the steps of the White House are heard as clearly and promptly in New Delhi and Bangkok as in New York and Chicago. There is no such thing as comment to a restricted audience. Technically, communication today can take your words whole and immediately transport them anywhere in the world to a different setting that may well lead to a different meaning. It is important to bear in mind this capability of modern journalism when communicating. The audience is a vast and diverse one. And if the subject is of sufficient interest, it is a universal one.

• **Finally, remember this is an Art:** Between cardinal principle one and cardinal principle ten are a whole series of warnings, admonitions and guidances. But in the end, the practitioner must be aware that press relations is an art and if all the nine earlier principles are faithfully observed and effectively executed, there is still no assurance that the results will come out as intended. And once more, that is not necessarily discouraging. There is no such thing as a 100 per cent favorable press coverage; by the very nature of things there should not be. You may be eminently successful if that story is less negative than it might have been otherwise. And you are probably highly effective if you have a batting average over .500. For foreign policy is not meant to be popular at all times; nor is the nature of the press such that it feels comfortable in the role of constant supporter. So the tenth and last cardinal principle is to count your blessings if you get a fair deal by objective standards—standards other than your own.

Having listed all these guidelines—these Ten Commandments of Press Relations, this foundation for a State Department Press Relations Doctrine—there is the need to warn against expecting too much from skilled efforts in this area. Effective communication, skilled press relations is not a substitute for substantive policies. It is only a complement and supplement to them. But as such, it can often constitute the ingredient that marks the difference between success and failure in the conduct of foreign affairs. And it is a skill—whether based on this set of principles or another—in which the foreign service needs training and experience if the service is to meet its responsibilities in the conduct of foreign policy in the '70s. ■

PERILS *continued from page 44*

an orange tree on the Shannons's unmarked grave, and passed over to Guatemala among the usual vicissitudes—"three times thrown from mules—once at the hazard of my life."

Here he remained for five years, while the Confederation passed from fitful fact into anarchic fiction. He wrote regularly, with what seems a fair clarity in hindsight, and a foggy foresight—not atypical of field reporting. But administrative relations with his superiors were often testy. He was scolded for phlegmatic attention to impossible projects; his paperwork was faulted. DeWitt felt shorted and slighted; sometimes closed despatches as "your cruelly neglected servant." By the end of 1835 he was requesting home leave. Goaded by repetition, the Department huffily told him he could come home only if he resigned, and helpfully enclosed a draft of a farewell note to the host government.

DeWitt demurred, replying he had "thought it improper to introduce private affliction into public despatch" and then unloosed a calculated bathos of family agonies. So in 1837 leave was granted; but for a year the envoy could not proceed because of banditry. In the meantime the trade treaty was expiring, and Secretary Forsyth ordered him not to return without ratification of the renewal.

He did his best, though the seat of "government" had removed to Salvador, where only one house of Congress ratified before that organization was scattered by a thoroughgoing revolution. Our last word from DeWitt is his hope of signature by strongman Morazan—but he was overturned and driven from the land.

In March of 1838 DeWitt was in Washington for consultation. Secretary Forsyth told him he would have to return to Guatemala in any case, for now that the treaty was ratified, it was determined to close the post. By the way, would he hand over the treaty now? It was, said DeWitt in guilty evasion, in his trunk at Gadsby's Hotel. Hemmed in by events, he took his own life.

In May of 1839, William Leggett, a burned-out political editor who had been living on the charity of friends, was pleased to receive the Guatemala appointment. In the innocent words of his biographer "In the hope of regaining his health, he was preparing to go to Guatemala . . . when death overtook him."

In the fall, John L. Stephens successfully journeyed to Guatemala (pausing at the grave to plant a coconut tree). A vigorous and resourceful man, he trekked to and fro in Central America seeking a government to present his credentials and treaty to. He noted the antiquities of ancient civilizations, and became more interested in ruins than vain diplomacy. He remains justly famed as the premier publicist of archaeology in the area.

Finally, in 1841 Secretary Webster sent down William S. Murphy. Though often sick with fever, he persevered in establishing irrevocably that no central government existed. ■

The Will's the Way

It has occurred to me that AFSA may be overlooking an important source of financial contributions to its most important programs. While donations and bequests are received from time to time for the Scholarship Fund, it is the "general operating funds" to which we contribute our dues that really help our organization to carry forward its work on the central task for which AFSA was founded, namely, to advance and protect the career principle and, more generally, professionalism in foreign affairs.

My suggestion is that AFSA should provide . . . assistance in making out last wills and testaments; and that it be part of the advice given to members that whomever they may be designating as beneficiaries under their wills, they also designate the AFSA (in general, and not one of AFSA's Funds) as a "residual legatee."

We have a number of members who are childless and, when it comes to making out their last wills and testaments, will probably make bequests in favor of various charitable and benevolent organizations. In the first instance of course, they make bequests to their closest relatives, but sometimes they find that the list of such relatives is rather short. Also, those relatives could conceivably not be alive any longer when the estate is distributed.

For instance, Mr. X makes his last will and designates Mrs. X as his beneficiary. It does not occur to him, however, that it is conceivable that both Mr. and Mrs. X may die at the same time. Although any good lawyer will seek to provide against that contingency, it is quite possible—still assuming that the couple is childless—that some more or less remote relatives would automatically step up as residual legatees. In fact, if no specific provision is made *against* that contingency, the law is quite merciless and *very* remote relatives sometimes inherit an estate, simply because no other legatee was specified.

It is at this point that my suggestion comes in. When discussing wills with some childless friends in the Service, I found that they have no particularly strong desire that some well-to-do sibling or not-so-well-to-do second or third cousin inherit their estate *if by any chance neither of the two spouses should survive the other.* Sometimes it turns out that no particular charity or other public-spirited enterprise *is as dear to their hearts as the defense of the Foreign Service as a career.*

As Foreign Service people we should be familiar with the idea of contingency planning. We plan for likely contingencies and for unlikely ones as well. The contingency that I am positing here is very unlikely, but if it is provided for by many members the result may be to swell the coffers of AFSA over the years and to enable our Association to do a better (or, if you will, an *even* better) job of defending the career principle than it is doing now.

It may also be that a wealthy reader of this letter may even be moved to make *direct* provision in his will for AFSA or to change an existing provision in favor of its Scholarship Fund to one in favor of AFSA *tout court.* It is possible that some donors may not have been aware that they could support the career principle more directly if they designated AFSA itself as their beneficiary.

MARTIN F. HERZ

Washington

Honorable Service Not Enough?

How does one prove the "national interest" in the case of a foreign service local employee who aspires to United States citizenship? Must he have risked his life fo ran American or for a US mission? How many times? What other "exceptional circumstances" can a post evoke which would be likely to convince the Secretary he could find it in the national interest to approve the recommendation of an employee for "immigrant status?"

Recently an Embassy driver in another Near Eastern city told me on the way to the airport he had completed 15 years of faithful service. His sons and daughters were now of an age where he wanted to give them what he considered to be the world's best education and the best opportunity for a happy life. America, he said, is the only such place and he had applied for an immigrant visa, having heard that his service would qualify him for immigration. He had been told that the honorable service probably was not enough, and he was bitter.

What better reason for citizenship is there than the patiently held dream built on 15 years of work in the service of the United States? Such service in the Near East is unenviable and unpopular locally in the best of situations.

There is a meanness, a pettiness about this particular regulation (Section 101 (a)(27)(E) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act) and it is unworthy of us.

LEE F. DINSMORE

Dhahran

Indifference?

I want to call to the attention of your readers a Letter to the Editor in the November issue entitled "No Guinea Pigs." I have been wondering whether foreign service officers were indifferent to your editorial on kidnaping in the June issue or simply did not read the JOURNAL. Perhaps the latter, which would explain your approach.

In the June issue the Board took a position on kidnaping of diplomats and blithely invited dissidents to write in. Obviously having received a few replies the Board considered itself sufficiently supported by its clientele to write to Mr. Macomber asking him to pursue this policy with other governments. (See AFSA Board Minutes of August 25 meeting in November JOURNAL.)

Where does this leave the foreign service officer who finds AFSA deciding whether he lives or dies without consulting him fully and AFGE waiting in the wings to destroy the foreign service system?

RICHARD F. KING

A Vocal Supporter

For the past two years I have been an active member of the Association. Recently, I terminated from the Peace Corps to assume the Superintendency of the American Cooperative School here in Monrovia.

According to the brochure, "AFSA Means Action," I find I am still eligible for membership under the clause ". . . or to American citizens outside the government who are closely associated with or actively interested in foreign affairs." My dues for the current year for associate membership are therefore enclosed.

I am not certain whether or not some justification is needed to prove my interest in or association with for-

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eign affairs. Acting on the assumption that it won't hurt, let me make two points.

First of all, I am impressed with and support the recent activities of the Board of Directors in attempting to professionalize the Association. It has been appalling to see so much of our foreign policy influenced or even set by others than those who have made the foreign service their careers. Though I can no longer vote, the Board has my strong vocal and moral support for any action that will bring about an increase in the influence that the professionals have in determining our foreign policy.

Secondly, as the newly appointed Superintendent I realize, as I never did before, the importance of education to foreign service families whose lives must be so transient. We have just undergone a degree of turmoil here that has forcefully pointed out to me the particular need for stability in overseas schools. Thus, as I embark on my new role, I am conscious, to a degree that I never was before, of the obligation of the school to prove a stable program of education for foreign service families. Continued membership in the Association and regular receipt of the JOURNAL and AFSA NEWS will help me in my new-felt obligation.

THOMAS F. KELLY
Superintendent
American Cooperative School
Monrovia

Frankness on Dr. Frankel

DR. CHARLES FRANKEL'S ideas expressed in "Plans and Prejudices" (FSJ, Oct. 1970) are arresting: that foreign policy could "facilitate the further development of the network of intellectual and cultural partnerships across the borders"; that "the national interest might include the advancement of the arts and sciences and the promotion of international understanding."

Arresting they are; new they are not, least of all to us propagandists upon whom Dr. Frankel glowers with such undisguised contempt. They are not only in essence part of our stated objectives; they are a major and daily preoccupation in planning our information output. To advance them, we rely not only on materials supplied by USIA, but also strive to develop them in locally-generated products tailored especially for audiences in the host country.

It would be tedious to recite substantiating examples. Any USIS post which is not heavily involved in "the advancement of the arts and sciences"—well beyond the limits of narrow chauvinistic considerations—is simply not living up to its potential. All this is well known to Foreign Servants in the field, but apparently the burcaucratic apparatus so decried by Dr. Frankel kept him unaware of such refinements in the propaganda machine, enabling him to cling unapologetically to his own preconceived notions.

Their effect would be inconsequential if it were all in the family. Unfortunately, we read, the article forms part of Dr. Frankel's memoirs of Foggy Bottom. The result would be to reinforce prevailing negative stereotypes of information specialists in the Foreign Service: pea-brained apparatchniks, drones and zealots dedicated to chalking up cold war converts. For whoever may read his book, the caricature is impressed anew.

Even if inter-agency communications were defective during Dr. Frankel's sojourn in Foggy Bottom, one would think his imagination would have led him to consider the media outlets of USIS, i.e., the propaganda apparatus, as an ally-rather than rival or pollutant—of his cultural crusade.

The PAO gets tarred with his brush: "His background is usually (O calumny of calumnies!) in the mass media or public relations." I have no statistics to refute the claim. I can only state my own experience: Of the five PAOs under whom I have served, four were former cultural affairs officers and former university professors; the fifth was a career FSO with an unusually profound appreciation of the performing and visual arts; three are authors of published books.

Dr Frankel's basic arguments are eminently unassailable. Pity he felt the need to fabricate a straw man or to manufacture a dichotomy where none exists. "Plans and Prejudices" thus lives up to its title in a manner hardly foreseen by its author.

FREDERICK HARTLEY
Information Officer
Bogota

The Essential Nonessentials

I HAVE just read with interest Mr. Barrow's article "The Importance of the Unimportant Issues in Image Building" and thoroughly agree with the thrust of his argument. Nonetheless I feel that instead of wishing for a few "floating" officers at Embassies who could deal with what might be called the essential nonessentials, Mr. Barrow should have spoken up for the maintenance of the remaining United States Consulates. As he says "any FSO who is worth his salt tries to engender good will wherever he goes," but any reasonably effective Consul is infinitely better situated to perform a function such as Mr. Barrow has in mind than would be a roving FSO. Inter alia, the Consul has a strong reason for being in the area which is readily understandable to all those with whom he comes in contact.

As a matter of fact the role assumed by Mr. Barrow for his roving FSO is even now, undoubtedly, one of the most important functions of the average Consul in any small or medium sized Consulate.

CABOT SEDGWICK
Medellin

What Should a Diplomat's Wife Do?

AT a time when women are reconsidering their role in public and private life, it has occurred to me to wonder how long the wives of foreign service officers would be completely content with their present functions which I take to combine decorative catering with the social and conversational graces of an exceptionally well-paid geisha. I am greatly interested that the highly intelligent German wife of a Swedish diplomat in New Delhi has recently asked the same question in the New Delhi papers (THE HINDUSTAN TIMES). I think you readers (or their wives) will be interested in it and I enclose a copy.

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAIT.
Cambridge

Sir,—I have just arrived in New Delhi, as the wife of a foreign diplomat, and have read "Onlooker's" cheerful views of what should be expected of a diplomat's wife, at least if she is an Indian (HINDUSTAN TIMES, January 15). I can understand the background for all his demands on her, thinking of all the ignorant and uninterested wives one has met in one's lifetime. But I must say that his reasoning does not tell of any high degree of female emancipation in India. At the risk of making myself unpopular for the rest of my time here, I would like to ask, who has the right to expect of a diplomat's wife (a) that she make a success of her husband's career; (b) that she provide excellent meals, and be one of those "people whom one likes to meet and whose house one likes to visit"; (c) that she dress well and keep house well; (d) that she provide herself with a slight academic education in order to make good conversation at parties; (e) that she be a living public relations officer and propaganda minister for her country; (f) and that she learn

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Even for a woman who has nothing better to do in life than to go to parties and be a social success, all this is extremely demanding; it is a full profession; and who pays her for it? If she is up to it, then make her the diplomat! We are not all Sitas and we are not all cooks, just because we are women. If we have an academic education we probably want to make better use of it than wasting it all on conversation. Is it not time, do you think, that we all start asking ourselves basic questions about diplomatic life as a whole—questions which are never asked since the A and O of anyone in this profession is believed to be to make himself popular, with all that it implies of opportunism and cowardice?

The first question that should be asked is: what exactly is "the success of a diplomat" and how do you measure it? As far as I can judge, it is the reports he writes at his desk and the negotiations he conducts in his office, and not the dinners he gives or the tourist propaganda his wife provides. The more a diplomat's family is allowed to lead the normal life of a country—the less parties they have to go to, the less they have to get involved in the superficial and ridiculous life of the upper class of most countries—the better will be the chances of the husband's influencing the decision-making process suitably in his own as well as the guest country, since the basis will be more real knowledge than the Party-Exchange of Already-A-Hundred-Times-Digested opinions.

Let us ask ourselves in all seriousness exactly how much party life is absolutely inevitable to promote peace and abolish poverty in the world and to create good-will between countries. It is an insult to intelligent women to demand of them to take part in this huge game of make-believe, giving to it the utmost of their talents and abilities, which in their personal capacity they could put to far better use. Let's calculate the exact amount of dinners and visits necessary, and then employ professional people to perform them: if she has the time and loves her husband enough, let the wife gracefully heighten the occasion with her beautiful saris, her intelligent conversation, her linguistic fluency, or her lovely looks—but do not demand it of her; above all, do not demand of her to be a bridge-player, a cook, a coffee party-goer, a charity bazaar inaugurator, a women's club tittle tattle, a walking propaganda machine for her country's virtues, with the world around you being what it is—it's an offence, it's an offence, it's an offence!—Yours etc.,

SIGRID KAHLE

New Delhi

A Recommendation

I congratulate you on the publication in the August Foreign Service JOURNAL of the article, "The Nature of Soviet Leadership," by Leonard Schapiro.

The article is timely. Furthermore it should be read by every literate American citizen.

JEFFERSON CAFFERY

Rome

Consular Futures

In the course of researching the future of the American Consul, I have mailed several hundreds of questionnaires and surveys to officers performing consular work in the field. Volume of the response has already exceeded predictions of persons experienced in survey research. I can only interpret this as one more expression of the Service's great interest in the subject which I hope to examine with the systematic attention it deserves.

Since time and resources do not enable me to acknowledge individually so many thoughtful and comprehensive replies, I appreciate the JOURNAL's granting me this opportunity to at least extend my thanks to you all collectively. I will also appreciate still receiving replies and reactions from those officers who may yet be pending their responses.

ERWIN VON DEN STEINEN
Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton, N. J. 08540

FSO working under fellowship of Council on Foreign Relations, NYC at Princeton University.

Exercising the Franchise

May I attempt to make a point with the following analogy? A Swiss acquaintance, trying to explain why he thought the women of Switzerland should not have the vote, based his case on the fact that the women didn't want the vote. My argument, that the present conception of the rights and duties of citizenship required that the vote be thrust on the unwilling citizen, for his use or non-use, and that some countries even invoked sanctions for its non-use, was without effect.

RICHARD KING

Washington

A Bouquet

An American Foreign Policy Imperative — Responsible Restraint," by Marshall Wright is one of the most excellent and impressive contributions I have seen in long years of devoted FSJ reading. Congratulations to all concerned.

ELIZABETH JORZICK

Washington

Life and Love in the Foreign Service *by S. I. Nadler*

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