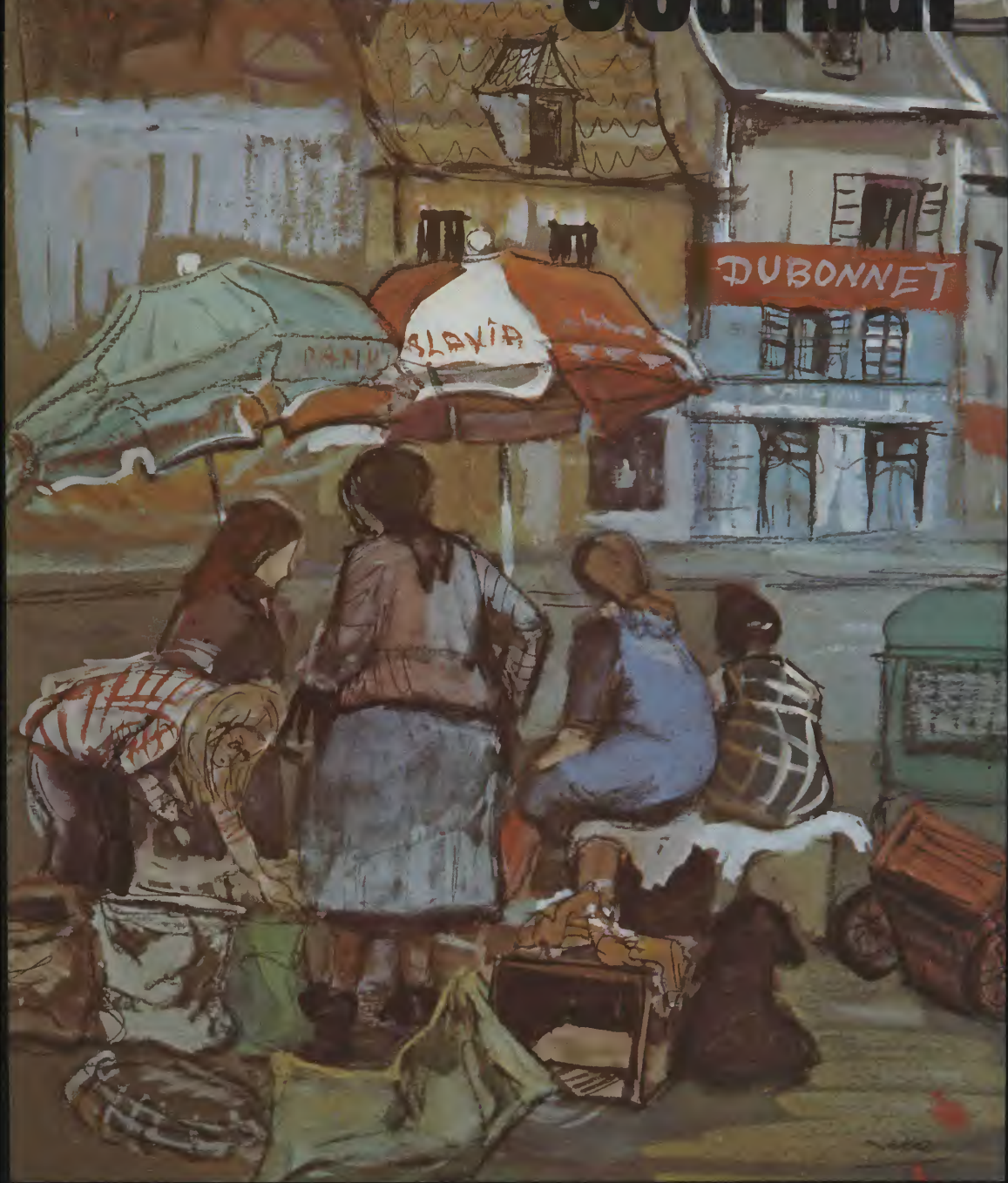
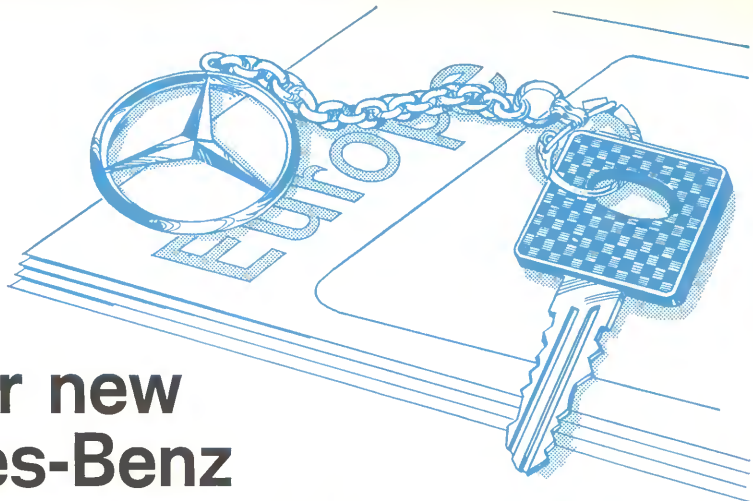


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ABOUT THIS ISSUE

TECHNOLOGY both serves and complicates the conduct of diplomacy as the articles in this issue demonstrate.

It serves diplomacy because it improves the tools with which it is conducted. A revolution is taking place in the manner in which we manage our foreign affairs. We have come a long way since the days of Franklin and Adams when United States representatives had broad instructions and little communication with Washington. The next 30 years may see equal change. The communications revolution which has tied our posts so closely to Washington is being joined by new techniques for information storage and retrieval and political and economic analysis. A view of this new world of diplomacy is presented in Thomas Tracy's article on "Automation in the Foreign Service."

That our ability to use these new techniques is affected by human and institutional limitations is indicated in Grant Hilliker's article on "Man and the Fact Machine in Foreign Affairs." The diplomat must be manager of the machine in order to use it to manage foreign policy.

But the diplomat of the future will require all the technological help he can get to cope with the international complications brought on by technology.

The objective of diplomacy is to reconcile conflicting interests in a constantly changing world, and today a major factor behind change is technology. The Legislative Reference Service at the Library of Congress said in a recent report:

"No source of change is more potent than an alteration in a nation's technological condition. It produces changes of many kinds at many levels of impacts and interaction: military, commercial, cultural, political, and scientific; these changes involve many agencies of government, the academic world, private business, and the public at large. Familiarity with technology, and with the nature of its impacts, is thus an indispensable tool of the diplomat."

To this should be added that possibly the most important global change brought on by technology has been the bringing together of the world's nations. It is commonplace to consider the effect of modern communications and transportation. But consider the effect of more recent technological change. Technological advance is making it increasingly possible to use the resources that lie at the bottoms of the seas. Coastal nations are beginning to reach out beyond their shores to make use of this newly accessible wealth. As they do, so they will come into increasing association and competition with each other. The question for diplomacy is: will this take place peacefully or in conflict? Similarly, prediction and ultimate control of the world's weather will require the cooperation of the international community if conflict is to be avoided.

The effect of man's exploitation of the resources of the world and his own multiplication of his numbers has an inevitable impact on the quality of his environment and this environment cannot be separated by national borders. This is well demonstrated in David Gamon's article, "Population Growth and Environmental Crisis," and Frank Fraser Darling's on the environment. What one nation, developed or undeveloped, does will inevitably affect others.

What then does this new proximity of nations, brought about by rapid technological change, require of diplomacy? It seems to ask for something more than traditional bilateral ironing out of differences and development of cooperative arrangements. Technological advance has created problems which affect all of the world's nations, and require their cooperation for the solution. For example, arrangements to prevent the pollution of the seas cannot be made bilaterally. What is necessary is a new innovative multilateralism.

Atomic Energy Commissioner Ramey, in his article on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, describes some of the innovation which has produced new ways to promote cooperation and prevent conflict in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. New trails were blazed when the International Atomic Energy Agency was created. The international safeguards procedures to insure that nuclear materials are used for peaceful purposes are equally innovative.

As technology develops, the prospect is that cooperative use of the world's resources in ways which preserve the quality of life will require greater innovation in the field of multilateral cooperation. Already we are groping toward the forms and procedures of an international organization which will govern the exploitation of the resources of the ocean's floor. Cooperative arrangements have already been worked out for international weather forecasting. It will not be so easy to work out multilateral techniques governing weather control. The thought that anything so vital as a nation's rainfall might be manipulated, even accidentally, by a neighbor, indicates how important it is that the world move along toward development of more effective international institutions.

Perhaps the greatest problem of all relates to the pollution of man's environment and the population pressures which increase that pollution. National solutions will not be enough, but can nations agree among themselves to strict international standards and a machinery by which they may be imposed?

The diplomats of the future will require all of the tools they can get if they are to succeed in this new multilateral diplomacy. ■

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"Patience is an indispensable quality for the successful negotiator. The wind is bound to be contrary at times, and then one has to tack to get into port."—The Diplomatist, M. Jules Cambon

The Four Virtues

JOHN A. BOVEY

Our author joined the Foreign Service in 1945 and has served in Rotterdam (Vice Consul), Washington (Deputy Director, North African Affairs), Paris (First Secretary and then Political Counselor), Oslo (DCM), and The Hague (DCM), his present assignment.

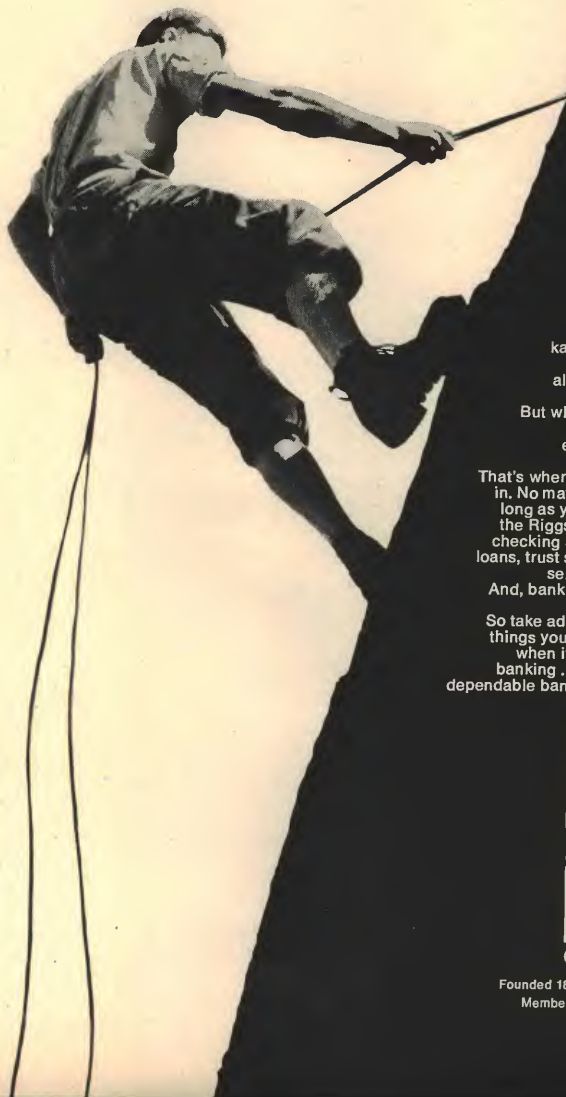
OVER the past months, the pages of the JOURNAL have teemed with suggestions for improving the Foreign Service and the conduct of foreign policy. Mr. Macomber struck the keynote in January with a vigorous program for Management Strategy. The Young Turks (and several older ones) have been firing off ideas in all directions, like so many rockets. And now the Thirteen Task Forces have produced a formidable bolus of paper, which is working its way through the digestive tract of the establishment.

The Forces have addressed themselves courageously to the improvement of professional standards amid the technological morass in which the Western world has mired itself. They are trying to put a modern face on a Service which, I might recall, is not so hideously ancient as one might think. Task Forces 7 and 11, for example, have come up with various formulae for "democratized diplomacy," codified dissent, loosening of the chain of command, and less reliance on "personal relations."

They question the division of political and economic functions and urge DCMs to encourage the free transmission of criticism within their missions. The two Task Forces join hands in deploring the "insularity of the professional elite." And so the discourse continues while the exploded ruins of secretariats and missions and political sections fall in showers before our eyes.

But as I plow through these formidable reports with their numbered sections and careful italics and their serried but overlapping recommendations, so brisk, so earnest and so worthy, I long for a whiff of heresy to save us from the aseptic world which all of this enthusiastic *bricolage* portends. I must confess to a preference for the meanderings of hierarchical communication. At

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moments I even nurture a certain languid insularity. Some of my colleagues have been unkind enough to intimate that my insularity is amateur rather than professional, but as a DCM, who suffers from no dearth of "free criticism" from all parts of his mission, I reject this imputation.

In the midst of my soul-searching, I was happy to find from Duff Cooper's "Talleyrand" that in diplomacy languor may have its merits, and that efficiency is not always synonymous with wisdom, nor even with efficacy. One passage of this splendid biography describes Talleyrand's conduct of the Foreign Office during the Consulate:

Talleyrand did not share Napoleon's fondness for work. Naturally lazy, he pretended to be lazier than he was and made a principle of never performing any task himself that could possibly be delegated to another. If a despatch was to be written, or a memorandum drawn up, he would hastily set down in an almost illegible handwriting all that he wished it to contain without paying any attention to form or order. One of his subordinates, and the principal ones had worked with him so long that they could interpret his mind as well as decipher his handwriting, would then reduce these rough notes to the correct diplomatic shape and return them to the chief, who would make numerous corrections, and it would then, perhaps, be discussed at length between the two before the



Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord

document received its final form. There is a story how, upon one occasion, the head of one of the departments of the Ministry asked the Minister to write a letter in his own hand, as the recipient was



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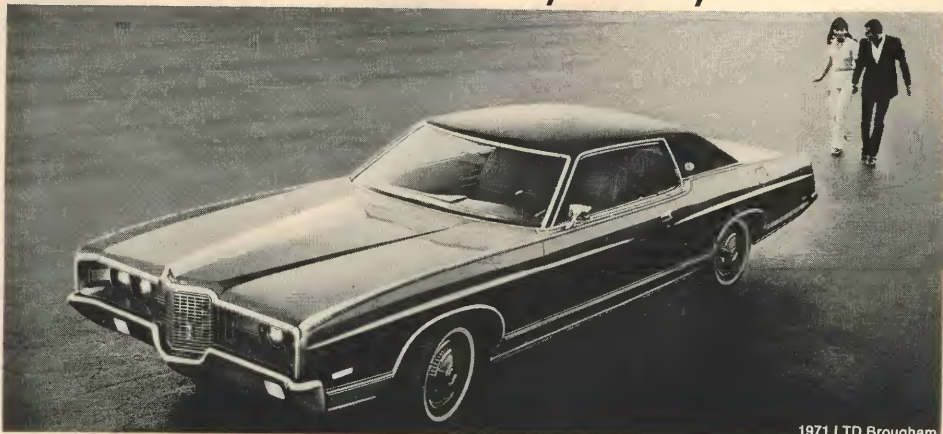
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a ruling prince of Germany—"Must I write it myself?" he pleaded. "Yes, to an Elector." "But to write and compose at the same time is really too much. So I will write but you must dictate it."

This love of idleness, partly natural and partly affected, he was prepared to defend as the wisest policy for a diplomatist. He discouraged excessive zeal even in his subordinates, and when he relinquished the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he said, presenting the permanent officials to his successor: "You will find them loyal, intelligent, accurate, and punctual, but, thanks to my training, not at all zealous." As M. de Champagny evinced some surprise, he continued, affecting a most serious manner: "Yes, except for a few of the junior clerks who, I am afraid, close up their envelopes with a certain amount of precipitation, every one here maintains the greatest calm; hurry and bustle are unknown."

This deliberate manner of conducting business was really of service to Napoleon, who, working with lightning rapidity himself, was often glad to find that instructions which he had given with too little consideration had not been acted upon several days later when he was already prepared to cancel them.

Thus Duff Cooper makes clear what Talleyrand meant when he made his famous and misunderstood pronouncement against zeal. In the United States we

have long known it as eager-beaverism, but we are only beginning to learn how this fatal ingredient can ruin the best-conceived initiatives, whether they be undertaken in Washington or New York, Jerusalem or Saigon.

To the conduct of his Ministry, and to nearly all his missions, Talleyrand brought not only the wisdom, half playful, half serious, of a statesman but also the patience of a diplomatist, which is a quite different but no less essential asset. Like Castlereagh and Metternich, and unlike Napoleon, Talleyrand was devoid of illusions and gimmickry. He knew that age-old international problems can only be solved by creating others, and at Erfurt and Vienna, in Paris and London, he demonstrated that it is wise to go slow until you are reasonably sure that the new set of problems is no worse than the old.

Talleyrand also knew—and in this he was the antithesis of the "do-something" school of foreign policy, which has lived on long after Napoleon—that the task of diplomacy is not to resolve burning issues but to dampen and cool them until time and human fatigue can accomplish the slow but inevitable transformations by which differences, as distinct from crises, resolve themselves.

Talleyrand was also sharply aware that international adversaries reach agreement less through radical innovation than through calculated ambiguity. ("Treason, Sire, is a question of dates.") I think he would have appreciated the evasive allusions in the preamble to the Soviet-German Treaty; for the Soviets these refer to the *status quo* and for the West Germans, to the right of

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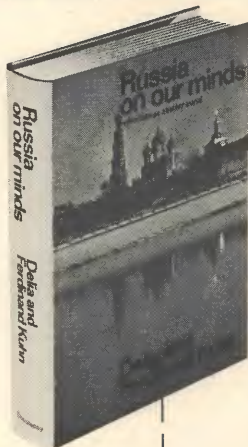
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Whatever happened to the Peace Corps?

What happened was that America, the world's leading exporter of innocence, ran out of the product at home. Let's not go through the list again. Growing up anytime, anywhere is hard work. Growing up in America has become almost unbearable.

The Peace Corps had some growing up to do, too.

It had to stop telling young people that love alone conquers all, because it doesn't.

It had to stop saying that volunteers could be "agents of change" – political change – because it wasn't true.

It had to stop pretending it wasn't a United States government agency, because it is.

It had to learn that – believe it or not – people in faraway lands know more about what

they need than we do. (And when they ask for help, they're very specific: an electrician, two city planners, five math teachers, an experienced farmer.)

Today the Peace Corps is in 60 countries. That's 59 more than it started in. It's changed a lot, but so has the world and so has America, and so – after all – have you.

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self-determination.

He would also have relished the nuance between "occupied territories" and "the occupied territories," which helped Israel and Egypt each to take the first cautious step toward negotiation. And I feel sure he would have approved the disabused dictum of Baudelaire: "*Le monde ne marche que par le malentendu. C'est par le malentendu universel que tout le monde s'accorde. Car si par malheur on se comprenait, on ne pourrait jamais s'accorder.*"

In psychoanalyzing so complicated a figure as Talleyrand, I may seem to have wandered far from the Thirteen Task Forces. But an understanding of the limits of diplomacy is by no means a negligible asset for members of the Foreign Service. And I venture to think that a reading of the passage from Duff Cooper would benefit the members of the Task Forces and those who are presently poring over their findings. The passage addresses itself by inference to many of the problems that occupy their attention, even though it tackles them in a somewhat different spirit. It contains, in miniature, some pertinent comment on hierarchical relationships (I am not sure I would want to be Talleyrand's DCM), delegation of authority, recruitment and training, over-rapid communications—and even on "career expectations" among juniors who close up their envelopes with precipitation.

I note also that in presenting his staff to his successor, Talleyrand put his finger on the real virtues: loyalty, intelligence, accuracy, punctuality. These he distin-

guished from the flashier qualities of those who thrash about in search of a dynamic "image" for themselves or their profession and who approach all problems, in the words of Abba Eban, with an open mouth.

As we tinker resolutely once again with our Foreign Service, overhauling the functions of diplomatic missions, melting down political and economic officers, and cheerfully firing hordes of veteran locals, we could do worse than to bear in mind Talleyrand's four virtues and his injunction against hurry and bustle.

I am not maintaining that the Service should be stagnant or that its members should be lazy. I am arguing rather for the precision and calm which come with experience and which are so sadly lacking in the public diplomacy of our time. I am not sure that we have used enough of these ingredients in the various attempts of the past few years to integrate, to streamline, to technocratize, and now to democratize our swollen diplomatic establishment.

If the price of advancement in the Service becomes critical dissent instead of quiet professionalism, or technical wizardry instead of human contact, then we shall end by merely substituting one kind of conformity for another. We shall make do with zeal instead of intelligence, and we shall also be carrying out instructions conceived in haste, repented too late, and rationalized at press conferences. In that event, our democratized and automated missions will have given us service inferior to that which Talleyrand's Foreign Ministry gave to Napoleon. ■

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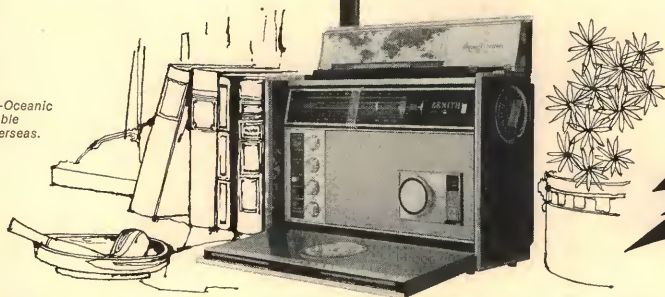
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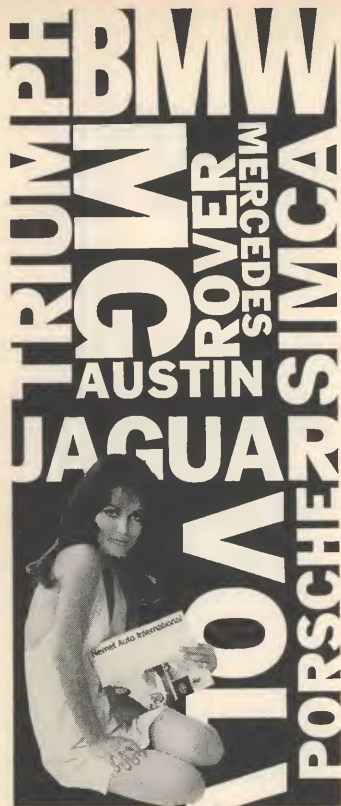
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COMMUNICATION

RE:

USIA's HANG-UP

RON AARON EISENBERG raises a number of serious questions about USIA operations in the December JOURNAL that deserve serious answers ("USIA's Hang-Up: A Concept Complex"). The core of his criticism, apparently based on a six-city tour of Europe in August 1969, is that USIA is still living in the early '50s, is hostile to new ideas and can't decide whether it wants to service fast or slow media so it winds up shortchanging both. He also says the exchanges program has ground to a halt because USIA officers are not committed to it.

Certainly there have been vast changes affecting USIA's operations in Western Europe since it became an independent agency in the early '50s. I have watched them from tours of duty in three Western European capitals and Washington during that time as a USIA officer. And Mr. Eisenberg is right in describing one of the most

continued on page 48

Foreign Service Officer, Class Three

*As I wind through cant cold days
Only that innocent my son can melt me
Only some feather from childhood can
calm me*

*So I put myself to sleep with the Irish
navy:*

*Navy being boats from a childhood
floor*

*And Ireland, the Deirdre that my
mother read me.*

*Hours till I dream,
Till leaving the college village in light
fog*

*I wend high—there are variants to
right and left—*

*But anyway come out upon the moun-
tains,*

*On a meadow below the high and
gentle peaks*

*And pause before I push to the fogged-
in top*

*A top I never get to by the dawn
And may not come to till I die,
The unknown Macchu Picchu of my
soul.*

*Dreams gone, I run the dawn
At Piazza Navona, by pink-gray sky
Thinking of Herzog high on Annapurna
To push myself to one more lap;
In the shower my curly locks are fall-
ing out in bunches*

*But I'm a tiger (balding) all the bu-
reaucratic day.*

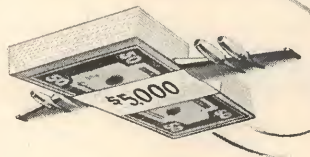
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"Since 1927 we have learned a little of how technology grows. We have learned less about applying it wisely." The Information Machines, Ben H. Bagdikian

Man and the Fact Machine in Foreign Affairs

THE influence of technology on the conduct of foreign affairs is still a subject of considerable mystery. The excuse that comes most readily to mind is the obvious one—that most members of the Foreign Service are not technically-inclined. The moral: We must learn more about technology.

There is ground for a contrary opinion. To take advantage of technology in the field of information handling, where it is of the greatest potential utility, we need to know more about ourselves.

Foreign affairs is mainly represented by information. Where other organizations need to generate information about processes and products, in order to control them, we need the facts about information. These often amount to the information itself, which may be found in Foreign Service reports, in the characteristics of foreign assistance programs, or in the content of overseas information broadcasts.

The technology to facilitate the handling of these and other kinds of information already exists. Its application to operations is a mere matter of "getting ourselves together" with the necessary funds, studies, planning and design. But this can be very difficult. The obstacles are in a human attachment to familiar methods, a set of attitudes and certain bureaucratic structures that memorialize the inflexible past.

Service Characteristics

An eloquent story of the foreign service tells about the new presidential appointee who was receiving policy advice from a senior

GRANT G. HILLIKER

Mr. Hilliker has been involved in the Department's planning of information systems for two years, first as Special Assistant to two Under Secretaries and now in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, where he is a Deputy Director in the Office of External Research. He has served in Recife, Helsinki, Stockholm and Naples. A tour as Federal Executive Fellow at the Brookings Institution produced a book, "The Politics of Reform in Peru," published in January by the Johns Hopkins Press.

Foreign Service officer. Asked why he recommended what he did, the FSO replied, "Well, I have this 'gut' feeling."

The apocryphal FSO in this story is by no means typical. But he represents a strong tendency that is both a strength and a weakness of the Foreign Service. The strength rests upon intuition. It is built up from first-hand experience which permits an "old hand" to sense the relevant aspects of a situation and subconsciously to select the most likely outcome. This is the "inside," or subjective, approach to analysis.

The same tendency can be a weakness, in other circumstances. As the story suggests, this FSO was so completely immersed in his subject that he could not communicate about it convincingly.

Methods exist for doing just this in standard form and independently of content. The approach is commonly known as systematic analysis, or operations research, or communications theory (cybernetics)—each at a different level of freedom and

abstraction. Little can be said of them here, except that they are aids to explicitness in analysis, frameworks for accounting for details that might otherwise be overlooked, ways of using sound intuition and systems for manipulating complexities. In short, these standard techniques for problem-solving can be used to facilitate discourse between two or more people whose starting points may be quite diverse.

Technology will inevitably be used in the handling of foreign affairs information. The only question is whether, or to what extent, it will be done with the informed assistance of professionals. Information technicians are quite able to automate any processes to which they are given access. To do the task with imagination, however, and in ways that will liberate rather than freeze the processes by which information flows, requires close cooperation between those who know the content and those who know the techniques.

For the operators, several obstacles impede this kind of cooperation. They can probably best be examined in detail by looking at ourselves (and our parent agencies) in three ways. The Foreign Service is

- a *profession* based on certain *skills*;
- a *culture* possessed of certain *attitudes*;
- an *institution* consisting of certain *structures*.

Each aspect tends to resist the use of technology in a different way. We need to make sure that resistance is not carried so far that a reverse swing of the pendulum later brings excesses of automation that

would be worse than the problems we now have.

Professional Skills

The Foreign Service has long emphasized versatility, since it demands a wide variety of skills in a multiplicity of situations. Five such basic skills were listed in the speech by Deputy Under Secretary William Macomber on January 14, 1970. Of those, I want to single out at this point "the capacity for objective and penetrating analysis." Analytical ability is the key, especially in the problems of information handling, because it selects and inter-relates facts, advances propositions and offers conclusions. All of these processes help to reduce the volume and simplify the complexity of otherwise unmanageable information. They point toward policy decisions and action.

The circumstances in which analysis occurs are significant. First, there is an economy in the collection of data. Every Foreign Service officer knows that his time and facilities for handling details are limited. Therefore, his observation itself must be selective. This means that he has already heavily pre-judged (as anyone must to some extent) how the facts will fit together and what they mean. The result is a characteristic telescoping of analytical processes, until the analyst himself has difficulty separating objective fact from how he feels about it.

As already noted, these effects help to produce the phenomenon which makes the observer almost a part of the situation, and thus permits him to analyze it "from inside out." Reliance upon this kind of involvement, together with the need for special language skills and area knowledge, has been formally recognized in geographic specialization programs. It means that a large segment of diplomatic officers, especially those who fill political positions, are country or region centered in their backgrounds and approaches.

The immersion process resulting from training and experience or both produces a Foreign Service approach which contrasts sharply with the methods of some academic research. We tend to deal mainly with the "particles" or entities in the international process, which are

represented by countries and governments. For purposes of analyzing the policies and actions of one country, or the relations among a small number of countries, the subjective approach can be very effective. It has definite limitations, however, which may be similar to the case-study approach in education. It is very difficult to generalize on the basis of many case studies.

Certain academic research in recent years has sought to comprehend the process of international relations among larger numbers of states. This is an attempt to overcome the non-comparability of individual case studies. In part, it is also an effort to explain a larger proportion of the whole international process. This usually requires a sacrifice in the depth of investigation of individual countries, either by not looking behind overt acts for motivations or by viewing only limited sectors of activity.

The former is best typified by statistical studies of United Nations voting; the latter by international trade and payments analyses. Both examples happen to be those where the bureaucratic and academic worlds have found a meeting place. In this respect they are exceptional. Most of the analyses of the kinds described follow divergent paths. The Foreign Service excels in the quality of its information, as to depth and authenticity, if not comparability. The academic and research communities excel in the use of techniques for analyzing volume and complexity. It is not surprising that there is disinterest in, and lack of respect for, the results of each other's work.

The Foreign Service is coming to appreciate the fact that the human brain is not an all-purpose tool. It has marvelous capabilities for the manipulation and integration of information about a relatively small number of variables at any one time. (Seven is often mentioned as the limit.) Moreover, it has a slow rate of storage of new information and imperfect access to data that are to be quickly and accurately recalled for use. In short, human memory is fallible. The electronic computer can be viewed as a device for expanding and extending the limitations of the mind. This can be done without sacrificing the

subtleties of human intuitive power.

To realize these potentialities for foreign affairs, in a practical sense, requires arrangements for the exchange of strengths between the bureaucratic and academic worlds. In some cases, this might mean bureaucrats going where the techniques are. In others, the academics might go where the data are. The choice will depend upon the natures of both the techniques and the data, and of the problems to be analyzed. Some demonstrations have been made, however, of what is possible.

An investigator at the Center for Naval Analysis, for example, has produced studies of national positions on the question of the continental shelf at the United Nations, according to three criteria and several shades of intensity. Active participation by operating officers familiar with the subject in depth might have increased the value of these studies. An operating officer would probably have been able to arrive at similar "head counts" by other methods, but he could not have demonstrated as clearly how he reached his conclusions. Cooperation thus could provide validity checks on both approaches.

Cultural Attitudes

As already suggested, the ways of the Foreign Service are those which encourage and reward the acquisition of information by individual officers in their respective fields of specialization. These expert skills are reinforced by attitudes which become part of survival in the Service. Not only is a premium placed upon the storage of information in the memories of individuals but it is characteristically shared via restricted channels. The latter is both cause and result of the former. The *raison d'être* of the individual expert serves the same purpose for the group.

If specialization in narrow fields is highly regarded, it is easy to confuse the possession of specialized information with the command of knowledge. Especially is this true when there are no easy alternative ways of getting access to specialized information. If his filing system doesn't work, the desk officer reads his incoming "take"—not only to index it mentally for possible future

reference, but also to absorb it against the probability that he will be unable to find it again when he needs it. This is a highly inefficient method of storage, and a perishable one, given the mortality (and transferability) of man.

Still more significant is the way in which decisive pieces of information are shared. All communities have a kind of separation between formal and informal channels of communication. In the Foreign Service, some kinds of information are considered appropriate for inclusion in reports, memoranda and staff studies. These often represent the conventional wisdom that reinforces accepted positions and interpretations.

Other kinds of information are characteristically shared only by face-to-face contact, with persons who can be trusted not to use the information indiscreetly in other settings. This is often the "inside" story of what can be expected, how a policy line is to be interpreted, or who stands where on what. These informal channels of the Foreign Service are comparable to what is called the "invisible college" in scientific and academic circles.

The difference between bureaucratic and academic ways, however, appears in the distinctions among kinds of information flowing in informal channels. The academic practice is to interpose a time delay. So far as the content of a subject is concerned, the informal channels tend to carry advance information about material to be published later. Their function is to pre-test that which is not yet fully exposed to public view, and to gain the benefit of advance criticism of colleagues. That which circulates informally is not necessarily lost, but only deferred.

In the Foreign Service, on the other hand, the tendency is not only to delay but sometimes to obscure the information that circulates informally. Some of it may never be introduced into the record, either for the good reason that it "didn't fly" or because it reveals positions which individuals or governments would prefer to have suppressed. It is the best excuse for the "eyes only" telegram and the official-informal letter, because



without these devices much information would not even be reduced to writing.

To the extent that informal channels carry information that is not legitimately "privileged," however, they can represent an irrationality in the information system. To what extent do Washington car pools, for example, bear the burden of an information exchange that should follow more rational paths? How much time must the average officer spend seeking the elusive clue that permits him to perform adequately in a job that is not directly "in the stream" of all the information he needs.

This leads one to wonder, if a man can be promoted beyond his competence by virtue of good work in a subordinate position, is it possible that he can also disguise his incompetence in the higher job by exclusive access to information that is available to no one else?

Institutional Structures

The Foreign Service and its parent agencies are not flexible instruments. They were not intended to be; on the contrary, they were organized to maintain a stable pattern of performance. Jean Monnet says that institutions are inherently conservative and that change comes from individuals, rather than organizations.

Recent testimony to this fact was the formation of task forces to produce innovative proposals for modifying the management of the Department of State. Aside from assembling a variety of talents, the thirteen task forces placed in innovative roles many people who did not feel able, or required, to innovate in their normal positions. It also brought together people who did not normally communicate with one another, thus re-emphasizing the need for better information channels. The moral of this and similar exercises is that bureaucrats are different people when taken out of their institutional boxes.

The normal situation in any bu-

reaucracy is for bargaining to rival reason as a basis for decision-making. Bargaining emphasizes organizational position and advantage, without any necessary correlation with the results of information analysis. The professional tendency to make analysis subjective and the cultural trait of moving information in informal channels—both reinforcing the limitations of use and access—join together in the institutional emphasis on bargaining. Bargaining depends upon both the exclusive possession of information and its confinement to informal channels.

Information scientists concerned with facilitating the transfer of information now make a distinction between the need for free access within an organization, on the one hand, and maintenance of hierarchical lines of authority and responsibility, on the other. The chain of command is necessary in the execution of policy and in accounting for its results. It impedes the flow of information, however, and runs the risk of distorting policy if it is allowed to dominate information channels.

The principle of free access to information within the department or a mission overseas is professionally and culturally difficult to accept, in the abstract. Examples already exist, however, in such practices as the free circulation of serial messages, notably telegrams and airgrams. Just about anyone in the Department with half a need-to-know can order copies of the great majority of them by number, and can get on the regular distribution list if a distinct subject can be identified.

With the greater flexibility of retrieval and display that technology offers, the same kind of freedom could be extended to informal pieces of information, analysis, guidance and opinion, suitably identified as to origin. Special protection would be afforded by creation of limited access compartments of information (as at present) and by restricting access to computer terminals. In time, the freer mode of sharing might replace much of the paper that now circulates and some of the oral exchanges of information that occur in staff meetings.

Innovative Uses

Provided some of these human problems can be resolved, there is plenty of room for the application of technology to enhance professional skills, overcome limitations of face-to-face culture, and break down barriers of institutionalization in foreign affairs. The potential for technology lies not solely in the conventional uses of the computer—dissemination, storage, retrieval—important though they are. Instead, we need to look ahead several years, to anticipate the time when operations now viewed as unconventional have been proved and accepted by the majority. Some examples may suffice to indicate the possibilities.

Suppose that a large data sample were available representing the supporters of a particular political party or candidate, or the members of a military officer corps, in terms of age, family background, residence, education, and so on. Factor analysis would be one way of revealing the sets of characteristics that correlated best with the act of supporting the party or joining the armed forces, as the case might be.

But a more flexible device is also available, requiring less mathematical training. The user follows the anatomy of the problem through a "tree" structure traced by successive subdivisions in the statistical data, graphically displayed on a screen. He takes advantage of his substantive knowledge of the subject at the same time that the computer is performing at his direction the intricate calculations by which the data are analyzed. It is a kind of graphic factor analysis, that allows greater discretion to the non-mathematical analyst.

Let us say that we wish to verify the impact of a policy of "low profile" in our bilateral relations around the world. One of the principal elements of those relations is the sum total of daily official communications with various governments, at different levels and in different places around the world. A standard file for the automated storage and retrieval of the basic facts about each contact would permit the recall of details concerning one, some, or all of them, either over a period of time to show trends, or for comparison of two

time periods.

Another experiment being carried on outside the Government is concerned with the techniques of "thinking by machine." Using graphic display to represent concepts formulated by the user, or relationships revealed by manipulation of a particular set of data, the computer can be an effective extension of the human mind. The user is able to display, rearrange and temporarily store information in various combinations, recalling each as he discovers new need for it, possibly in combination with other information not originally used.

Of particular utility in the Department of State might be systems that effectively combine the intuitive judgments of many specialists, each in his own area of expertise. Such a system could be used to improve analysis which now must often either be limited to a few countries or functional areas, or be based upon inadequate information that happens to be available in standard forms. The whole could then be simulated by computer to view possible effects of anticipated events, or subjected to quantitative analyses of kinds that are presently applied mainly in circumstances that are either unconvincing or not particularly useful to government.

Also of possible practical utility would be a method of electronic message clearance. A draft message entered in the computer for the attention of designated officers in different parts of the Government could be displayed simultaneously before each of them. After reading the draft, each participant could enter comments and proposed changes in forms that would be conveniently displayed before the others for comparison and discussion, possibly by combinations of oral and graphic communication. A variation would be a non-simultaneous "conversion" in which each participant could comment at his convenience, allowing the originator to accumulate the sum total for reconsideration by the original drafter.

Some Cautions

None of these ideas should be adopted uncritically, or before the users have acquired experience in more basic forms of computer retrieval of papers and information.

There are thus many ways to use technology to improve the information systems of foreign affairs. The dangers are of several kinds. First is that the use of computers will be limited to the replacement of routine clerical functions without improving the quality of the over-all performance or benefiting management at policy levels.

Unplanned automation is perhaps the next greatest risk. It can occur either under a large head of steam from over-enthusiastic sponsorship or from the initiatives of semiautonomous bureaus with decentralized budget authority. Interrelationships can exist even among seemingly disconnected operations. Unexpected effects can appear in one place from changes originated in another. Taking advantage of payoffs from such connections can sometimes afford the largest gains from carefully planned and integrated improvements in information handling.

In general, the danger that looms largest could result from a combination of the two foregoing tendencies. To apply automation without either imagination or planning could truly threaten to make the computer master over human beings. Not in the ways that are pictured in science fiction, however, in which a semi-intelligent machine takes discretion away from its creators.

Instead, the mastery of man by the computer will be more likely to result from unbridled automation which creates confusion beyond the abilities of either man or machine to control, unravel or rebuild. Some systems elsewhere are already in this condition, from which the only escape may be to junk the system and begin anew. If this ever happens in State, we could well have an automated system that supplies rudimentary analysis of a problem. When asked to give a rational basis for its analysis, however, the computer could only respond, "I have this 'gut' feeling."

The existence of dangers should not prevent the effort. Many opportunities for automation exist, which are both bold in concept and integrative in their probable effects. We need only engage the full range of our energies and imaginations in the tasks of innovation. ■

"If the world were not so full of people, and most of them did not have to work so hard, there would be more time for them to get out and lie on the grass, and there would be more grass for them to lie on."—Don Marquis

POPULATION GROWTH: AN ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

THE impact on man's natural and cultural environments of rapidly growing human populations and of the increasing technical complexity associated with that growth is creating an unprecedented situation. Unless major steps are taken now to redirect man's procreative and creative talents, the better way of life toward which civilized man has been striving may become unattainable and his very survival may be placed in jeopardy.

Concern over these prospects has spread among thoughtful and responsible people around the world. Recognition is growing that the problem is one which all nations share because its manifestations transcend national boundaries and because its solution calls for coordinated action based on the pooled wisdom and experience of mankind. At the same time, the emotionalism and superficiality that marks some of the concern raises the question of whether or not the commotion is not just another fad. However, the reality of the situation will not vanish and will become increasingly harsh unless dealt with intelligently and quickly.

For the first time in human memory the world's population growth rate is getting out of control. This is creating serious doubts whether man can be entrusted with the stewardship of his own home.

The increase in the world's growth rate in the past few generations has been due almost exclusively to marked, and at times dra-

DAVID L. GAMON

During his 28 years of Foreign Service experience in many parts of the world, Mr. Gamon has become increasingly aware of the interaction of demographic trends with social development, human welfare and political stability. In 1968-69, he pursued these interests during a year of graduate studies at the University of North Carolina under a Ford Foundation fellowship. Mr. Gamon is now Deputy Special Assistant to the Secretary for Population Matters.

matic, declines in mortality. This enhanced survivorship is basically the result of the successful application of modern science and technology to the control of death. As a result, life expectancy has been extended from primitive levels to levels approximating the generally accepted "natural life span" of man. But, more significant in its impact on the environment, far greater numbers of people survive infancy and live through the reproductive age span.

The irony of the situation is that it has occurred because of human intelligence. It is the result of deliberate efforts to meet immediate problems, but without due consideration of their ultimate effects.

So far, man has managed to survive and to multiply through the application of his ingenuity in transforming the environment in ways calculated to reduce the threats to his continued existence. He has also

displayed an unusual ability to adapt himself to surrounding conditions that he has not been able, or did not choose, to control. This engineering of nature and of man has been carried out with much success and without unfortunate consequences as long as the changes in either the environment or in man have not overtaxed the adaptive capacity of the other.

Naturally, man has not consciously sought to change his environment so that it would become inimical to his own system. Neither has he calculatedly transformed himself in ways that are hostile to the environment on which his future well-being depends. But, as man has extended his power over nature, he has become more attracted to his power to change than to the consequences of the exercise of that power.

The point has now been reached where man's manipulation of nature is taking on such dimensions that he might engineer his environment beyond his capacity to adapt and to control. But, even if he avoids that danger, as the recent United Nations—United Automobile Workers Symposium on the Impact of Urbanization on Man's Environment pointed out, "he nevertheless may well suffer the unhappy future that has been foreseen if world society does not mend its ways: that of the living death of long-term adaptation to a steadily declining quality of life."

Man's technical proficiency that has made it possible for his progeny

to survive in increasing numbers is upsetting the balance of nature in two ways, each one of which poses a serious threat to man's future.

The first of these is the temporary dislocation of a vital mechanism that heretofore operated as a governor on the rate of population growth. Until very recently, and with only occasional exceptions of relatively limited impact, death rates tended to offset birth rates and populations either were virtually stable or grew very modestly. With increasing control over death, the picture became skewed.

The second way in which man has upset the balance of nature is through his consumption habits. With the increasing complexity of his culture, the demands he has made on his environment in order to satisfy the needs of that culture have become increasingly profound.

Both developments are, of course, closely interrelated. The expansion of man's technological abilities has made rapid population growth possible. Growing, modernizing societies require increasingly sophisticated technology. When technological development leads to environmental abuse, population growth accentuates the ecological imbalance.

Persons who are looking for ways to control the Sorcerer's Apprentice that man's inventiveness has evoked see the problem in three ways.

First, they realize that man lives in a finite world in which there are limits to permissive levels of change. We do not know the extent of the resources on which we depend or just how far we can influence our surroundings with impunity. We do know that the availability of resources is constantly changing as we use and abuse them, and that our abilities are constantly being directed to reaching for new resources. We also know that we have the potential to reduce the insults to nature that are the result of the application of our technology and that ecological balance is an ideal rather than a reality. But we are left with a nagging feeling that there are limits to the expansion of our numbers and of our consumption habits imposed by the finite nature of our habitat. Evidence seems to be mounting that we are ever more rapidly approaching these limits.

The second area of concern is the effect of rapid human growth rates on political and social institutions. Many of our institutions evolved over periods of time during which populations grew at a slow pace. We are now confronted with rapid demographic upheavals of unprecedented dimensions that threaten to cause widespread damage to the cultural fabric of our civilization. As an example, the population explosion that is occurring in many societies around the world places severe strains on the functioning of representative forms of government. Unless these pressures are reduced or some other means of citizenship participation are invented, increasing authoritarianism may become inevitable. Aside from the direct effects of rapid population growth on political institutions, there are indirect ones operating through socio-economic channels. Many countries striving for economic viability and independence are faced with levels of population growth that make it virtually impossible for them to advance satisfactorily along the path toward modernization without constant infusions of economic support from outside. Even if the provision of such support over protracted periods were assured—which is doubtful—extended dependence on it would bring into question the nature of the national sovereignty of economically dependent nations.

The third concern is with the effect of the population explosion on the personal welfare, happiness and dignity of human beings the world over. To the extent that population pressures, whether they be within the family, the community or the nation reduce the scope for individual decision-making, they have a direct bearing on the quality of life on which man's unique nature depends.

We are now at what appears to be the threshold of a period during which man's manipulation of the human habitat has taken on such a form and dimension that a check on population growth patterns and consumption habits appears inescapable. It's a matter of concern to those who feel a responsibility for the future welfare of mankind that a reversal of trends be achieved with a minimum of political and social



upheaval and of human suffering. If at all possible, it should be achieved through a maximum use of individual freedom of choice. Coercion should be resorted to only if volunteerism fails and the consequences of that failure are more inhumane than coercion.

Increasing thought therefore is being given, both within nations and among nations, to means of controlling the rate of the world's population growth and the manner in which growing populations are using their environment. A return to ancestral conditions of relatively sparse and stable populations and primitive consumer habits is probably beyond man's adaptive will. It is unlikely to occur in the absence of large-scale destruction of life and of cultural institutions. It is not man's nature to turn the clock back and to start over again, no matter how great the romantic appeal of a return to Eden might be. The problem must be tackled through more careful and more thoughtful use of the technical and scientific tools developed by man's inventiveness that somehow have been misapplied.

There are four ways in which population pressures can be relieved. One is migration, a method that has been practiced with success ever since the beginnings of the human race. Until (or unless) interplanetary transfers become a reality, migration can offer no solution to the over-all population situation of the world. There are obviously great variations in population densities within every country and almost every country controls land that is relatively empty of human inhabitants. The channelling of excess populations into such spaces would seem to offer a simple and humane solution. However, the critical factor

today in migration as a possible solution is not empty lands but cost. In the past, excess populations could be established in virgin territory with relatively little capital investment. The monetary cost was largely that of transporting emigrants to their new homes. Their major needs, in their new homes, were some few tools, an ability to use them and courage to face the unknown. It is no longer that simple. As pressures on marginal lands become more intense and as the standard of living expected by the people the world over becomes more complex, the migrant requires more equipment, both in infrastructure and in technical ability, to make a satisfactory living. The failure of political institutions to provide this type of support in many countries of the world has led to wide-spread dissatisfaction and large-scale movement of rural workers to the cities that are not prepared to provide for them.

A second way of relieving population pressures would be a return to high death rates. Although we naturally find this an unacceptable solution, it cannot escape our attention because it is the path most likely to open up if other means do not succeed. It could come about through a failure of societies to maintain the health standards that have been set during recent years. It could come through famine. It could also occur through natural cataclysm, military holocaust or man-made degradation of the environment.

The third and most humane method, but not the simplest, is the reduction of birth rates either, hopefully, through voluntary programs or, by default, by state fiat. Voluntary reduction of family sizes to levels more in line with lowered death rates and more compatible with goals for economic development and social progress is, of course, the choice of most of the responsible and forward-looking leaders of the world.

But, it is becoming increasingly evident that in the short run population pressures in most countries cannot adequately be relieved through a reduction in population growth rates alone. If the typical developing society were to succeed in reducing its birth rate to a level of Net Reproduction Rate of unity, essentially, an

average of a two-child family, its population would continue to grow for some fifty to sixty years to two or three times its size. This phenomenon is due to the fact that during this transition period more people would be entering the reproductive age span than would be leaving it. This built-in demographic momentum is most striking in populations with a high proportion of young people. The population of Latin America is now estimated to be about 275 million. If the area were to achieve a Net Reproduction Rate of unity by the year 2000, a very unlikely occurrence if present trends persist, its population would stabilize only by the year 2060 at over 783 million, or almost three times the present size.

Because of this inertia, any delay in reducing birth rates increases the dimensions of the task of modernizing societies. However, the effects of this demographic momentum can be cushioned by a fourth method of reducing population pressures. This is careful and farsighted environmental planning. The need for this type of planning is acute in areas of high population density and of industrial activity. But it is felt wherever man's technology threatens to reduce the quality of life by accentuating the problems of population pressures. The costs of environmental planning are high. But the benefits are measured in terms that make the difference between the improvement and the degradation of life.

With few exceptions, official organized efforts to reduce population growth rates are a phenomenon of the last decade. These efforts include official enunciation of policies or launching of programs to reduce national growth rates or official endorsement of organized private efforts to that end. The fact that most of this effort is focused on the nonindustrialized world and is encouraged and supported by several leading Western industrialized nations strengthens the belief of some that it somehow reflects an effort of the Caucasian West to limit the power and authority of the nonwhite populations of the world.

This supposition is based on three misconceptions that need to be cleared up. First, programs to re-

duce population growth rates are not imposed from abroad. They are indigenous programs developed for reasons that the political leadership believes to be in the national interest. They may receive significant encouragement from outside, and in some cases the foreign financial and technical assistance may be crucial to the program. But this assistance is supportive rather than directive. Second, these international efforts are not aimed at limiting population numbers in any country but rather at reducing the rates of population growth. The objective is to keep growth rates within bounds that are compatible with satisfactory rates of development of natural and social resources and that allow an improvement in the quality of life for the ordinary citizen.

The third reason why fears of racial genocide are ill-founded is that the industrialized nations already have traveled along the path that they suggest others follow. They have reduced their own population growth rates to about one-half the average of the world. They have little incentive to attempt to reverse their minority status that is assured by this effort because they have valid reasons for associating lowered growth rates with economic development, social progress, national integrity and human well-being. In helping others, they are enhancing the possibility that similar developments may take place in countries that have yet to become fully committed to the modernization process.

There is another misconception that arises from the way in which the United States helps others deal with their population problems. The United States Government entered this area of international collaboration quite recently. Prior to the 1967 amendments of the Foreign Assistance Act, American support of national population programs was timid and token. With the amendment identified as Title X, however, the Congress began to earmark a significant proportion of Foreign Assistance appropriations for programs related to population growth. During the first year, \$35 million were so identified. During the current fiscal year, the amount has been increased to \$100 million. Earmarked appropriations for the next few years will

probably be at or above the current level.

If funds were not earmarked for this purpose, it is doubtful that the United States would have become involved as rapidly and as fully as it did in helping other nations handle their population problems. However, coming at a time of over-all decreases in appropriations for developmental assistance, the setting aside of increasingly large amounts of foreign aid exclusively for programs related to population growth has led to the accusation by some people that the United States is shifting from developmental assistance to population control. Title X expenditures account for only a small portion of the over-all American developmental assistance effort. For example, preliminary estimates indicate that in Fiscal Year 1970, commitments for population program activities represented about four percent of the total US foreign assistance expenditure. Moreover, the United States Government spent additional large amounts for foreign economic assistance through multinational organizations and through such mechanisms as Public Law 480.

There is no evidence that any responsible segment of the American public or of its political leadership contemplates replacing developmental assistance with assistance to limit population growth rates or that it intends to make the continuation of developmental assistance conditional on a reduction in birth rates.

The first American leader to commit the United States to activity in this new field was President Johnson. In his State of the Union Message on January 5, 1965, he said, "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity of world resources." It is significant that President Johnson went on to say, "We seek not to extend the power of America but the progress of humanity. We seek not to dominate others but to strengthen the freedom of all." The American pledge is motivated by humanitarianism and a will to strengthen rather than weaken nations burdened with the problems of rapid population growth.

To be truly effective, developmental efforts and programs to reduce excessive population growth must be closely interrelated and mutually supporting. Family planning programs alone are not likely to make much of a dent on growth rates. Outside the context of the modernization process associated with economic development and social progress, voluntary family planning does little more than provide help to couples who wish to limit the size of their families. Even if parents were to have no more than the number of children they now want, population growth rates still would be beyond the capacity of existing political and social institutions.

On the other hand, developmental assistance within the limits that are likely to be available is not going to succeed in modernizing impoverished societies in which increasing amounts of capital and intellectual wealth are absorbed in providing the basic necessities of life for rapidly growing populations.

Population programs must, first, meet the felt needs of those couples who want to limit the size of their families. But this humanitarian achievement must be reinforced with economic benefits and social rewards if it is to become a way of life among wider groups within the society. Therefore, developmental assistance must be programed in such a way that families with fewer children are given opportunities to achieve a better life within the terms set by their own culture. Developmental assistance, if properly applied, opens up greater and more diverse fields for achievement to growing numbers of people within a society so that individuals begin to seek self-fulfillment increasingly as producers rather than primarily as reproducers.

One of the main goals of family planning programs is to speed up that process. If the voluntary approach to the reduction of population growth rates were to fail, authoritarian approaches would acquire greater acceptance as the means of saving the situation. Meanwhile, there is no valid reason to fear that volunteerism will not succeed—it really has not yet been given a fair chance in large scale national programs.

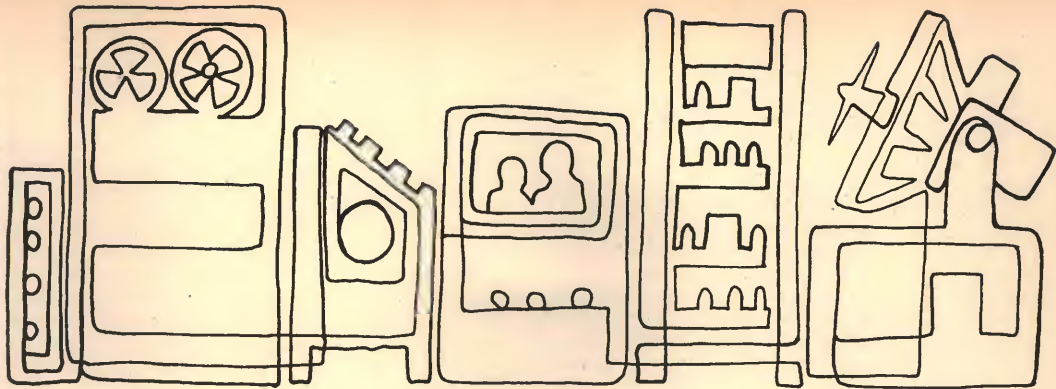
In essence, then, the approach to the world of tomorrow should be to proceed with economic development and social progress as intelligently and as rapidly as resources permit while devising more effective means of reducing rapid population growth rates through voluntary choice so as to increase the effectiveness of developmental assistance.

Recent awareness of the imperative need to reform the ways in which technology uses the environment introduces a third consideration. An integral part of any modernization effort must be a reduction of the environmental abuse that has accompanied population growth. It is not well enough to limit population growth to levels compatible with economic development and social progress and to provide developmental assistance in ways that motivate societies to bring down their birth rates. The end product of all of this effort must be a world in which human activity is in harmony with man's habitat.

To begin with, then, we must recognize the limitations of the philosophy that separates the world into "developing" and "developed" nations and that equates membership among the latter with success. This is not a very satisfactory division and it reflects goals of dubious validity and limited acceptability. We must begin to think of achievement in terms of the extent to which the institutions of a society add to or detract from the over-all quality of life.

If a society is in the process of enriching the life of its citizens through a modernization process that includes a reasonable growth rate of its population and a manageable impact of its institutions on the balance of nature, I suggest that the time has come to consider it as an "achieving" society. On the other hand, we should think of one that is lacking in these respects as a "failing" society.

This concept may not be welcomed by those who are convinced that industrial weight and population growth are true measures of success. However, it may be a more realistic one in terms of man's desire to achieve a higher quality of life and possibly even in terms of his survival. ■



"What Samuel Morse started with the telegraph, the Department's computer facilities are likely to finish."

Automation and the Foreign Service

THE technology of automation will profoundly influence the work of the Foreign Service in the 1970s. The key elements of this change will be: 1) Fast, cheap, direct satellite communications; 2) Large computer data banks in Washington, and in a few regional posts abroad; 3) Simplified and low maintenance computer terminals and classified Long Distance Xerox (LDX) facilities or similar equipment linking the Department with most posts.

Certain trends are already apparent; others are probable; and some are as yet unknown.

Services to Americans abroad will increase. Although non-immigrant visa services will require less personnel either as a result of the Automated Visa Name Check System or legislation reducing NIV requirements, the number of American tourists, overseas residents,

THOMAS M. TRACY

AFSA's Board Member, Thomas M. Tracy, is currently assigned as a Special Assistant to the Executive Secretary of the Department. His duties consist of applying new technological developments to the specific problems of the Executive Secretariat. Mr. Tracy has served as an administrative officer in the field and in Washington and as a political officer in the Department.

and personnel assigned to multilateral organizations will increase substantially.

Welfare and protection services and passport needs will grow. Ad-

ditionally, these services tend to be labor intensive and generally do not readily lend themselves to automated techniques. As the number of American consular personnel grows, the level of required skills (particularly managerial abilities) will also increase.

Administrative services will change even more than consular. The number of budget and fiscal officers and staff abroad will be reduced. This process is already under way in Europe and to some extent in those areas of Africa and the Middle East served by the Regional Finance Center in Paris. This trend will accelerate in the next decade.

Vouchers for goods and services will be prepared at each post and transmitted on-line via Optical Character Recognition (OCR) or magnetic tape equipment (both systems employ fairly standard

typewriters). The technical facilities exist now at many European and some Latin American posts. The remaining budget and fiscal work will become more centralized either in a few regional posts or the Department. This function will also become more specialized.

General services functions will also undergo major changes. It will be cheaper and, probably more efficient in many cases, to contract locally for such services as building maintenance, housing, custodial services, motor pool services and shipping and transportation services. Much of the paper work and auditing will be automated in the same manner as budget and fiscal functions. The current trend toward regional GSO offices abroad will accelerate, and the total number of persons engaged in this activity will decline.

Communications services are already in the revolutionary stage. With communications costs declining, more sophisticated on-line, automated techniques will increase. These developments include, but are not limited to:

1. Optical Character Recognition (OCR) now is in use in the Department's Communications Center and is reaching the economically feasible stage for large European posts.
2. Classified Long Distance Xerox (LDX) is operational in the United States.
3. Magnetic tape records are being produced on reasonably standard typewriters. The IBM MT/ST, although expensive, has been in use for some years. Simple devices for transmitting MT/ST tapes via telephone (either classified or unclassified) lines are currently used widely in the United States and abroad.
4. Reasonably uncomplicated and inexpensive on-line computer terminals employing English language techniques will be installed in the Executive Secretariat by the end of this year.

The net effect of these and other developments will substantially reduce the need for manual paper tape methods now employed in

communications operations abroad. The result will be a reduction in the number of communications personnel stationed overseas. Those jobs remaining will be increasingly specialized and technical.

Personnel services will largely be performed by local employees at many posts abroad and by the Department. Using the techniques listed above most personnel transactions will be performed by local employees using on-line facilities connected to the regional servicing posts or the Department's computer facilities. Certain personnel functions at selected European posts are already using an automated system.

Balancing to some extent this reduction in administrative personnel will be a small increase in the number of persons exercising overall management functions. The responsibilities of the "Office of the Administrative Officer" for the management aspects of these changes will grow.

Economic reporting will also undergo significant changes. In many developed countries economic and commercial data is now available in automated form (usually magnetic tape). This trend will grow and spread. The effects of the automated production of economic and commercial information will mean less research for the posts abroad. Much information that is presently compiled from printed documents and then sent in the form of a cable or airgram will be transmitted directly to the Department's computer facilities. The need for personnel engaged in the manual processing of such information will decline.

Political reporting that is concerned with "raw data" will be subject to many of the same trends. Diplomatic notes from Foreign Offices, for example, will probably be sent directly to the Department's computer via LDX or a similar method. It is currently possible to send six to eight pages a minute of any type of printed or hand written material via LDX without any special preparation. The ability to feed this data directly into a computer is probably not far off. "Raw data" from published articles, newspapers, certain types of biographic information, and much labor in-

formation will be processed in the same manner. Much of this material will in the future be handled by local employees.

The level of productivity of secretarial and clerical personnel abroad will increase with the introduction of such equipment as magnetic tape and card typewriters. A secretary using one of these machines can on the average produce 2½ times as much written material as an ordinary secretary. The data on the tape or card can be processed directly by a computer using existing methods. The number of secretaries posted overseas will decline.

Analysis of events abroad will become more important both in Washington and the posts abroad. However, what Samuel Morse started with the telegraph, the Department's computer facilities are likely to finish, i.e., the Department's fast access to data from the field and its superior processing facilities will tend to centralize much of the analysis function in Washington. Although there are inherent dangers in this development, the relative budgetary advantage of more centralization in Washington will be hard to resist.

Some traditional and important Foreign Service functions such as representation and public relations functions are not likely to be much influenced by automation. On the other hand, "new areas of encounter" such as pollution, environment control, various scientific fields of development, technology and others will represent areas of growth in overseas activities. It is still too early to predict what precise form these changes will take, but their influence is likely to be significant.

The principal challenge posed by automation in the 1970s is not technical. The almost staggering development of computer and related technology in the last ten years has solved many of the equipment difficulties associated with automation. The real problem is our ability to anticipate and exploit the potential opportunities offered by automation. Inevitably, we shall have to examine our personnel needs, our way of doing business, and our customary approaches to problems. The challenge is a worthy one. ■

"Man has wrested from nature the power to make the world a desert or to make the deserts bloom. There is no evil in the atom; only in men's souls."—Adlai Stevenson

The Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and U.S. International Relations

TODAY, probably the most significant use of nuclear energy, in terms of the greatest number of people directly affected, is the generation of electricity by nuclear power plants. In the United States, the growth of nuclear power in recent years has been phenomenal. This has been due not only to the fact that nuclear reactors have proved to be safe, clean and efficient power sources, but also because in large sizes they are economically competitive with coal, oil, or gas power plants. We now have in operation, under construction and planned in the United States more than 100 nuclear power plants with a combined capacity—enough to meet the needs of 50 million people—about equal to the total electric generating capacity of the United States 20 years ago. Almost all of these plants will be in operation by the mid-1970s. By 1980, this country should have a nuclear generating capacity of 150,000,000 kilowatts or almost 25 percent of the total capacity.

In addition to nuclear generated power, the use of radioactive isotopes is proving of great value. Today radio-isotopes are performing many vital services in medicine, agriculture, industry, in the humanities and arts, in crime detection and in areas of research ranging from

JAMES T. RAMEY

Commissioner, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission

At the Annual Foreign Service Institute Seminar on Science, Technology and Foreign Affairs, Department of State, Arlington, Va., April 22, 1970.

Our author received his LL.B. from Columbia in 1941 and served with TVA from 1941-47, as an assistant professor at the University of Tennessee 1943-46, and with the AEC from 1947-56. He was appointed commissioner in 1962. He is a member of the American Nuclear Society, Federal Bar Association, American Political Science Association and the American Society of Public Administration.

archaeology to zoology. A radio-isotope generator now operates on the moon, in space and in oceans.

Large dual-purpose nuclear plants that will both generate electricity and desalt considerable amounts of seawater or brackish water are being studied. Large agro-industrial energy centers powered by nuclear energy could produce great quantities of desalted water, which in combination with modern high productivity agricultural practices would increase

food production and be a boon to the world's underfed people. The United States Atomic Energy Commission's Plowshare program—the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes—envisages economic excavation for harbors and canals, extraction of oil from shale, leaching of minerals from low grade ores, and the release of natural gas from presently impermeable rock.

IN its 1962 Report to the President, the Commission set forth the basic objectives of the United States nuclear power program which it still regards as valid:

1. "The demonstration of economic nuclear power by assuring the construction of plants incorporating the presently most competitive reactor types.
2. "The early establishment of a self-sufficient and growing nuclear power industry that will assume an increasing share of the development costs.
3. "The development of improved converter and, later, breeder reactors to convert the fertile isotopes to fissionable ones, thus making available the full potential of the nuclear fuels.
4. "The maintenance of United

States technological leadership in the world by means of a vigorous domestic nuclear power program and appropriate cooperation with, and assistance to, our friends abroad."

We are successfully accumulating more and more operating experience with nuclear plants that have produced enough electric power to date to meet the needs of a city of 2,000,000 people for over four years (over 60 billion kilowatt hours). In addition to the early small, promising demonstration plants, six later generation intermediate to large size nuclear power plants are now in operation in the United States. During the severe winter of 1968-1969, two of these plants were on line at full power and helped avert a power shortage in New England when some of the fossil fueled power plants were out of commission. In the winter of 1969-70, the Jersey Central nuclear plant at Oyster Creek, New Jersey, the first of the very large-scale, truly commercial nuclear plants to be ordered, made a major contribution toward averting serious power shortage, when a large conventional plant on the system unexpectedly went out of service. This occurred while the Jersey Central plant was still completing its final test runs.

In spite of a slump in orders for nuclear plants in 1968 and 1969, the Commission still expects that by 1980 United States nuclear electric generating capacity will reach some 130 to 170 million kilowatts, with a median of 150 million kilowatts. This means an investment of more than \$30 billion and amounts to about 25 percent of the total power capacity of the United States.

The introduction of nuclear power in the United States has encountered some problems. For example, meeting the rigorous engineering standards for building of nuclear plants has involved some delays. There have also been management, labor and delivery problems. As a result, several of the nuclear plants now under construction or on order will not come into operation on schedule or within estimated cost. However, large size fossil fuel plants are encountering similar difficulties.

A further and more recent development in the United States nu-

clear power development has been the sharp increase in the concern of the American public about the environment. Even high school students are raising questions about thermal effects and radioactive effluents from nuclear power plants. A lot of this concern is based on misinformation. The Commission recognizes the great need for getting the true story of nuclear power across to the public, which it is trying to do in cooperation with United States industry. I believe progress has been made.

One interesting example of the interrelation of our foreign and domestic activities is the large-scale conference on the environmental aspects of nuclear power which is to be held at United Nations Headquarters this August. This conference will be sponsored by the International Atomic Energy Agency with US Atomic Energy Commission cooperation, and is aimed at bringing all nations up-to-date on environmental problems in the nuclear power field, and how they are being approached in various countries.

THE light water type of nuclear power plants in the United States is not very efficient in its utilization of uranium. Less than one percent of the potential energy contained in the uranium is used.

We have known for over two decades that to use most efficiently the great potential energy in all natural nuclear resources—the uranium and thorium abundant in nature—we must use breeder reactors, that is, reactors that create more nuclear fuel material than they consume. This principle involves converting uranium-238 (which makes up 99.3 percent of the uranium mined) to plutonium-239, and thorium-232 to uranium-233. This could extend our use of uranium and thorium reserves from decades to thousands of years, and, at the same time, considerably reduce the cost of power.

We see the transition from the light water reactors to the breeders as an orderly one in which the plutonium produced by the light water reactors helps supply the light water reactors and the fast reactors until enough of the fast reactors are on the line long enough to form a completely self-sufficient fuel system.

Based on its potential economics,

the interest of the reactor manufacturers and electric utilities, and the base of technology already available, the liquid metal cooled fast breeder reactor (LMFBR) has been selected by the AEC as its highest priority reactor development program.

A keystone in our efforts, as with the development of light water reactors, will be the cooperative government-industry undertakings of demonstration plants.

The transition to the large commercial breeders will begin in the mid-1980s. By that time, we will have an estimated 270 million kilowatts of nuclear generating capacity—about one-third of our Nation's total power capacity. It will be the plutonium stockpiled from these reactors that will supply the breeders as we make the transition to the power economy that includes the fast breeder.

In addition to the LMFBR, we are continuing to support several other reactor concepts in the United States: the High Temperature Gas Reactor (HTGR), the Light Water Breeder Reactor (LWBR), and the Molten Salt Breeder Reactor (MSBR).

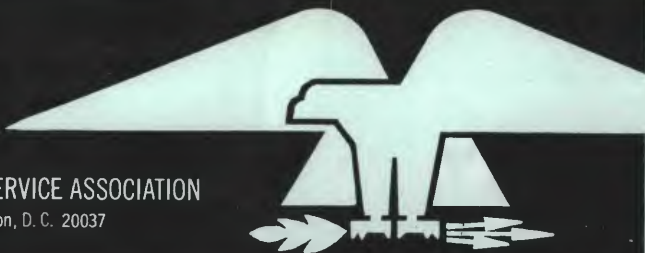
Each of the advanced reactor types has varying potentials of performance, and each requires additional research and development efforts. The progress of these systems, together with the industrial interest and support, will provide the basis for determining their future support and course of development.

IN President Eisenhower's historic address before the UN General Assembly on December 8, 1953, he initiated what has become known as the Atoms for Peace Program.

The response to President Eisenhower's proposals culminated in establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957.

To initiate the US Atoms for Peace Program, President Eisenhower submitted recommendations to Congress in February 1954 for amending the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which had severely limited United States cooperation with other nations in development of peaceful uses of the atom.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954
(Continued on page 29)



MARCH, 1971

STORMY E.O. MEETING

The open meeting called by AFSA on February 8 in the West Auditorium of State Department drew a near-capacity crowd and ended in an uproar. AFSA's President, Ted Eliot, opened the meeting and introduced Chairman Bill Harrop to explain the Seven Point Agreement reached with Deputy Under Secretary William Macomber during the previous week. This agreement, printed below, would provide the Foreign Service with rights comparable to those available to Civil Service employees, if the Foreign Service is exempted from Executive Order 11491. Mr. Harrop explained the difficulties in applying the Executive Order to the Foreign Service, pointing out that all supervisory personnel are excluded from representation under the Order, that those performing intelligence, security, audit and personnel functions (except purely clerical personnel functions) may also be excluded by an agency head—who may also in his sole judgment—exclude the agency's overseas installations. In sum, under the Executive Order, it is possible that only about half of the Foreign Service employees on duty in the United States could be represented. He also called attention to the fact that the White House had not yet made a decision on the options advanced by the Federal Labor Relations Council.

After this explanation, Mr. Eliot called on Bob Maxim, President of JFSOC, to present the junior officers' point of view. Mr. Maxim's reasoned reply was, in essence, that many foreign service people want AFSA to move ahead under E.O. 11491, which they consider to be the best arrangement for Foreign Service Personnel.

The meeting was then opened for questions and statements not to exceed two minutes from members of the audience. Miss Teresa Healy announced the formation of an ad hoc committee for the Executive Order

and invited middle and senior grade officers to join. Mr. Eliot asked Tex Harris to explain some further aspects of the Executive Order. Mr. Frank Wile rose to commend the Board for its action in getting the best of both possible worlds for the Foreign Service, i.e., the possibility of equal protection if exemption from the Order becomes a fact.

FSO John Ray of the ad hoc committee spoke against the Board's action and offered a resolution to the effect that it was the sense of the meeting that the Board should withdraw its agreement with the seven point proposal.

Mr. Eliot then announced that both points of view had been aired, that a referendum of all AFSA members would be taken, followed by a General Meeting, if requested by 50 or more members, and that since the meeting had already exceeded its allotted time, he pronounced it closed.

This was marked by boos, cries of "shame," the invoking of democracy and other adverse comment. One member addressed those who remained, roundly criticizing the action of the Board.

The Seven Points

1) Agency officials and representatives of qualified labor and professional organizations will consult regularly, and before final decisions are made, concerning personnel policies and procedures, including grievance procedures, which affect working conditions of Foreign Service personnel.

2) Agreements reached in the course of such consultations shall be reduced to written form. Where such agreements have ultimate reference to the legislative process, both parties shall be bound to cooperate in seeking any legislation required. However, in seeking any legislation the agency's cooperation must fall within limits set by applicable Executive Branch policies and procedures.

3) When it is not possible to secure agreement through the process of consultation, agency officials shall com-

municate their decisions in writing to the interested labor and professional organizations. If such disagreements involve important management decisions on personnel policy and procedures, they may be appealed to the Board of the Foreign Service. The Board, in its discretion, can also bear such other significant personnel matters as it deems appropriate. The Board will act by majority vote in deciding the issues put before it and its decisions will be final unless overruled by the Secretary of State or the Director of USIA, as appropriate.

4) In addition to the consultation described in (1) above, the agencies will afford reasonable access to senior management officials for informal consultation with representatives of labor and professional organizations to encourage:

- a) The improvement of agency operations;
- b) The exchange of information;
- c) The improvement of managerial effectiveness;
- d) The establishment of administrative policies that will serve the public interest.

Consultations will not extend to foreign policy areas or other substantive responsibilities of the agencies.

5) The agencies will seek authority to provide for the voluntary allotment of the dues of members of labor and professional organizations.

6) To qualify for participation under this agreement, a labor or professional organization must:

- a) submit to the agency and to the Board of the Foreign Service copies of its constitution and bylaws, and statements of its objectives;
- b) establish to the satisfaction of the Board of the Foreign Service that it is the bona fide representative of a significant number of Foreign Service employees, and that it functions under acceptable democratic and ethical standards.

7) The agencies, on the one hand, and qualified labor and professional organizations, on the other shall annually review the relationship set forth above. This review shall be undertaken to strengthen this relationship and to assure that its evolution takes into account developments elsewhere in the Federal Government in labor relations practice.

Ambassador Estes Resigns as Executive Director

Ambassador Thomas S. Estes, Executive Director of AFSA for the past fourteen months, tendered his resignation effective February 28, and it was accepted with regret by the Board of Directors.

As Executive Director, Ambassador Estes was responsible for several innovations in both the Association and the Foreign Service Club. For example, during the brief period of his service he was able, with the approval of the Board, to reorganize and strengthen the headquarters staff, establish new budgetary, financial and other operating procedures, computerize the membership records, upgrade office equipment, put the Club on a paying basis, and establish the Provident Fund.

In his letter of resignation, however, the Ambassador stressed the need to achieve the membership drive goal of 9,000 members in order to establish a firm financial operating base, and to make further improvements such as staffing and equipping a Secretariat to provide better communications with the members.

The Ambassador expressed his appreciation to the Board of Directors for their trust in permitting him to serve as "loyal opposition" to the Board's action on E.O. 11491

and said, in his letter to Chairman William Harrop:

"I should like to emphasize, however, that the fact that the Board did not share all my convictions in this matter has absolutely nothing to do with my resignation; actually, I would prefer to continue trying to persuade you and other members to my point of view.

"Finally, let me add my appreciation as an AFSA member for the sacrifice you are making by taking a year's leave of absence to devote full time to the affairs of the Association. You are following in Charlie Bray's footsteps, and I hope your successors will be prepared to do the same. Our activities are now so numerous and complex that it has become almost impossible for the Board Chairman to handle them on a part time basis."

In his reply, Mr. Harrop called attention to the Executive Director's accomplishments and said, "You have been an innovative supporter of AFSA programs, always loyal to the Foreign Service and the Association. . . We will miss you. We wish you every success in your new endeavors; we are reassured by the knowledge that we can continue to rely upon your effective support and sound counsel."

New Air Charter Service

AFSA is exploring with World Airways, Inc., of Oakland, California, the possibility of contracting charter flights to Europe, and/or East Asia for active members, retirees, their families or students—at savings of up to 50% over regular fares.

AFSA is eligible under law to arrange for charter flights for its members and their families.

World Airways, Inc., flies modern, jet aircraft (Boeing 707 Turbo-jets, Boeing 727 Tri-jets, and has deposits on Boeing 747 Super-jets as well as the SSTs), and its services are comparable to full fare flights. Six hostesses attend to passenger needs and serve complimentary cocktails, gourmet meals and wines and other beverages. World Airways obtains all necessary Civil Aeronautics Board approvals, landing or transit rights. It is a U.S. Certificated Supplemental Carrier with worldwide authority. It received the USO Gold Medal Award for having safely transported over half a million armed forces personnel since 1966.

Planning for charter tours should begin several months in advance.

AFSA has made arrangements with Security Travel, Ltd., to undertake such planning if there are enough members interested in availing themselves of this new service. Tentatively, AFSA suggests consideration be given to charter group tours for next June to accommodate the largest number of retirees, members of families visiting personnel at posts and students visiting parents during the school vacations. Return trips could be scheduled in time for students to return to school.

Members who are interested in taking advantage of this AFSA-sponsored service for themselves or their dependents for trans-Atlantic or Pacific charter flights, should write or telegraph by or before mid-April to:

Security Travel, Ltd.
Attention: Mr. Reed
1701 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

A referendum ballot on E.O.11491 and explanatory materials have been mailed to all AFSA members. Members are urged to study the package carefully and send in their votes to be received by March 31st.

Other Scholarships Available To Children of Foreign Service Personnel

The Committee on Education has been informed that the following scholarships are available to children of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information to the schools, colleges and universities indicated:

Amherst College Scholarships: To be granted to the son of a Foreign Service officer entering as a freshman. Renewable upon maintenance of a satisfactory record and demonstration of financial need. Write to Dean of Admission, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Carleton College: The Robert L. Ouverson Memorial Scholarships. Available for four years to a son or daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Award is based on financial need. Apply to Director of Admissions, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California. Scholarships are available to daughters of personnel in the Foreign Service Agencies or of U.S. Military personnel serving overseas who are registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 11, inclusive. For complete information write to the Principal, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, California 94301.

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For the sons and grandsons of Foreign Service officers of career. Address inquiry to the Director of the Office of Financial Aid, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Kirkland Hall Junior College: Tuition Scholarship available to dependents of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of military personnel. For further information write to the President, Kirkland Hall Junior College, Easton, Maryland 21601.

Middlesex School Scholarship: Offered on a competitive basis for Grades 8 through 10 to the son of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

St. Albans School: Priority will be given to the son of a Foreign Service officer in the award of a scholarship in memory of Phillip Funkhouser. Apply to Headmaster, St. Albans School, Washington, D.C. 20016.

St. Andrew's School: Middletown, Delaware. The Norris S. Haselton Scholarship. Awarded to the son of a Foreign Service officer of career. Write to Director of Admissions, St.

Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware 19709. Other scholarships are also available at St. Andrew's School.

Vassar College: Complete information on Vassar Scholarships may be obtained from the Director of Financial Aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is available at Vassar for daughters of Foreign Service personnel.

Another scholarship, given by an anonymous donor, is awarded at Vassar to the daughter of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the daughter of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Yale University Scholarships: A scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Freshmen Scholarships, 1502A Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Institute of World Affairs, Inc.: For the summer seminar for foreign and American students at Twin Lakes, Salisbury, Connecticut, July 6 through August 20, a scholarship is offered to a graduate student, or graduating senior, whose major discipline relates to international studies. This opportunity is available to the son or daughter of someone who is or has been a Foreign Service officer of the United States, and is given in memory of LaVerne Baldwin. Application should be made in writing to the Institute of World Affairs, Inc., Salisbury, Conn. 06068.

Cover—The Umbrellas of Cherbourg

Leka, our cover artist, is Helen Semler, wife of FSO Peter Semler. Others of her paintings are on exhibit at the Foreign Service Club this month.

Mrs. Semler studied at the Sorbonne, in Russia and in Paris. In 1967 she studied under Professor Gleb Ouspensky, one of the leading authorities on Russian iconography.

She has had several one-man shows and the current exhibit at the Club discloses the range of her work, from portraits to landscapes to icons.

Committee on Members Interests

Early Action Expected—In the area of pocketbook issues, we are juggling a number of balls in the air simultaneously. But the following are prospects for early favorable action: (a) **Transfer Allowance:** After much kicking and screaming, we hope to have a full transfer allowance in the FY-72 budgets. This means payments ranging from a minimum of \$200 up to a possible \$800 for every transfer, instead of the current \$175 maximum solely on climatic zone transfers; (b) **Education Allowance:** While management, with AFSA's support, works on legislation to provide for a kindergarten allowance, we are pushing for the abolition of the five-year-eight-months minimum age limitation on the first grade allowance. We are also preparing to oppose GAO efforts to peg away-from-post-allowances to the cost of DOD dependent schools; (c) **Foreign airline travel:** penalties for use of foreign airlines during indirect travel abroad are causing much grief among employees. AFSA is working to abolish those penalties.

R & R Travel—Legislation requires that R&R can be taken only when the employee is on a minimum assignment of two years, and fully expects to serve those two years at the post when he or she embarks on R&R travel. If the two-year tour is shortened "at the convenience of the government," the employee is not required to reimburse his R&R expenses. In some cases, the two-year tour has to be slightly modified in order to accommodate school vacation time for children. In most cases, such modifications can be handled at the post with no difficulty. However, if an unduly restrictive administrative officer decides that such modifications are not "at the convenience of the government," he or she should be told that the vast majority of administrators disagree and that the matter should be referred to the Department for further consideration. AFSA should be informed whenever cases of this nature are encountered. We think modification of home leave dates to accommodate school vacations is as important to the government employer as it is to the employee parent.

Government Insurance on Personal Effects—Many employees may not realize it, but the USG is now in the business of insuring personal effects and privately owned vehicles in a big way. If your possessions are destroyed while enroute to or from your post, you can claim up to \$10,-

000 from the Department. But like any insurance company, the Department is not going to pay a claim just on your say so. Documentation is required, and you are responsible for obtaining it, even if the source is another agency of government like your last post or the U.S. Despatch Agent. So whenever you are about to transfer, make sure that full documentation is available on what is being shipped, its value, and the condition it is in. This is particularly important for items that are left in the care of the post from which you are departing. Have that post give you a document certifying receipt, the condition, how long the items remained in the post's care, where it was stored, and when and how it was finally shipped. This should be done automatically, and should not await a request from your next post only in the event of trouble. If you wait that long, the GSO who took care of it may have transferred and may not be available to give you the papers you need. In that case, you may be out of luck altogether, or may have to wait a long time before your claim is paid. This could be a hardship if you have to buy a new car before payment of your claim on the demolished car is in the bank. If you have trouble obtaining documentation from a post, write to AFSA and we'll erupt in decibels. We hate to generate additional paperwork, but the Department appears to want it that way.

Mail Order Firms: Having trouble with mail order houses? Let us know so we can force reforms through the light of publicity. We are now trying to get Sears to rescind their special packing charge for sea pouch shipments even though AFSA members indicate they see no evidence of any special packing. We will let you know the outcome of this one, and would appreciate hearing about other problems with the catalogue people.

Retirement: Preparing for a thorough survey on retirement benefits, AFSA would like to have more ideas from members on where reforms are required. The proposals with the greatest support so far are (a) retirement at any age after 20 years employment like the military services; (b) retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age; (c) continued accrual of retirement benefits beyond the present maximum of 35 years of service (for foreign service); (d) abolition of present limitations on foreign service retirement pay while the retiree is employed in another government job.

Foreign Service People

BIRTHS

Kingsbury. A son, Matthew Wendell Kingsbury, was born in Seoul, Korea September 5, 1970, to FSO and Mrs. William F. Kingsbury.

MARRIAGES

Applegate-Freshman. Judith Ann Applegate was married on December 19, 1970, in Washington, to John Devol Freshman, son of FSO and Mrs. C. Arnold Freshman. The couple will reside in Vermont, where Mr. Freshman is employed as an assistant to the State Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

DEATHS

Bohan. Harriet Davis Bohan, daughter of Ambassador-retired and Mrs. Merwin L. Bohan, died December 3, 1970, at Dallas, Texas. Miss Bohan had accompanied her parents during their overseas assignments in Guatemala, Peru, and Chile prior to entering the University of Texas, from which she was graduated in 1945. She had engaged in voluntary work with underprivileged children in Texas for many years, and at the time of her death was manager of a Dallas firm. In addition to her parents, who reside at 6902 Westlake Ave., Dallas, Texas 75214, Miss Bohan leaves a sister, Miss Elizabeth Rowe Bohan, 5623 Matalee, Dallas.

Connelly. Leslie Delano Connelly, wife of FSO-retired Bernard C. Connelly, died on January 8, 1971, in Chevy Chase, Maryland, following a long illness. She is survived by her husband, 4620 Drummond Ave., Chevy Chase, Md. 20015, and two daughters, Mrs. Charles K. Johnson, Fairfax, Virginia, and Mrs. Peter N. Atwood, Southboro, Mass.

Hejno. Francis John Hejno, FSSO-ret'd., died January 5, 1971, at Fairfax Hospital following a long illness. Mr. Hejno was born in Germany in 1894, and entered the Department in 1942 following service as an interpreter and translator at the Embassies in Prague and Vienna from 1930 to 1941. He was assigned to London in 1944 and later served as Vice Consul at Prague, Naples, Frankfurt, and Genoa. At the time of his retirement in 1959 he held the rank of Consul. In addition to his wife, Elaine, 4103 Burke Road, Fairfax, Va., 22030, Mr. Hejno leaves a daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Norden, and two grandchildren.

Kendrick. Stephen Earle Clark Kendrick, FSO-ret'd., died November 25, 1970 in Miami and was buried at Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Kendrick was born in Brooklyn in 1889 and following Naval service in World War I served in 1919 at Paris with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. He held consular assignments at Prague, Vienna, Toronto, Montreal, Dublin and Bombay, retiring in 1944. His only survivor is a niece, Mrs. George L. Crawford, of Jamestown, Rhode Island.

Hudson. Joel Carrington Hudson, FSO-ret'd., died December 11, 1970, at his home in Sun City, Arizona. Mr. Hudson joined the Department of State in 1923 and served as vice consul in Wellington, Singapore, Sydney, Melbourne, Surabaya, Berlin, Santiago, Montevideo, Cairo,

Bucharest. He was serving as Consul General in Milan just prior to his retirement in 1953. Mr. Hudson is survived by his widow, Margaret, of 10647 Mission Lane, Sun City, Arizona 85351 and a son, Michael of Portland, Oregon.

Ryerson. Martin George Ryerson, FSS-1, died January 30, 1971, at Manassas, Va. and was buried in the National Cemetery at Culpepper, Va. He had suffered a heart attack in October, while serving at Saigon, and returned to the Department only recently. Mr. Ryerson entered the Department in 1946 following five years service with the Army, and held posts in Madrid, La Paz, Phnom Penh and Saigon. He is survived by his wife and two sons of 7717 Strasburg Street, Manassas, Va. 22110.

"A FAIRER SHAKE FOR WOMEN," SAYS MACOMBER

"A fairer shake" for women in the foreign service was promised by Deputy Under Secretary William B. Macomber at an Open Meeting on Marriage and Careers for Women on January 10. The meeting, held in the International Conference Room, drew a large audience of men and women from State, AID and USIA. In opening the meeting, Mr. Macomber stated frankly that the Department recognized that it had not sufficiently used the abilities of women in the Department, but emphasized to the women present that "The Department is with you, not against you. There is so much we can do together on basic issues."

The major Department policies stated and some of the basic issues aired at the meeting were the following:

- No woman FSO/R or FSS/O is required to resign when she marries.
- Marriage or intention to marry is no bar to recruitment into the foreign service in FSO/R categories. Recruitment literature is being changed to clarify this point.
- Recruitment literature for FSS candidates is also being changed to omit "single" as a requirement for application.
- If man and wife are both members of the foreign services (in any category, including junior officers in training on probationary status), the Department will make every effort to assign them to posts where both may be assigned at their own work and rank, if they so desire. If such an arrangement is not possible, the

non-working spouse will be given LWOP status until opportunity for a suitable double assignment arises. In the case of double assignments, the wife will receive, as does her husband, any due allowances.

- A married woman FSO/R who wishes to stay home with young children and return to active duty later will be given LWOP, and experience no prejudice to her rank or opportunities or promotion on her reentry into the service.

- Permission for the wife of a foreign service employee to work outside the mission itself may presently be granted only at the discretion of the U.S. Ambassador. Women's groups and wives have urged that such work be encouraged.

- A woman foreign service employee with dependent children, but who is either divorced, widowed, or an adoptive or surrogate mother may be assigned abroad, just as men with dependents but not wives now are. (There was conflicting and inconclusive testimony at the meeting as to whether this applied to a woman FSS/O. The Department is looking further into this question, especially in the light of the January 25 Supreme Court ruling which precludes discrimination against employing women with dependents.)

- A woman FSO/R or FSS/O married to a man not employed in the foreign service and not in a position to go abroad, may transfer to FSRU (FAS) or to an FSR category if she is qualified for a position open under present personnel ceilings.



NUCLEAR ENERGY *continued from page 24*

which resulted authorized broad domestic and international programs of peaceful nuclear development.

The Atoms for Peace Program has led to increased scientific and technical cooperation. It is not a program of major economic assistance to other nations, although in its early days we made small grants to aid in the construction of research reactors abroad. We still provide small items of nuclear equipment and other forms of technical assistance to other countries through the IAEA.

This Program has supported United States foreign policy objectives since its inception. It has helped to maintain the image of the United States' leadership in science and technology throughout the world. More importantly, however, we have helped to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons developments abroad through providing nuclear equipment and material under effective safeguards. The United States, because of its vast gaseous diffusion plant capacity, is the principal source of supply of enriched uranium, the critical material of the nuclear age. Other countries, therefore, have continued to come to the United States for their nuclear fuel because they have been assured that it would be available to them on a nondiscriminatory basis and at a fair price. To date, through our ability to assure long-term fuel supplies for power reactors constructed abroad, we have discouraged the development of alternative sources for the enriched uranium to fuel these plants.

The Atoms for Peace Program has also helped the United States economically. We have committed, under agreements for cooperation, over 500,000 kilograms of uranium-235 to provide fuel for reactors constructed overseas. There are in other countries over 35 US-type light water reactor systems totaling over 18 million electrical kilowatts—in operation, being built, or soon to be ordered on the basis of bids already solicited. One such reactor project which deserves special mention is the 400,000 kilowatt Tarapur atomic power station in India. This station, consisting of two boiling water reactor plants of US manufacture is now in full operation. It was built with the help of an \$80,000,000 loan, one of the largest project loans ever made by the Agency for International Development.

In addition, the AEC has distributed abroad (through sale, lease, and deferred payment sales) substantial amounts of special nuclear and other materials, resulting to date in revenues to the United States on the order of \$300 million. Enrichment service contracts which are for terms of up to 30 years and under which privately owned natural uranium is enriched in U-235 in United States Government facilities, will produce about \$400 million for the United States.

Technical nuclear information is shared through technical information exchanges between the AEC and nuclear energy organizations abroad. These exchanges result in considerable financial as well as technical benefit since duplication of

effort on either side is reduced or eliminated.

How the Atoms for Peace Program has helped advance the foreign policy objectives of the United States is shown in our cooperation with the European Atomic Energy Community on Euratom. Following the signing of the United States-Euratom Agreement for Cooperation in 1958, the United States-Euratom Joint Power Reactor Program and the United States-Euratom Joint Research and Development Program were initiated. The technical purpose of the Joint Reactor Program was to bring into operation within the Community large-scale power plants using reactors which had been developed to an advanced stage in the United States. Such a cooperative program would also serve to strengthen Euratom, one of the important institutions designed to further the goal of European integration as well as advance Europe technologically and economically. Three reactors were built under this program in Europe. The Joint Research and Development Program envisaged a ten-year research and development program keyed to the reactors built under the Joint Power Reactor Program. The United States and Euratom have each spent about \$28 million on the Joint R&D Program, which was closed out during 1969, but exchanges of information on the respective programs have continued.

We consider that one of our most important activities in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy has been our support of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The IAEA, a member of the UN family, provides the best mechanism through which all nations can avail themselves of the benefits of the peaceful atom. It allows them to share scientific and technical knowledge and nuclear materials and do so openly, under international agreements and safeguards. It acts as a world forum on nuclear knowledge and operates, among other things, its own radioisotope laboratory and institute of theoretical physics. First proposed by President Eisenhower in 1953, the Agency was established in 1957 with headquarters in Vienna and now has 103 members.

Over the years, the Agency has

been involved in many areas ranging from radiation applications in medicine, industry and agriculture to promotion of the effective use of research reactors, desalting studies, and establishment of international standards in the transport of irradiated materials. In the field of nuclear power, the Agency has sponsored the exchange of information on a global basis.

SINCE the beginning of the Atoms for Peace Program, the United States has realized that its success depended upon reasonable guarantees that the nuclear technology and nuclear material to be shared with other countries would not be diverted to any military purpose and thus become a threat to international security. We also recognized that a multilateral control system would be more objective than bilateral safeguards and that it could contribute to the evolution of a broader system of arms limitation. Pending the establishment of such a system, we insisted that in our bilateral agreements for cooperation the other governments involved provide assurances that US-supplied nuclear equipment, materials and their products would be used only for peaceful purposes. The agreements also have given the United States the right of actual on-site inspection. We have always considered these bilateral safeguard arrangements as a prelude to an international system which would be needed as additional nations embarked on peaceful nuclear programs.

The growth of an international system has been gradual but has kept pace with developments in the nuclear field. To encourage the development of the IAEA's safeguards, the United States, in 1962, voluntarily placed four of its civilian prototype power and research reactors under the Agency's system. In 1964, we included a large privately owned power reactor to assist the IAEA in developing and demonstrating the effectiveness of its inspection techniques for larger reactors. In 1966, we made a commercial plant for the chemical reprocessing of irradiated fuel available for IAEA inspection. Finally, in 1968, safeguard procedures were developed for fuel fabrication plants, thus completing the development of

procedures for all segments of the fuel cycle except enrichment plants.

As a result of steady progress through the years, the IAEA now has in operation an effective safeguard system suitable for application to a wide variety of peaceful nuclear activities.

Concurrently with the evolution of the IAEA safeguard system, the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) has developed a broad and effective regional safeguard system employing safeguard procedures quite similar to, and patterned in large part after, those adopted by the IAEA.

I firmly believe that the development of safeguards has resulted in the creation of the institutions, the techniques, and climate which can one day lead to the acceptance of arms control and disarmament measures of even broader significance. (A somewhat related topic deals with safe guards on nuclear weapons: the development of permissive action links, which insure that our nuclear weapons will never be fired without proper authorization. The Commission has taken the lead in the development of these devices.)

UNITED STATES type reactors are in widespread operation abroad. Nonetheless it must be recognized that we face foreign competition in the nuclear field and there are some barriers to imports of United States nuclear plants and equipment.

Barriers exist in the industrialized countries that are also reactor suppliers (UK, Canada, France, Germany, Japan and Sweden), which make unlikely any further significant direct participation in their nuclear markets by United States' suppliers. However, United States' companies are participating indirectly through licensing arrangements with major suppliers, in, for example, Germany and Japan, to build and sell United States type plants.

There is also the market in non-supplier countries. In approaching these countries the United States enjoys the advantage of its outstanding technology, superior experience with costs, guaranteed fuel availability, and, heretofore, its position of essentially full Export-Import Bank funding.

The situation is, however, becoming more competitive. A key factor

in the future, which in many cases may well outweigh all other considerations, will be financial terms.

THE principal nuclear fuel being utilized abroad today is uranium enriched U-235 of which the United States is the world's principal source of supply. It is understandable, therefore, that countries in Western Europe, and Australia and Japan have expressed concern about placing too much reliance on the continuing supply of enriched uranium from the United States. It is clear that the time will come when additional enrichment facilities will be required. Our commitments to supply the material necessary to fuel power reactors abroad are solidly based on existing capacity, which will eventually be fully utilized. When this time arrives, new capacity may well be installed in several locations around the world, thus diversifying the sources of supply—but increasing the possible risks of proliferation.

Another of our current problems is the working out of the safeguard relationship between the IAEA and Euratom. The text of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is worded in such a way as to leave the details of this relationship open for negotiation between the IAEA and the Euratom countries, within certain principles intended to guide the negotiation of all safeguard agreements called by the Treaty. Those principles specify that each such agreement must enable the IAEA to carry out its responsibility of providing assurance to all parties to the Treaty that diversion is not taking place, but that, in doing so, the IAEA should make appropriate use of existing records and safeguards. These guidelines should permit an arrangement between the IAEA and Euratom which will be consistent with the objectives of both the NPT and the Treaty of Rome, which established Euratom.

Widespread anticipation has developed in many non-nuclear weapon countries of great benefit to be achieved through applications of peaceful nuclear explosions, including excavation explosions. These expectations were apparent during discussions which took place at the IAEA and the UN. The United

(Continued on page 44)

"Natural wilderness is a factor for world stability,
not some remote place inimical to the human being."

Global Changes: Actual and Possible

FRANK FRASER DARLING

From the book "Wilderness and Plenty" by Frank Fraser Darling, published in the United States by Houghton Mifflin Company, in the United Kingdom by BBC Publications and overseas outside of North America by the Oxford University Press. Copyright © 1970 by Frank Fraser Darling.

THERE ARE PROCESSES going in the world that are not obvious to many of us, but they are of great importance and sooner or later we shall have to decide which way we are going. I have spoken of the enveloping character of advanced technology and the choking side effects of pollution. There is another aspect of this especially affecting large bodies of fresh water such as the Great Lakes of North America, at least one of the Swiss lakes, even the new Lake Kariba in Africa and perhaps surprisingly our own Loch Leven in Scotland.

Lake Erie is now looked upon as the classic world example of the phenomenon of eutrophication—a sort of pathological overfeeding. Sewers and industrial wastes went into the lake for years, which meant an excess of some plant nutrients, some animal poisons, and an upset in the natural oxygenation of the water. Fish life has gone, there has been a dense blooming of algae—microscopic waterweeds—in the summer and, of course, people do not swim in this great lake anymore. There has been a further dumping of phosphates into the lake since detergents were used, and a vast quantity of nitrates coming from the use of nitrogenous fertilizers on agricultural land. Lake Erie is one of those ultimates I have mentioned before, which we should concentrate on as examples of what can happen to places.

In Europe there is Lake Geneva, a very pleasant place, and when I stay on its shores I much enjoy the delicious lake perch which the French and Swiss cook so well. But the human settlements around the lake are growing bigger and denser; there the oxygenation of the lower levels of the lake is failing, through increasing depositions of pollutants. The lake perch, living in an increasingly shallow layer of water near the surface of the lake, are growing less numerous. Shall I one day attend a board meeting of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature at Morges on the northern shore of the lake and find I can no longer have a dish of lake perch? My gastronomic disappointment would be as nothing to my sorrow that a rich lake was now dead. It probably will not happen in my time but the process is well on the way.

Lake Baikal in Siberia is a very wonderful place with its own species of seal and unique ecological conditions

around its shores. Industrialization has begun and there are the first signs of eutrophication. The Russians are not blind to this and are monitoring the situation carefully. We shall see what the possession of absolute governmental power can do in preventing the disaster that has already befallen Lake Erie.

Then there is Lake Kariba in Africa—a new multipurpose artificial lake. As it filled slowly, the catches of fish were most promising. Indeed, some species of *Tilapia* were introduced to take advantage of the quantities of fish food that could be expected. But the catches are not being maintained. Here eutrophication of the Lake Erie type is not taking place but an excess of plant growth is appearing and there will certainly be some ecological problems to solve in maintaining the multipurpose of the lake.

Last of these examples of what can happen to fresh waters is the relatively small Loch Leven, which lies between the Firths of Forth and Tay, in Scotland, with its world reputation for trout fishing. The fish have always been reckoned of good size and there have been plenty of them. The lake is set in a fairly rich farming area, which means the land has been well farmed in the past on traditional lines of plenty of stock and plenty of farmyard manure on the land. That kind of farming meant that the soil had a good humus content and acted as a sponge letting run-off water gently into the lake. The land is still well farmed, but now the farmers are using a vastly increased quantity of mineral fertilizers, which means a greater run-off of water containing nitrates and phosphates. In 1948 I wondered about this change in the environmental conditions of the loch and hoped it was going to mean just more nutrients for the plankton and ultimately bigger fish. But the process ran ahead too far:

there was the initial phase for which one hoped and then a fall. There came the algal bloom and a dense growth of bottom plants with less light for the insect populations, the larval stages of which were important fish food. This fishery is of such importance that special care is now being taken about effluents, but the story shows how tender and sensitive are fresh waters to the treatment they get from humanity.

I should also mention that in Lake Michigan the Coho salmon was introduced years ago to fill an ecological niche that, strangely enough, had not been filled by nature. A valuable new fishery was created, but that has now gone. There is so much DDT in the water and in the food of this predatory salmon that the fish itself is now considered dangerous as human food.

Now, there is a much greater change to which we are contributing, this time in the planetary atmosphere. You might call it pollution in a way, and in another way it is a dilution or a concentration. And our paradoxical friend and enemy the internal combustion engine is contributing all the time. I am alluding to the rise in the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, a rise coincident with that of the consumption of fossil fuels—coal and oil. Of course, if there were double the amount of carbon dioxide in the air that there is, it would not interfere with our health in any way as far as we know. But in the biosphere as a whole carbon dioxide is powerful stuff. There is a carbon dioxide cycle which naturally keeps levels right. It is a system of great age and stability which we are now taxing with the immense amounts of carbon dioxide we are adding from the fuel we burn. Vegetation is a great buffer: the forested wilderness removes a great deal of the carbon dioxide by the photosynthetic activity of the leaves, turns it into wood, and so sequesters it, giving out oxygen in exchange. It happens that a higher carbon dioxide content of the air creates a greenhouse effect, favoring tree growth, which locks up the carbon again until a lower level is restored. But unfortunately we are cutting the virgin wildernesses all the time and reducing tree cover in so many places.

The oceans also soak up carbon dioxide and lock up carbon in the deeps. But the increasing concentration of carbon dioxide in the air leads to a gradual warming of the oceans so that they can hold less. The activities of industrial and technological man in our day are adding carbon dioxide and also injuring the capacity of the biosphere to redress the balance. All combustion is burning carbon or its compounds in oxygen—a single jet plane crossing the Atlantic uses thirty-five tons of it—and we are reducing the kind of plant cover which would help lock up the carbon dioxide produced. Suppose some bright scientist discovers some method of artificial photosynthesis which does not involve the return of oxygen to the air; he might be heralded as a genius because this would provide food quickly for the starving hundreds of millions, but it would effectively prevent the possibility of a posterity for them through the depletion of our atmosphere.

We are not yet at the end of this story. The warming oceans would alter considerably the distribution of the marine fauna. This has happened already in this century in the warming of the North Atlantic Ocean and has interfered with existing fisheries. Of course, through time fisheries adapt to new conditions, but there is another

adaptation that would be much harder. The warming oceans and atmosphere would mean a recession of the polar ice caps. The Greenland ice is 9000 feet thick, so if that were to melt, with an equivalent melting of the Antarctic ice, the level of the oceans would rise considerably. Our ports would go under quite literally, and with them vast tracts of fertile soil. What happens then to the swarming human population? I suppose they move upwards and back, very slowly, of course, but surely. And what then?

Some scientists are thinking about these phenomena, but not nearly enough data are being gathered, nor monitoring being done. How far, really, do we think for posterity? The carbon dioxide problem is as yet remote. So often I have heard it said, posterity must look after itself. I can think of no more callous viewpoint. The sins of our forefathers now descended unto the third and fourth generations were largely the consequence of the sins of ignorance. We are ignorant no longer. Science enlarges our vision, and ecology is concerned with causes and consequences on a broad front. We should be delving ecologically into the future, but in general we are not doing so.

There is a subject nearer at hand but concerned with a shorter-term future, the field of international development. Agriculturists, engineers, marketeers and so on use their technical skills to devise schemes that will provide food, power, employment and industrialization for what are called underdeveloped countries. Perhaps it would be only a cynic who would say the real problem is of too many overdeveloped ones. Britain was early in this field and still pursues overseas development in a starry-eyed missionary spirit rather than a realistic one. I could list half a dozen fiascoes caused by blinkered thinking, and there are dozens more.

The Conservation Foundation which I serve recently helped to organize a study conference on the ecological aspects of international development. We were concerned with the integrity of the environment which should be a primary responsibility of an advanced nation. Some of us could feel little but shame at what man was doing to his planet. Ignorance now is culpable, but we are not ready to admit this. I have touched on worldwide pollution through the use of insecticides; there are other aspects of employing these substances, namely, that ecological balance is upset almost immediately, with the likelihood of repercussions, and there has been the most interesting scientific phenomenon of rapid genetic adaptation by insect pests to the insecticides being used. Indeed, the insects can almost beat the chemists who are developing new insecticides.

Cocoa was introduced as a new crop in Sabah, part of Malaysia, in 1956. By 1966, 6000 acres of virgin stands of splendid forest had been felled and planted to cocoa. Bark borers moved in as pioneer pests; getting rid of these by hand-picking was too costly and by 1959 this was replaced by blanket sprays of DDT and Dieldrin. Several new leaf-eating pests began work that year, followed in 1961 by a plant hopper which sucked the shoot tips. Then several species of bagworms appeared and the silken bags of these caterpillars gave them an excellent protection against insecticides. Finally, when the situation seemed near hopeless, it was decided to stop spraying. Recovery was rapid because the natural preda-

tory insects recolonized the area. The bagworms were controlled first by natural means and the other pests came down either to tolerable proportions or were controlled by selective, carefully timed insecticidal attack, devised by ad hoc research. Mass control on lines of blanket spraying is bad tactics. The strategy should be one of minimal use at critical moments.

Irrigation has been one of the great developments of this century although it is one of the oldest of man's achievements. Sumer and Egypt used their great rivers for seasonal inundation, but the modern methods involve continual irrigation and the use of concrete channels from stabilized watercourses. The disease of schistosomiasis has been endemic in Egypt, but its incidence has been moderate except in areas of perennial irrigation, such as the Delta. The disease is extremely debilitating and is caused by a tiny parasitic worm, the alternate host of which is a small water snail. Seasonal flooding does not favor the snail to the extent that perennial irrigation does. And as a result of irrigation the disease has now spread the length of Africa to an alarming extent, and in perennially irrigated areas the fiber of the people is being sapped. There is almost 100 percent infestation in the Delta where sanitary measures are almost impossible to implement because of the high water table and the seething population. In Upper Egypt the new Aswan High Dam development will certainly increase the intensity of infestation. Rhodesia is suffering appreciably. Intensity of infestation in human beings is bringing about hitherto unexpected complications in bodily expressions of the disease.

And there is another problem. For each new area that comes under irrigation, some land from earlier schemes goes out of cultivation by salinization and waterlogging, millions of acres for example in West Pakistan. Furthermore, it might be mentioned that the impoundment of water in the Aswan High Dam is having a serious effect on the eastern Mediterranean sardine fishery. Once more a source of protein is being given up for more starch. The Mekong River in Southeast Asia and the curious inland lake system have, through history, sustained a quite amazing fertility of land which might be expected to deteriorate under the conditions of cultivation. But the overflow of the river in the monsoon deposits new silt on it each year. Further, the lakes are replenished and their biological productivity is phenomenal, and undoubtedly made possible the Khmer civilization of a thousand years ago. Now a series of dams on the river is projected, which certainly will provide power but will retard the flow of

water and may well reduce the fertility of the lands formerly flooded naturally. Happily, a group of ecologists has got in there this year, but whether in time to modify these great measures of change we do not know.

The underdeveloped nations, so-called, may be very rude to us of the West, but they have a fervid belief in our technology. And were we to try to explain that we were not quite so sure of our 'cleverness, that we have made some deplorable mistakes, it would be interpreted as one more example of the West wanting to deny the benefits of technology of the rest of the world. We in the West are in a dilemma and some of us know it.

There is indeed a growing unsureness in the world. Recently the Conservation Foundation arranged an almost impromptu discussion among eleven people to examine the possible common fields between medicine, ecology, psychology, anthropology, architecture and landscape planning, and what is generally understood as conservation. We had a stimulating day and a half, but quite early in the proceedings members of several of the disciplines represented came around to a sense of impending tragedy which each of us felt. Basically, it was caused by the population problem: none of us could see that the world would escape the horrors of famine on a large scale. Indeed, there will probably be a succession of famines, but they will be no cure of the population problem. If 10 million were to starve to death in India this year, the population would still be greater at the end than it was at the beginning of the year. But it seemed to us that the very large catastrophe to which we were heading would not happen as a result of any one cause, but as a culmination of several factors, famine, war, pestilence, pollution and so on. A breakdown in technology, such as the New York-New England blackout of November 1965, could be the precipitating factor in a society geared to the electronic control of so much of the machinery of living. There could well be a chain reaction around our paradox of a globe, this close-knit, shrinking world which exhibits ever greater unfriendliness between its constituent peoples. This too is a fact of social implosion.

The ecologist sees the decline of the great natural buffer of wilderness as an element in our danger. Natural wilderness is a factor for world stability, not some remote place inimical to the human being. It is strange that it has been so long a place of fear to many men and so something to hate and destroy. Wilderness is not remote or indifferent but an active agent in maintaining a habitable world, though the cooperation is unconscious. Only



we are conscious of what we are doing and capable of forecasting the consequences.

Pragmatic man, typified by too many of our politicians and those considered to have their feet firmly on the ground, has his head in some world of illusion of his own making. What is the use, he asks, of all that forest if it cannot be brought to the service of man? The answer is that it is already in the service of man if he is willing to accept fellowship with the world of nature. The forest is generous: it can spare him some trees for his timber, and all the time the silent forest is busy, giving us our oxygen, taking away the surplus carbon dioxide, helping to remove the pollutants. The hedgerow trees of England were never more valuable than today—nor the hedgerows—yet a misguided government department can give 50-percent grants for clearing what is called scrub. Even visually the trees are beautiful and stress-relieving, but in their silence they do much more. Their only voice is the wind; they have no vote and are defenseless. The practical man (who Disraeli said was he who could be depended upon to repeat the mistakes of his ancestors) can remove what is the nation's heritage and nature's tool to allow the easier passage of some mechanical Moloch.

Once more, the press of people. Mr. Robert S. McNamara, who leads the World Bank, recently delivered a lecture at an American university. It was terse in quality, the most direct statement yet by any statesman of his kind. He is committed to development, but not development that is despoliation, and not development designed to catch up with population increase. He said quite plainly that the birthrate must be lowered, because the food per head of the world's population today is already less than it was thirty years ago. He points to the parsimony of governments of developed countries in devoting money to research in population-related phenomena. As he put it: "Hundreds of millions for death control. Scarcely one percent for fertility control." He adds that the threat of unmanageable population pressures is very much like the threat of nuclear war, and that the threat of violence is very much intertwined with the threat of undue population growth. Mr. McNamara added one hard truth, that "no reduction in birthrates has yet been achieved anywhere in the underdeveloped areas which can significantly affect over-all world population totals."

He professes himself still to be an optimist and rightly argues against the belief that development must of necessity mean more population. He thinks it evident in the poverty-stricken countries that lack of development means continuance of the high birthrate and, I might add, of habitat destruction.

I suppose I am not an optimist, nor my friends at the Conservation Foundation whom I have mentioned. We are not alone in our pessimism. Lord Snow has also given a lecture to an American college and called it "The State of Siege." He admits that he and some of his fellows have felt an uneasiness deepening, that we "are huddling together in our own little groups for comfort's sake." He feels the threat of population out of control and the thought of large-scale famine appalls his civilized mind. Where Mr. McNamara is optimistic is that the genetical breakthrough in producing new strains of wheat and rice will boost yields by half a ton per acre throughout Asia. Only 200 acres of these new strains were planted in 1965

but 34 million acres was the estimate for 1969, though much of the wheat- and rice-producing areas have not yet changed. Lord Snow has also heard about this breakthrough. It gives him a glimmer of hope if we in the West will help ourselves, and if the poor countries reduce or stop their population increase. Mr. McNamara must take the stand he does, because as Lord Snow says as one more free than Mr. McNamara, we have to act as if the solution envisaged by both of them is more likely to occur than it is.

This always troubles me, the necessity of expressing faith which at bottom I do not feel. I am guilty of this private lying to myself over conservation of wildlife in Africa, and the latest news is that the Ngorongoro Highlands may be developed agriculturally. A watershed of high forest on friable volcanic soil which affects water relations far afield may be destroyed to grow more maize for a swarming population of a long line of destroyers, the forest-edge cultivators. Doubtless Mr. Julius Nyerere still believes in the Arusha Manifesto he signed with others in 1961, and which we of the West cheered so loudly as the dawn of a new era; his philosophical conviction will remain undoubted, but like the western politician I described earlier he must smile apologetically and say the present necessity demands this destruction of what should be our posterity's heritage. "Needs must when the devil drives," my grandfather used to reply to my idealism of childhood.

What I imagine to be the closely similar guarded optimism and reserved pessimism of Mr. McNamara and Lord Snow seems to me to take insufficient notice of the time factor, and because they are not ecologists they ignore the destruction of life-giving wilderness. The trouble is upon us and the several changes of custom and attitude are not going to take place soon enough. My friends and I of the conversation I described were all except one of the opinion that the real trouble would be upon us this century, probably as a social implosion triggered off by one of the factors to which I have alluded. Student unrest, Black Power and violence by spectators of sport are all implausible signs of over-large numbers.

As Mr. McNamara, Lord Snow and we were talking, a Soviet Academician, Andrei Sakharov, published a paper of strikingly similar sentiments. He is a pessimist but believes that extrication from our plight is possible if we move quickly enough, if the rich and poor nations of the world join in the endeavor. If we got to work and dropped the nonsense, Sakharov sees this as being possible by the end of the century.

But have we got as long as this to achieve the unity of action that McNamara, Snow, Sakharov and a few more of us see as the prime necessity? I cannot answer yes or no to this question. It is the continuing urge and the answer to why do we, who think this way, go on working as if the catastrophe would not come? We are human and a unique blend of optimism and pessimism which probably has evolutionary value. Also, we are fallible, but reason and intuition make us state the situation as we see it in hard terms. That group of us discussing the future knew we were among the fortunate, living in a still beautiful world. Is it love of beauty that moves us to the effort, because we know beauty is denied to so many of our fellow men? ■

"... the physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose."—J. Robert Oppenheimer

SURVIVOR'S DIARY

210th Day

It is clear and cold with a thin wash of red sky on the horizon. The trees are bare and black against the snow. The smoke from our fires hangs low to the ground as if reluctant to brave the colder heights and there is the smell of charcoal in the air. The hills in front of us roll away into the distance, low swells of icy snow. To our rear, the Alps rise. An ax striking wood cracks and echoes like gunfire in the muffled stillness.

We have been in the same camp for four days. All of us, sitting muffled in heavy coats, blankets and wrapped in scarfs and wool caps know it is time to move on. We buried Miranda and Soames yesterday just outside the village. We didn't mark their graves. We left the bodies of the villagers where they had fallen. They lie in the streets like wooden dolls, their limbs frozen in stiff, angular attitudes.

Our attack had been debated for three hours but we finally decided we needed food. As usual, they chose to fight. We came slowly out

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of the thin woods and the black crows circled over us. I planned the attack carefully but no one followed orders and it ended in a free-for-all battle with no organization. That was why Miranda was killed. He rushed in by himself, probably looking for eau de vie. They wounded him with a shotgun and crushed his skull with a sledgehammer. We were a few minutes too late. Peter was stopped by one of those lucky, long shots as we came across the snow. He fell before we heard the report of the rifle and that was that, right through the chest. So we are twelve.

Now, with the warm milk in our stomachs, and some dried fish and cornmeal in our packs it is time to leave. There are too many large groups in this zone and we have decided to head South. At least it will be warmer. It will be nice to face the day without a beard full of icicles. Grassi knows the South and he will be our guide. If we are fortunate we might pick up some more men. I would like to have at least twenty for security. We watched the other day while a large band passed along the road to the coast. There must have been three hundred of them. They had some light guns drawn by horses and a bus full of wounded so we guessed that they had been in a fight. It was strange watching them pass and listening to their shouting and laughing. A lot of them were drunk. There is a rumor abroad that some organized order has been established in the North and that an Army will soon be tracking all of us . . . but I doubt it.

211th Day

We stopped by a mountain

church to sleep. We found some abandoned altar wine—it would not be confused with a good vintage of the early '70s—and drank it on the steps. How empty the Church was and how useless. Grassi crossed himself as we entered and everyone laughed. Since the war, since the bombs, the past has become ancient history. So, when we hear that they are organizing in the North, it means little to us. The time has come to move on. As the leader I must move first.

212th Day

We trudged through the snow, all day yesterday, trying to keep on the ridge of the hills, among the sparse trees. When we climbed the second hill we could see the smudge of our fires still burning near the village. I am concerned about Ian. He insisted on killing the children when we took the village. He had killed two of them before we stopped him and since then he has been cursing us under his breath and spitting into the snow. If we can get to the Coast it would be a great feat but we hear that the stronger bands have set up their own territories there and a small group like ours would have little chance of survival.

213th Day

I still dream of the bombs at night but they are less frequent now. The questions are the real hell of it because we don't know. Did the cities all go at once? Or one at a time? And, of course, the brooding on our families is the worst. Did they burn, or disintegrate, or die slowly, suppurating and screaming in the street or the kitchen? It is hard not to know. And yet, I suppose we really don't want to be told. Grassi went ahead too fast and some lagged behind. I had to shout and wave my arms to bring us back together. It was nice today. The sun was warm on our faces and the steel of our weapons, for the first time in months, was damp with melted frost and not crusted with ice crystal. Pujol whistled as we crunched our way over the ice. He is always happy, the fool. He is a good machine gunner.

My dysentery is better. I will eat some apples later. As we came off the ridge I could see our flank guards moving like tired bears.

Grassi insists on moving too fast. Perhaps he smells the South wind already. I have been their leader for over a month but they still do not follow orders. They respect my military knowledge, however, particularly when we are threatened. I am older than most of them. My beard is gray.

214th Day

A dying man told us that the capital was hit on the second day and a firestorm erased the familiar skyline and sent a huge black cloud of cinders and stench out over the countryside. Now the northern villages and suburban farms are full of sick people with no hair and liquid wounds. That is why I am not concerned about this army that is supposed to come after us.

Food is our real worry. There is always less and less. No one is working the farms, no one is planting, and cattle and pigs are rare. We have all become accomplished fishermen. One of our worst fights was over a good trout pool. There were seven soldiers in ragged uniforms camped by the stream. They must have been there a long time. They had built mud and branch lean-to's along the bank and blocked the mouth of the pool, to trap the slow-moving, grey trout. The pool was covered with a thin film of ice. As we watched from cover, we could see that they had a clever system of herding the plump fish toward their makeshift nets. We had hoped to scare them off but they knew how valuable their installation was and they decided to fight.

We fought for three hours while the wind hissed through the tall beeches and ricochets whined over our heads. They were good and they had a grenade launcher that kept us at a distance, throwing up great clouds of snow with each explosion. Pujol finally dropped two of them as they ran into his sights. Their still forms at the edge of the pool must have influenced the others for they withdrew at dusk, keeping us at bay with the grenade launcher.

That night we had fresh trout baked on hot stones. As we ate we went through the dead men's pockets. One of them was carrying an envelope of contraceptives. We laughed over this for a long time. The other had a Mauser pistol

strapped to his wrist with a lanyard and a pocket full of ammunition. I took it. After all, I am the leader. We posted guards and went to sleep under a sky of blue ice stars. But Driss awoke us roughly, waving a cold bottle of eau de vie under our noses. The soldiers had left it behind in one of their huts. So we sat in a tight, smelly circle and drank the bottle, passing it from one to the other, smiling stupidly at our good luck.

215th Day

We moved on steadily today, lifting one foot, heavy with snow, and putting it down and dragging the other forward. Our clothes are filthy but warm. The wool gets greasy when it is worn so long but it is warmer. We have stopped noticing how we smell. When Spring comes we will clean ourselves. We have all lost weight. It is just as well. We are much tougher now, well-muscled and faster on our feet. But our small number still worries me. If we are ambushed by a larger force, I know I could count on no one. I am not sure they could count on me.

I have been trying to plan the future but it is difficult. We must find a place in the South and make it impregnable and store supplies. But it is a grave decision for once we stop moving, we become vulnerable: we become fixed; and our only strength is in our ability to move swiftly from one location to another. I often feel I would be better off alone.

Grassi says he knows a spot not far from the sea. A sort of natural fort among the boulders of an eroded cliff. I know what he has in mind because he talks of it often. He would like a small colony and he wants to bring women in. He doesn't say it but I think he wants to start all over again with the first children making their appearance after nine months and all of us becoming fathers again. He is incorrigible but one has to admire him. He told me he is tired of all the killing and rape. But he knows how we all feel and he only whispers his feelings . . . and only to me.

216th Day

There was a road ahead of us this morning and we had to be careful. It wound through the white landscape like a blue ravine. Grassi came pant-

ing back to us to say there were many footprints, almost a path, and beyond he could see the roofs of a large town. We avoided the road and moved toward the town trying to keep among the trees. I have good binoculars and when we were closer, I decided to call a halt while I swept the deserted streets for some sign of life. There was no smoke coming from the chimneys and no movement. There were some dark forms lying in the streets. I took them to be bodies but I couldn't be sure. It was best to bypass the town. I suggested this and we entered the usual argument, with Ian pushing his red beard and bloodshot eyes close to my face and waving his thin finger in disagreement. I told him to shut up but he said we needed more food if we were to make the trip to the South. Ian seems to be bent on challenging my authority. It is too bad. I think he has lost his reason. So I have ordered him disarmed and had his hands bound behind him. If he is no better tomorrow, I will have to kill him.

217th Day

We skirted the town without seeing any living creature. God knows what stores might have been available within those silent homes and shops but the risk was too great. With one hundred men I would try it but not with our doubtful twelve.

It was a long day. After cooking some cornmeal cakes we decided to sleep beside a stone wall on a hill

that provides a good view. I've posted three guards tonight. The footprints along the road indicate we are not alone in the region.

The cold has increased again and the snow sparkles under a bright moon. Our steps crack as if we were walking on broken mirrors. Pujol spends a lot of time oiling his machine gun and working its movable parts. He sleeps with it at night to keep the mechanism from freezing.

Times like this, when all but the sentries are asleep, are the hardest. The mind is a rebel. It refuses to conform. It thinks, and questions and projects. Are the cities really destroyed? They must be for there is no communication, no word, except for the rare prisoner. The dying man told us he had seen the outskirts of a large city on the river. The putrefying bodies were spread like waves near the highway, each row of them marking a highwater mark of attempted flight. He had narrowly escaped a pack of dogs. He claims they were so gorged and spoiled that they only bothered with the corpses' livers.

Snow makes a very warm bed. But tonight it is all sharp edges and ridges. I will have to watch Ian carefully tomorrow. He knows what's up and he might try something.

218th Day

The dawn was gray and leaden. We boiled the fish for breakfast and there were some corn cakes left. We must try to find some coffee. Boiled

water is a poor substitute. My eyes feel crusted and they burn from the dull glare of the snow. We are once again in our muffled circle, like a fat, seated Greek chorus that no one listens to. The talk is of women and we realize it has taken now a week since we have taken any. I feel myself rising at the thought of it and so do the others. The last time had been drunken and lewd and public for we had had to share the two of them, one young, one older. On reflection it had been a tragic scene in the deserted barn with one wall demolished and the butchered carcass of a cow lying there with its legs pointing to the rafters.

I made a pretense at keeping order and tried to establish turns but they would have none of it. How can I blame them. The wine we found under the straw created a false anonymity and helped us turn the early evening into a scene from Bosch. Fourteen to two, two for fourteen. Order would have helped but I soon joined the others. One cannot afford to wait now. And the women know it better than we do. They also recognize the smell of death and its threat.

When it was over we lay in silence while a latecomer acted out his charade of desire over a prostrate, snoring female who whimpered with pain and, finally, vomited into the straw. And each of us were thinking what it would be like to be alone with a woman again. The death of every other man in the group was our dark wish and when I assigned sentries for the night, they did not look toward me, nor speak. Some of us that night must have dreamt of love but the word and its meaning have faded from our daily vocabulary.

The fish was slightly spoiled, despite the drying and the cold, but one could almost feel the protein infusing the system. I finished first and forced myself to get up and go to Ian. He was still bound but his guard had fed him and he was staring at the snow and humming to himself. He looked like an ancient Viking engrossed in some Runic ceremony.

When I spoke he refused to listen and increased the volume of the humming. Then, without warning, he rolled toward me and sank his teeth into my ankle. Fortunately my

(Continued on page 43)



American Diplomacy— the Pelican in the Wilderness

ONCE AGAIN the State Department has let slip an opportunity to lead the pelican of American diplomacy out of the wilderness, where it has wandered for thirty years. This time the results are especially discouraging in that the effort, honestly directed, sought reform-from-within or, as the State Department proclaims it, a "unique self appraisal," to cope with the diplomacy of the 1970s.

Thirteen Task Forces and six hundred pages later, the authors of the Report retired, chanting a litany to "managerial ability and special expertise," to "flexible responses" to unspecified stimuli, and to "fostering openness and creativity." Their revelations, clothed in the prose of an official communique, are set forth at length, along with an assortment of recommendations, many of which are pertinent and useful. But as previous attempts sometimes mistook the theoretical for the practical, the present investigators bogged down in minutiae. More seriously, they failed to reach the heart of the matter.

It is perhaps unfair to labor the bureaucrats, who are rarely in a position to talk back, or to spit in the eye of a critic. The authors of the present report have at least spared us the ministrations of previous reorganizers, who specialized in telling the diplomats how to be diplomatic.

Scrap the old models, urged the professors. Kindle a new flame, shouted the evangelists. Accept our patented managerial revolution, demanded the administrators. Few of these self-confident medicine men knew what they were talking about, and some of them had no greater familiarity with the conduct of foreign affairs than a man gets from asking the Marine sergeant at the embassy door the way to the boys' room.

With the exception of the Hoover Report of over twenty years ago (which was largely ignored) most diplomatic innovators of the '50s and '60s ended by tangling the rig-

ELLIS BRIGGS

Career Ambassador Briggs served from 1925 to 1962. He was accredited to seven countries, on three continents, by appointment of four Presidents, with an eighth mission pending at the time of his retirement. He is the author of "Farewell to Foggy Bottom," (1964) and "Anatomy of Diplomacy," (1968).

ging of the Ship of State, leaving the vessel worse off than before, sailing in circles, and presently outdistanced by the battle cruiser of competing Washington agencies.

Promotion of reform from within, then, is a novel and by no means sterile conception, and those responsible are entitled to credit for trying, even though achievement was handicapped by the terms of reference imposed by the State Department itself. These precepts stacked the cards in favor of the proposition, at the least debatable, that the future business of the State Department lies not in diplomacy, but in coordinating the "increasing involvement of domestic agencies" in the conduct of foreign affairs. That is, the modern diplomat has primarily a managerial function, at the expense of negotiation, representation, and reporting, hitherto the traditional functions of diplomacy.

To accomplish this, specialists in administration are to be recruited, and presumably advanced over the heads of the generalists, who are trained only in the intricacies of diplomacy itself. The managers, moreover, are to be assisted by a retinue of experts in this and that: atomic energy, rodent control, urban development, or folk dancing. Thus the specialist versus generalist argument is once again resolved—this time in favor of the specialist, an outcome that ignores the fact that you do not have to be an ichthyologist to negotiate with Peru over fishing rights within the two hundred mile limit.

AFAR more damaging shortcoming of "Diplomacy for the 70's" is that the examiners do not face up to, or even consider, the two false assumptions on which our unsightly edifice of foreign affairs has been built. Until that is done, and until the problems flowing from those two false assumptions have been tackled, it is idle to speak of "streamlining the State Department machinery" or of organizing the Department "with modern management principles and modern management tools."

The two false assumptions that have plagued American diplomacy since World War II are:

First, the false assumption that the increasingly fragmented and dispersed authority over foreign relations, under which there is not one Secretary of State but a gaggle of them, all honking and competing for power-in-diplomacy, is the proper way to conduct the nation's business abroad. Today, the Foggy Bottom Secretary of State is not even the "first among equals." He trails Defense, the National Security Council, the so-called intelligence community and, since 1961, the Special Assistant to the President, now with his own foreign office installed beside the White House (where the State Department itself used to dwell, before its exile to Foggy Bottom in 1947).

Secondly, the false assumption that it is possible for institutions so vast as the present Department of State with its seven thousand employees, its sixteen Assistant Secretaries, and its miles of unintelligible corridors, ever efficiently to transact the foreign business of the United States. It cannot possibly do so and that, paradoxically, is the principal reason for the establishment during the past quarter century of a series of competing state departments, several of which are now as over-stuffed as the one in Foggy Bottom.

This "gigantism," as a young Foreign Service officer recently pointed out in an article that ought to be

required reading from Pennsylvania Avenue to the farthest American outpost in Bujumbura, has paralyzed both decision making and operations. It cannot be otherwise. This thing wanders around, like a cartoon animal drawn by James Thurber with an engine devised by Rube Goldberg, tripping over its feet and bumping into objects that are not there. American diplomacy in the 1970s . . .

NONE of the great problems flowing from the two false assumptions that have crippled post-war American diplomacy can be cured except by the President himself and yet the steps to be taken are relatively simple: Restore and concentrate the authority of the senior Cabinet member; and fumigate the premises of supernumeraries.

In execution, it may be a difficult and painful process, with medicine highly unpalatable to the usurers of diplomacy, who are not without power in Washington. But until these tasks are undertaken, the proliferating denizens of Foggy Bottom might just as well sit on their hands, or spend their time monitoring the shad runs in the Potomac.

Restoring to the Secretary of State the authority progressively removed since the 1940s, is obviously the first priority. A move in that direction was made by President Johnson but it was frustrated by—of all people—President Johnson's own Secretary of State. His directive (NSAM 341 of March 4, 1966) not only declared that the Secretary of State was the President's primary agent for foreign affairs, but it described the machinery to implement that declaration. But the then Secretary of State, marching to an Asian drum, did nothing. The initiative wilted.

President Nixon scrapped his predecessor's project. He has since permitted his Special Assistant for National Security to expand his White House office, which is now approaching the size of the State Department itself at the turn of the century. Professor Kissinger operates with little reference to Foggy Bottom and he sees the President more frequently than does the Secretary of State.

Furthermore, it has recently been announced that the White House

proposes shortly to establish yet another office, comparable to the White House foreign office, to handle foreign economic policy. Thus the current trend is not toward unified control by a powerful Secretary of State, but away from that miniaturized official.

Restoring the authority of the Secretary of State should not end with tidying Foggy Bottom and curbing the depredations of those who have invaded diplomacy.

The Secretary's authority must extend to foreign operations also. One of the most disappointing chapters of "Diplomacy for the 70's" is the 75-page essay entitled "Roles and Functions of Diplomatic Missions," which if adopted would convert the ambassador into a sort of referee on a gridiron, dashing hither and thither and blowing his whistle, while a dozen quarterbacks throw forward passes in every direction.

What our embassies need are not referees or umpires, but tough and experienced diplomats, schooled not in the charades of country team dialectic, but in the austere and demanding business of representing the United States in bilateral business with the host country, of negotiating as a hard and upright bargainer with foreign opposite numbers, and of appraising events and developments abroad, for the information and guidance of Washington. What are needed are not ambassadors who are coordinators or managers, but ambassadors who can ride herd on the swarming peripheral performers, and on the mavericks now depleting the forage, branding them when branding is required, and if necessary crowding them right off the ranges. (The question is not whether Embassy Santo Domingo needs five Peace Corps administrators or seven, all chomping at the chancery PX, but whether the Peace Corps itself should be operating within a given jurisdiction. And the ambassador himself is the one to decide it.)

To discharge his responsibilities, an ambassador needs authority now denied him. As the personal representative of the President, he is, after all, not only a State Department emissary but the chief agent of the American Government. He should have complete control of all personnel attached to his mission.

Never again should it take six years to get rid of a Coast Guard contingent in Embassy Athens. The device of blanketing the peripheral performers into the Foreign Service, in reserve status, is already at hand; let the State Department use it.

Similarly there should be a unified foreign affairs budget, with segments made up in the first instance by each ambassador at his post. Under the arrangement, our government would know for the first time what are its over-all foreign expenditures and commitments. At our various embassies, each ambassador could then control the activities of other agencies, any one of which is capable of affecting the relations of the United States with the country concerned. (Some of these activities, to be sure, are beneficial, and most of them are conceived in decency, even benevolence. But a crusading spirit is not a foreign policy, and ignorant good will is a trap as deep as an elephant pit in Burma.)

CONSIDER the screw worm," announces the Department of Agriculture, one of the most persistent trespassers on *tierra diplomatica*. "The screw worm is the enemy of the olive tree." So the Department of Agriculture irradiates the screw worm, rendering it sterile. But the irradiated screw worm then poisons the hoopoe birds, and when the hoopoe birds no longer nest in the minarets, the imams are outraged. With a gleeful assist from the Kremlin, the imams denounce the United States for imperialist warmongering. By the time the ambassador catches up with these Mediterranean events, his agricultural attaché has been transferred to Uruguay, where a campaign to eradicate the fire ant is about to jeopardize the ecology of Canelones.

Embassies, like their parent organization beside the Potomac, have grown to unmanageable proportions. Testimony to the effect that there is not a single American mission that would not function twice as well with half the personnel, was ignored by the Task Force writing that chapter.

The State Department should spend the 1970s cutting itself down to size, and scraping off the barnacles and seaweed that cut knots off

the certified speed of the vessel. A question asked today, of this institution of seven thousand workers, is not answered before the inquirer is pensioned. In 1939, when World War II began, the State Department roster was less than twenty-five per cent of those now on the payroll, and it operated at least four times as quickly. Within a few days of the outbreak of hostilities, when the United States was still neutral, an American airline asked the State Department if it could paint the American flag on its planes in international service. Surface vessels, it was pointed out, already were painting the national emblem amidships, as a protection against belligerent action. The airline was told—go ahead and paint flags on your airplane—and then the official receiving the phone call sent a memorandum through the Under Secretary to the Secretary of State, reporting his action. The State Department press officer (not then a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Press Relations and Special Assistant to the Secretary, but simply the press officer) announced it to the press that same day.

The same inquiry today would involve the Departments of De-

fense, Commerce and Transportation, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Aviation Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the United States Information Agency (the last responsible for priming the Voice of America to broadcast and interpret the decision). A dozen State Department officials would have to be consulted, and six weeks later, with the dossier almost on the point of completion, final clearance would be delayed by the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Fish and Wildlife, with the personal rank of ambassador, on the grounds that one of the flag painted airplanes might make a forced landing in the midst of a school of porpoise.

As for the Foreign Service, it is now down from three thousand seven hundred officers in the early 1960s to about three thousand, which is sensible and creditable. A lean service is better than a flabby one. But it still has some way to go. The bushes are full of non-jobs, like Diplomat in Residence at the Polytechnical Institute at Itching Springs, which school has not hatched a single diplomat since it was founded. Other idle hands get into mischief in

Washington, stirring up the animals, or fancying themselves as labor leaders. Moreover, the present service is lopsided in its composition, with as many Counselors of Embassy as there are Vice Consuls, a situation well recognized in the Report.

Much soul-searching will have to accompany the rigorous paring of personnel. It must be accompanied by even more rigorous action in the other agencies, with staffs in many instances more inflated than those in Foggy Bottom. Abroad, for example, the State Department complement is often as little as twenty per cent of the total personnel in an American embassy.

These are some of the fundamentals that must be coped with, if American diplomacy is to meet the challenge of the 1970s. What the State Department needs is not a managerial complex but an untangling of the false assumptions that have led to our present predicaments.

If that is a job for the President, then speed the day when the President turns his hand to it!

Otherwise, the pelican of American diplomacy seems likely to wander in the wilderness indefinitely. ■

DIPLOMACY for the 70's

THE favorable reception accorded by the casual press to "Diplomacy for the 70's" will not, I trust, cause the intelligent and skeptical members of the diplomatic service (and a good service should not have too many others) to assume that its adoption, even in its entirety, will appreciably ameliorate the problems that now oppress them. The self-critical tone of the report has been much admired. But self-criticism doesn't do much good if it omits to criticize the important things. And while the report makes a great many useful suggestions, their effect will be mitigated if the really vital ones are overlooked. On its maiden voyage diligent men were checking the flaws in the music, menus, toilets, bathrooms, cabins, staffing, even in

Looking out for Icebergs

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

the command structure of the *Titanic*. But this work was not of great moment so long as no one was looking out for icebergs.

There is a failure of courage in the report on a matter somewhat below the shipwreck level. It deals manfully with tourist class travel for families in Africa.¹ But no effective

¹ *Not that such matters are unimportant. But they should have been dealt with in a general condemnation of the chicken-shit syndrome in American public administration. And it should have been pointed out that some of it originates in efforts by past administrative panjandrums in the Department to ingratiate themselves with men of slight intelligence but seeming power on Capitol Hill at the expense of their colleagues in the Service.*

mention is made of political ambassadors. The report tells of the importance of exacting entrance requirements, careful training, the cultivation of creativity, and promotion, especially in the upper grades, that is carefully related to merit. All of this is in preparation for grave and formidable responsibilities. But it is the current practice simultaneously to assume that the most responsible jobs overseas can be held by any politically unbuttoned fertilizer manufacturer—or his son. What does this do to incentives? To morale? Can it really be supposed that a profession that requires so much preparation in principle and so little in practice is to be taken seriously? Surely this should have been discussed and also (I had particular reason to hope) my proposal for a board of distinguished former officers, academic types or professional good citizens to label the more egregious political accidents as such and thus to raise a barrier to a

President naming them, or the Senate confirming them.

But the truly serious fault is in wholly ignoring the one decisive problem of the Foreign Service. That sounds like a strong statement but I do not exaggerate. The decisive problem is that in the years following World War II the foreign policy of the United States was seen swatting Communists, real or terminological, wherever they raised their subversive heads. For this a perfectly enormous establishment was required. Military missions of great size, counter-insurgency spe-

cialists, spooks, sundry other operatives, informers and persuaders, and countless builders of democracy (or anyhow of anti-communism) were required in the field. And similar legions were required to supervise them in Washington. In this mass the traditional diplomatic staff was a small and submerged minority with, in many respects, the least well-defined functions.

In recent years, we have been drawing back from the policies of the Acheson-Dulles-Rusk era. We have discovered, especially in the Third World, that we cannot control

the inner life of countries, do not need to, and get into appalling trouble when (as in Indo-China) we try. But nearly all of the Cold War structure still remains. (I do not, of course, criticize economic or other help that is for civilized and compassionate, as distinct from so-called strategic, purposes.) To be submerged in this increasingly functionless structure with the least clear function is a terrible thing. To be associated with its disasters is worse. This is the real problem of the low morale, the iceberg that got overlooked. ■

DIPLOMACY for the 70's

Further Comment

In the face of the almost universal kudos the Department and the Foreign Service has received for the self-evaluation contained in "Diplomacy for the 70's: A Program of Management Reform for the Department," one does not like to seem to swim in the opposite direction, which the ensuing paragraphs may do. However, there is reason for continued concern and doubts since some important elements of self-evaluation are either absent or misdirected.

The terms "manage" or "management" seem to be used in three distinct senses, with not always a clear distinction between the three. These are: (1) management or direction of staff by the immediate supervisor, (2) management of State Department resources and personnel by the Department's policy-making leadership (O. U., Director of Foreign Service, and others), and (3) management by the State Department of all other Agency and Department involvement in foreign relations.

With regard to the first point, many persons in an organization—this is not limited to the Foreign Service—find it difficult to make the transition from subordinate to supervisor. Part of this, at least, results from an inability to delegate. Sometimes it seems that Foreign Service officers should take a special course in "How to Delegate Authority." The Foreign Service seems to suffer more from this failing

than do most organizations. Maybe it is because ability to delegate is needed so much in the Foreign Service that the failing becomes so troublesome.

Following two simple rules might help. One of these I would call the Tuthill rule, for I first heard it voiced by Jack Tuthill. "Always plan to be a little under-staffed, rather than over-staffed." You might be surprised how this helps you to delegate authority.

Another simple rule for a supervisor, particularly those in the middle range, would be "be prepared to do your own work, as well as occasionally that of your supervisor and that of any of your subordinates, but never try to do the work of any of the others as long as they are present."

With regard to the second point of ensuring optimum use of the resources and personnel of the Department of State, this is a problem of many years standing and has been the subject of many formal and informal studies and examinations. It will need many more; in fact, it is the area that needs most attention on a constant basis. It is not going to be solved soon, partially because of its very nature but even more so as a result of some policies and practices which have got us into the current mess.

The concept of a personnel pyramid for the Foreign Service is unworkable, if you assume that the Department is successful in recruiting only the very best people for the Foreign Service.

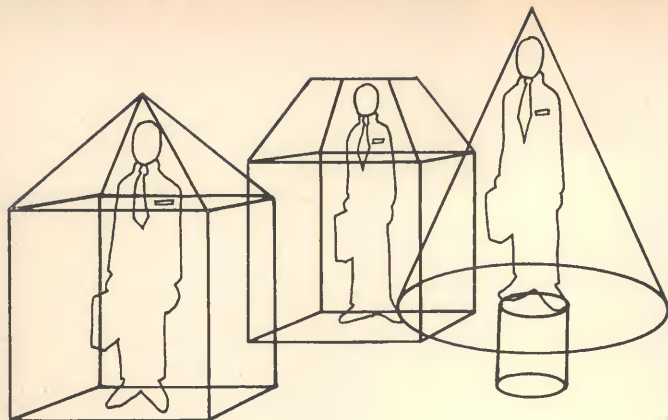
This is so self-evident that it is amazing that anyone ever thought otherwise. There are just not enough slots at the top to take care of those who live, and deserve promotion all the way to the top. In this connection, I do not understand the proposal in the "Summary of Diplomacy for the 70's" that "as a further step to end the neglect of management skills, the task forces called for a program to identify potential executives at an early stage in their careers and develop their abilities through appropriate training and assignments." I thought it was the intention to recruit no other kind.

Also unworkable are variations of the pyramid approach which seem to be being suggested. These might be called the "pyramid on top of a box" and "the Christmas tree."

If most officers advanced at the same pace as others in their group from Class 6 to Class 3, there would be a flattened pyramid on top of a box. Some problems might be solved, but others would remain or be accentuated.

The "Christmas tree" approach seems to involve a trickle in from the bottom, and a much increased entrance from the side via lateral entry. Insofar as the lateral entrants would wish to remain in the career service—and most of them seem to want to—the pyramid problem remains.

In the post-war period, the personnel in the Foreign Service has considerably increased at the same time that the tasks which need to be performed have also increased. While the blanketing in of groups and easier entrance for others did not always result in the quality or qualifications meeting the new need, this fact was sometimes lost sight of in the rapid developments that were occurring. That period is now over, and the squeeze is on. This particular problem could be relieved to some extent by accelerated retire-



ment of many senior officers during a transition period. However, with the need for personnel in the future being reduced, the pyramiding problem, which has been somewhat hidden during this period of rapid growth, would become more severe.

Three other suggestions have been made which might offer relief. One is to permit Foreign Service officers to retire after 20 years of service regardless of age. Another is to encourage an applicant for entry at the lower levels to have another trade or profession that he could return to and support himself and his family with dignity and satisfaction. Still another is to encourage more lateral entrants and exits at middle levels in the Service.

The result of these three suggestions, it seems to me, would be more people who made a career of foreign service. It might also result in a destruction of the Career Foreign Service. It may be that this is the only feasible alternative, but this is a proposition that certainly deserves more study.

If the State Department is considering the third use of the term management mentioned above, i.e., management of the resources and personnel of other Agencies and Departments, my advice is "forget it." You will never get the legal or administrative authority to do it. It seems to me much time has been wasted in waiting for such authority and designing organizational and administrative arrangements that would work only if such authority were received.

Given this situation, and in spite of this situation, there is still a considerable role to be played in providing leadership in foreign policy making. The key to this is providing leadership on a personal basis, not leadership

flowing from a neat organizational set-up. This means that the Foreign Service officer must be good—better than his counterparts in the other Departments and Agencies—and that he must become familiar with and expert in a whole range of issues with which he will have to deal. Herein lies the challenge to the Foreign Service officer.

Also, the Foreign Service officer, both in Washington and in the field, can and should serve as a continual interface (to borrow a term from the field of telecommunications) between the American government and society and those of other countries. This is well described by Henry Owen in an article in the *Washington Post* of December 20, 1970, as involving the whole range of actions by which one government works with others in trying to achieve progress by bringing about gradual, undramatic, peaceful change and attempting to avoid crises. This is the essential task of the Foreign Service, not winning bureaucratic organizational battles in Washington.

In fact, most of the report of the task forces deals with the State Department in Washington and its relations with other agencies. Was it considered that this is the essence of "Diplomacy for the 70's?" Such an assumption seems to be the weakest point of the entire operation. One of our greatest faults in diplomacy, if not the greatest, is the proliferation of agencies and the speaking with multiple voices overseas. There is also much more willingness, it seems, in the American government and public to end this situation than to support what essentially seems to be a program for bureaucratic reorganization in Washington. The goal should be a unified Foreign Service with all per-

sonnel overseas *without exception* being in that Foreign Service and subject to the direction and control of the Ambassador. This could be done even with the proliferation of agencies in Washington by detaching to the Foreign Service personnel of such agencies when they are serving overseas. By attacking the problem at the overseas end and working back to the Washington scene, more immediate progress can be made at the spot where the proliferation of agencies is likely to be most damaging to US diplomacy in the '70s.

HOYT PRICE
FSO—Retired

"Diplomacy for the 70's," and those who contributed to it, must be commended. It is as earnest and thorough a blueprint for reform as has been produced by any public bureaucracy. That fact alone should tell the country something positive about its diplomats. They at least are trying hard to serve the public well. Whether the public, which has characteristically viewed its diplomats with suspicion or disdain, deserves such a serious, committed Foreign Service is another matter.

A number of outside groups have broken their teeth on efforts to reform the Department of State. So now it is being tried from within. That is good. But reform from within will not succeed unless the outside comes forward to do its part.

The insiders will need the following kinds of outside assistance: (1) a President who, in word and deed, is committed to making the Department of State number one among foreign affairs interests and agencies in Washington; (2) a private foreign affairs community which is open and ready to exchange ideas and personnel with its official counterparts; (3) a public which cares enough about the quality of its country's diplomacy to recognize diplomatic successes as well as failures and to assign high priority to the legislation and appropriations necessary for the maintenance of the highest quality diplomatic corps. If outsiders reciprocate in these ways, and if the Department itself does not hedge on the implementation of the task force recommendations, the painstaking effort at reform by insiders stands a chance of success.

As with most others with whom I have spoken, I have quarrels with certain aspects of the report. These quarrels chiefly have to do with: a fixation on "management skills" as a panacea; the five category system of functional specialization which Ernest Preeg admirably critiques in his dis-

(Continued on page 46)

SURVIVOR'S DIARY

continued from page 37

leg wrappings blunted his bite but I had to call for help to break his hold. The others watched in silence. Did the fool know what he had done? Perhaps he did.

He was killed, with an ax, behind the stone wall. In silent agreement we left him unburied. Burial has become an obsolete ritual for us. As we prepared to move on, I wondered why we bothered to bury Miranda and Soames. I believe Ian really committed suicide. His eyes were not those of a madman. For the brief moment before the ax fell, I thought I saw a flicker of contentment on his face. He had a photograph of a little girl in his pocket. I have kept it. It is strange but I feel a compulsion to glance at it from time to time. I should throw it away but I'll wait.

There was a car on the next hill. It had been there for some time for the snow was virgin around it. Grasi scouted it carefully and motioned for us to come ahead. The driver was dead in the front seat. His eyeglasses were clogged with the snow that had drifted in through the open window and his frozen flesh was like a cherub's. But what luck! On the back seat were two cans full to the brim with half frozen milk. We stood congratulating ourselves and waiting for someone to sample the milk. We were all thinking the same thing. It might be contaminated. But why should it be this far out in the country? Suddenly we were wrestling the heavy cans out of the car and dipping our tin cups into the bluish liquid. The milk rolled down our beards and dripped onto our clothing, slowed gradually by the cold, and hanging in small white icicles from the skirts of our jackets and coats.

We were stopped in our gluttony by the crisp snap of a bullet close to our heads. Another bored an instantaneous hole through the open car door and a third whined off into the sky after throwing up a splash of snow at our feet.

For several seconds we lay there like stuffed dummies while our minds cleared and the firing stopped. Dragging myself to my knees I tried to locate the source of the firing but the same silent land-

scape surrounded us. A slight ruffle of dry snow blew past like sand over a dune. The body behind the wheel, jarred by our manhandling of the cans and our jump for safety, toppled suddenly from the car. It made us all jump. The nervous laughter was my cue and I used it to get them moving. I detailed three men to fill some canteens with milk and we started out again warily, our senses taut, waiting for a repetition of the firing but it didn't come. We will never know who was responsible.

219th Day

The further we go, the easier it is to walk. The snow is not so deep and there are even bare patches of black earth showing through. We decided to keep going most of the day and drank some of the milk for our lunch. The sun was trying to fight its way through the cloud cover and its struggle threw strange, momentary shadows over the land.

We entered a zone of low scrub and stunted pines. I didn't like it. It cut off our view and we could walk right into trouble. I have a pain in the kidneys tonight and I am not sure...

World Headquarters for Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Order

Geneva

COMMUNIQUE

June 9, 1979

A patrol of the United Forces of Order ambushed a bandit group yesterday in South Central France. Several of the renegades were killed in the ensuing fight and the remainder, including the bandit leader, were captured. Incriminating evidence, in the form of a diary, led to a summary trial resulting in the execution of the prisoners.

This incident marks the seventh success in three days for the United Forces of Order. General Grosbeck, Commander of the 12th Reconstruction Zone, today stated his belief that such successful operations will soon pacify his area and the units thus liberated will be able to assist in restoring order to the Southern Zone.

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NUCLEAR ENERGY
continued from page 30

States Government has stated "that it plans to make available, when technically and economically feasible, peaceful nuclear explosion services pursuant to Article V of the NPT under attractive conditions."

On the other hand, limitations imposed on nuclear excavation by the LTBT could frustrate the carrying out of such explosions pursuant to Article V of the NPT. Reconciliation between the LTBT limitations and the desirability of full utilization of peaceful nuclear explosions under Article V of the NPT will have to be resolved.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1963 at the time of the hearings on the LTBT expressed concern whether the Plowshare Program could proceed under the Treaty. The Committee report concluded that the Plowshare Program contemplated for the next few years would not be seriously inhibited.

The importance to the world of desalting seawater needs little expla-

nation or defense. Desalting is unique among methods of meeting water shortages because it, alone, increases the supply of fresh water as a supplement to that naturally available. Moreover, desalting can draw on the technological advances of nuclear power. These are the factors which have led the United States to establish a major program for the development of desalting technology, with particular emphasis on large-scale nuclear desalting. It is a cooperative program in which the Department of the Interior, through its Office of Saline Water, is responsible for desalting process technology, with the Atomic Energy Commission having responsibility for the development of appropriate nuclear energy sources.

As was briefly mentioned above, one of the great potential uses of nuclear reactors is that of desalting seawater.

From the outset, the United States' program has been oriented toward developing desalting technology that will be useful to—and

available to—water-short nations throughout the world.

We have also been studying the possibility of nuclear energy centers surrounded by industrial or agro-industrial complexes. Such a grouping might include interrelated industrial processes for the production of fertilizers, aluminum, phosphorus, caustic-chlorine and ammonia. The complex could also include large-scale desalting of seawater for a highly intensified program of irrigating food crops.

The most comprehensive of such studies conducted to date has been the energy center study completed at our Oak Ridge National Laboratory in 1968. The results of the Oak Ridge work were sufficiently promising that several follow-on studies are being conducted.

THE Commission's Plowshare Program not only faces the problems raised by the LTBT, but it is currently faced with severe budgetary problems. There are also misunderstandings on the part of the public in regard to the positive benefits that

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can accrue to mankind from the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions.

The Plowshare Program is a research and development program which has not yet achieved its goal of becoming a viable commercial enterprise.

Today we know of the need to develop harbors in various parts of the world. The Plowshare Program—if it is permitted to continue experiments to produce nuclear explosions with minimal amounts of fission output and cratering experiments which reduce even further the levels of radioactive releases—will be able to demonstrate the ease with which man can create such harbors.

Also a deep underground nuclear explosion in ore-bearing formations can break up the rock—thus permitting the leaching of the ore and bringing to the surface the metals contained without defacing the landscape. Gas reserves can be augmented by explosive stimulation of tightly packed formations and of shale oil by retorting underground in cavities created by Plowshare explosions.

The creation of underground storage areas for natural gas, petroleum, chemicals, radioactive wastes and industrial and municipal waste products would take these products out of the biosphere and eliminate the possibility of surface leakage due to acts of nature or man.

We, perhaps, can conserve some of the runoff which is now lost to the seas by creating large underground storage areas for water or by breaking up rock between natural aquifers to allow the recharging of those aquifers which are not depleted.

Our goal in the 1970s must be to minimize man's insults to the environment. By going underground with mining applications, by providing for better utilization of our resources and conserving them, including the saving of runoff water, we can improve the quality of our environment. Plowshare can help us to accomplish these things.

In summary, since the "Italian navigator landed in the New World" on December 8, 1492, tremendous strides have been made in the nuclear field.

Nuclear power is economic in many parts of the United States and in other countries.

The peaceful applications of nuclear energy are helping daily to improve man's lot.

It was at United States initiative that an international cooperative program in the nuclear field was undertaken.

The institutional frameworks that have been established (IAEA, Euratom) have helped and will continue to help to assure that the peaceful atom remains peaceful.

We expect to see even more impressive results as our research and development programs continue. We must make every effort to see that our social, economic, and ecological programs keep abreast of our scientific and technological developments.

The benefits of international cooperation in developing the peaceful applications of the atom are evident. Continued and expanded cooperation can further the purposes of peace and improve living standards all over the world. ■



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"DIPLOMACY FOR THE 70's"

continued from page 42

sending memorandum; recommendations which correct the mistakes of the past instead of organizing the Department for the future; and the essential conservatism of the report. But these reservations may be accommodated in the actual process of reform provided it is dynamic and continuous; none of them is serious enough to detract in any major way from the most impressive, potentially useful effort at internal reform in the annals of Washington bureaucracy.

Others from the outside, and particularly from academe, who may come forward with a barrage of criticism of the report should at least be asked what they have done lately to improve the management and performance of their own calling.

PETER F. KROGH
Dean
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

One strength of the current proposals is that they arose from within. Many earlier sound reforms were

eroded by resistance, often tacit, from Foreign Service or departmental officers.

In this instance management is recognized as essential, though it is dealt with far too much as a collection of procedures. Management is men and women. All bureaucracy—in government, education, industry, or finance—inherently resists management. Yet we have vast complexes in manufacturing, trade, and finance, many much larger than the diplomatic establishment, that are well managed. Essentials are clear lines of authority, firm and lucid directives, and decentralization. Decisions should be made at the lowest tolerable point, keeping channels of communication so clear and active that top management does not get caught unaware.

One essential choice every country must make: whether there is to be a unitary diplomatic establishment or a domestic bureaucracy and a corps of diplomats who are virtually exiles. At one time France had "sédentaires" who managed the Quai d'Orsay and a separate group in the embassies abroad. Quarrels between the two groups were frequent. Sédentaires

went so far as deliberately to keep despatches from the minister. Even without deliberate intent on the part of a group, bureaucratic sludge can be an effective barrier to the minister's control of foreign policy. This matter was "settled" for the Department of State in 1924, in 1946, in 1954—but never adhered to.

Whatever decision is made this time the most desperately needed reform is continuity of policy in this crucial matter and in managerial policy generally. In the past there have been sound legislation and "firm" managerial decisions destroyed by instability in management.

Finally, it is a mistake to regard specialization as an end in itself. Though special skills are essential, a man stuck in a groove, or confined to a "cone" may be denied stimulus or even opportunity to realize his full potential. Specialists can thus become narrow and hence enemies of sound policy. With sensible management some specialists can broaden into first class leaders fully capable of rising to ambassadorships or policy posts in the Department.

HENRY M. WRISTON

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Most of the task force recommendations in the summary published by the NEWSLETTER sound vague, since the details are not given. What does come through, loud and clear, is that (a) most Foreign Service officers will be selected out when they reach Class 3; (b) that most officers will retire after not more than twenty years in the Service, regardless of age; and (c) that the Department will undertake to find them jobs on the outside after early retirement. This procedure will, hopefully, create a Foreign Service filled exclusively with youth and genius in appropriate proportions.

If the plan works, one can hope that the Department and the Foreign Service will be taken seriously. Can one also hope that political ambassadors will also be of genius caliber, and also that the blame for Congressional and special interest boo-boos in our foreign policies will be laid upon them?

RICHARD FYFE BOYCE
Class of 1920

The summary of the Program of Management Reform for the Department of State is an excellent and persuasive document. Despite my

strong view that bureaucracies cannot be substantially reformed except as a result of outside pressure, it may well be that the previous outside studies that have been made are all that is necessary. It is my hope that the very excellent recommendations in the report will be put in force quickly.

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Administrator
United Nations Development
Programme

If you would tolerate the musings of an outsider to the Foreign Service, I would like to make some comments regarding certain aspects of the reform movement within the State Department. For too long the Department has been defensive and overly self-critical about its role in the formulation of foreign policy. This feeling has allowed other groups in the government to usurp State's mandated functions. For example, I am not aware of anyone in the Department who openly challenged—then or now—President Kennedy's semi-public comments that the State Department was a "bowl of jelly." The Department appeared to be wearily resigned

to this judgment.

Yet, I would argue that it served a dual purpose for the President. First, it undoubtedly reflected his frustration with State's excessive bureaucratism. But second, and perhaps more important, it put the State Department on the defensive and set up a smokescreen whereby the President could increase the transfer of power from it to the White House with little controversy or opposition from State's Foreign Service officers. Under the present Advisor on National Security Affairs, this process has largely been completed.

Now that it has released "Diplomacy in the 70's"—an act of considerable courage—the State Department is in an excellent position to take the initiative and re-assert its voice at the highest levels of government. Whether it will be able to again attain primacy in the field of foreign affairs depends greatly on the will, performance and political power of its leadership. I, for one, sincerely look forward to the day when an activist State Department becomes the acknowledged leader in formulating foreign policy.

JIM HOOPER

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COMMUNICATION ON USIA

continued from page 12

important of these changes as the postwar comeback of the European media. Where I part company with him is on his allegation that USIA has not been willing or able to adapt to this new state of affairs. Sometimes the Agency did not move to meet new conditions as fast as I would have liked. But there have been fundamental changes in our operations.

Instead of trying to place vast amounts of product—news and feature stories, still photos, film clips and radio feeds—in the press or on radio and television, now abundantly if not always well-served in Western Europe, we stress working with the media. This means helping newsmen and producers research that part of their output that deals with the United States—be it foreign policy, domestic policy or some aspect of American life or culture. USIA has set up foreign correspondents centers in New York and Washington to further the concept of working with the media rather than trying to do their job for them. These centers work with the field in helping visiting or resident foreign correspondents to make con-

tacts in the US with American officials or other people they are trying to reach.

In our dealings in the field with the media—using Paris as an example—we may furnish them written background material, simply have a background chat or be interviewed on the record on such divergent topics as Vietnam, our space program or Women's Lib. Especially in dealing with the newest and most powerful medium—television—to which we give priority, speed is important. Often the opportunity to do business with the media comes because of some hot news development. It is imperative that our information be up to date. The fast media come into play when important speeches or statements are made by top US officials.

When the President or the Secretary of State makes a significant speech or holds a news conference we translate it immediately and usually either the full text or extensive and balanced excerpts dealing with foreign affairs gets published in *Le Monde*, whether or not the paper's editorial comment is favorable. These translations and other less newsworthy ones are useful for responding to questions or for working ideas and language

into speeches made by Embassy or USIS officers.

Host government officials, newsmen, editorial writers, or specialists are often interested in going beyond the news reports. Sometimes they are not satisfied with the coverage of the United States in the media. For them we do continue to put out a product, "Informations et Documents"—a post-produced illustrated magazine for people particularly interested in American affairs, and one that tries to cover the American scene for a limited and continuously updated mailing list.

We put out to a limited list a French translation of *IALOGUE*, a high-quality quarterly published in several languages by USIA that seeks to present a cross-section of current thought and observation from and about the United States. We also run a small but busy research library, a very active cultural center (lectures, round tables, films, art exhibits, seminars, musical events) aimed at a young clientele, an overwhelmed student counseling service, and as active a provincial program as we can manage with four French employees in the consulates and our Parisian staff doing as much traveling as possible.

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has never been greater in France. More people than ever want information about the United States and US ways of doing things. More people than ever are traveling to the US for education, business or pleasure.

Our exchanges officer and staff are busy, indeed, and very much committed, but the emphasis has changed as it has in the information part of our program. Many more people travel to the US on their own. So the number of international visitor grantees has been properly reduced, although they are still important. But this doesn't cut back on our work. The voluntary visitors—those who travel on their own—have vastly increased. They often want help in meeting people and making contacts in the US. We have also worked hard and successfully in promoting privately financed exchanges, where our costs are only staff time, but the results are as good as if we paid it all.

There are a number of other points made by Mr. Eisenberg that should be answered, if only briefly. Perhaps we are overstaffed. But USIS in France, with 11 officers, is now one-quarter the size it was 15 years ago. We could, of course, give up entirely. But I believe we are doing a job that needs

to be done. Before suggesting that our functions be handed to the Embassy it might be well to check with Embassy staffs to find out whether they have enough time to take over our functions, or any additional work. As the readers of the JOURNAL know full well, they have taken some pretty severe cuts too.

A final point about knowing what we are doing and why. Every USIS operation has a country plan that is redrafted or updated every year. It is a comprehensive document laying out the situation in the country, US interests and what we can do to promote them by informational and cultural means. The Public Affairs Officer often writes the country plan himself. It is first approved in full by the Ambassador and then goes to Washington for approval by USIA and the Department. This approval is not perfunctory. USIA and State go over it carefully, frequently suggest changes. The final document is a complete and considered plan of action for the country. Some country plans are better than others, of course. The important thing is that this process is gone through every year so that people in Washington and the field know what they are about. In my experience it

goes as far as possible in avoiding hang-ups and in keeping the operations of USIS both realistic and fruitful.

Indeed, aside from going out of business, USIA's already doing the constructive things that Mr. Eisenberg recommends.

And many more he didn't mention.

BURNETT ANDERSON
Public Affairs Officer

Emergence

*Bound are the threads—
Tiny filaments meshing out the air.
Round and round—
Reeling the hard silk ball
To cover the core.*

*The slow torture of time was
And time was not
Wails within closed walls.*

*The struggling beats
Repeat their throbs
Until fatigue brings sleep—
And sorrow drops away.*

*The silk threads melt,
The heart breaks through cocoon.*

AGNES NASMITH JOHNSTON

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A spray salute to the Liberty torch.
Waves bumped in widening dips,
Swallowing the grey horizon.

Clouds ruffled a purple hill.
The ship shook still.
Naples—a violin, a song and flowers.

We walked the streets
Where fountains sang the city lore;
Climbed the steps of Tivoli—
The Villa D'Este—
Rubbed toes where poets talked
Beside the water spouts.

Venice is a canopy;
A maze of streets;
Little bars and coffee shops;
Echos from stone slabs,
And the water dripping oars.

The plane a kaleidoscope Jinni
Across the Persian Gulf.
Sands blink
From desert mountains wrapped in
dunes;
Prickly arms are cactus trees;
Petals fringe a Moghul ruin.
Women in their bright red shawls
Balance earthen jugs.
Bullocks hoof the drying soil.

City flies buzz the fruit bazaar—
Mangoes, coconuts, peaches, grapes—
Betel nut drops maroon.
The cotton screens flap.
Brown fingers turn brass bowls
And copper urns.

A woman in burka leans
Against the silver stand—
Ankle chains, bracelets,
Rings mirroring.

The river lies mud-green to the sea.
One and two,
Over and over
The hearts play tag.
To the kait's cries . . .
The mullah chants
"Allah, Allah, Allah."

AGNES NASMITH JOHNSTON



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

E. O. 11491

AFSA members serving in the field or not present at the "Open Meeting" of February 8th in the West Auditorium will find its proceedings scarcely credible. Aspiring diplomats would, in times of reason, rely on their powers of persuasion whatever the felt grievances. Not so representatives of a determined minority yesterday. The spectacle of an FSO, after being ruled out of order, attempting to seize the microphone, and provoking a shoving match with the President of the Association does not comport well with the image of the Service as a profession.

As a matter of fact the most interesting aspect of this meeting was that, apart from the JFSOC President's brief effort to establish his group's devotion to professionalism, no speaker touched on the nature of the Service, its role or purpose. No one related such fundamentals to the present state or status of the career. The meeting seemed entirely about how best to better personal emoluments and benefits.

Moreover, this occurred at a moment when, to a degree not yet obvious to the field, AFSA's future is on the block. It is on a good wicket if the Foreign Service is exempted from Executive Order 11491. AFSA's seven point deal with "management" offers far more than anything conceivable under that Order and I hope that the Board receives an overwhelming vote in support of the position it has now finally adopted.

But if the Service is not exempted from E.O. 11491, let the members ponder well what AFSA faces. As a labor union it could not represent the Service as a whole for many of its members would be exempted because of being overseas (I understand exemptions of those overseas would be discretionary with the Secretary or Agency head concerned), in INR, in audit functions for instance, or as "managers," which many would be even under the most helpfully unprofessional definition of their work category. As a labor union the AFSA

officers and Board would obviously have to be from among its most junior and inexperienced members because a union cannot be represented by those with "management" status. They would soon face formidable problems beyond their ready resources, legal, financial and other. A bleak prospect for AFSA and a sad loss, I believe, to the Service which it has helped to modernize! So for AFSA the situation is critical and its professional nature is at risk.

There are other implications for the Service which could be critical for its future. Appeals under E.O. 11491, albeit limited pretty much to legal points, would go to outside arbiters, relatively unaware of and ungeared to all the circumstances peculiar to Foreign Service life and work which make it a unique profession. Appeals would go initially to such differently oriented officials as an Assistant Secretary of Labor and to those beyond him convoked to deal with labor relations in the vast government bureaucracy.

It is on that point I should like to close. The Foreign Service of the United States is an instrument of the President and the Secretary of State, his adviser in the conduct of the foreign relations of this country. That instrument ought to be under the control of the Secretary in the future as at present. The Service has rightly been differentiated from the Civil Service because of the nature and conditions of its work. Those who seek to tamper with this situation for their own narrower ends are risking much—including broader interests—and should be defeated if they cannot be dissuaded by reason.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS

Washington

Technetronic America Marches On

WHILE the argument for a "Foreign Policy of Restraint" (November) is sound, some of the author's passing judgments on United States society seem appallingly insensitive to basic human values. Item: "America will have to tolerate a worse world press because USIA was not budgeted for the proper level of news management abroad." The author perceives that the "cement" of any society, including the United States, is "a decent regard for others," yet he does not follow this idea to its logical conclusion. The future, he indicates, lies with mobilizing "technetronic America." This America is to be noteworthy, not for poetry, wisdom, sanity, decency, and the like, but for "new forms of expression and communication, management and production, consumption, and imagination." Technetronic Amer-

ica, we are reassured, "marches on the world . . . with vigor."

Are we supposed to cheer this rather arid prospect? Does not the author realize that he is coming perilously close to saying "Might makes right?" Since when did we want to "march on the world?" Our consistent foreign policy since the war has been the opposite of this—to protect our friends in the world from being marched on, so that societies could evolve without foreign dictates. However effective technetronics may be in creating a more comfortable environment for machines, can it really replace "a decent regard for others" in human societies?

Name Withheld by Request

Recommended Reading

THIS may be the umpteenth letter you have received on the same subject; mine is not a delayed reaction, but a result of the time it take for surface pouches to reach post.

As a consular officer, I enjoyed and appreciated an article entitled "U.S. Journal—Grosvenor Square" which appeared in the September 19, 1970 NEW YORKER. It is one which would be well worth reprinting in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

I don't know what the policies of the NEW YORKER are with regard to reprinting rights, but do heartily recommend that consideration be given to including this article in a future issue of the JOURNAL.

M. JUNE DOHSE

Johannesburg

EDITOR'S NOTE: The JOURNAL does not do much reprinting but appreciates all suggestions. In this case, we are pleased to pass along this recommendation from a reader.

Two Reactions To a Career F.S.

CONGRATULATIONS to Mr. Churchill (Foreign Service JOURNAL, December) for providing a factual basis for the growing uneasiness many of us have felt over the past few years as we have seen able, experienced, well-balanced and, in all too many cases, top notch officers forced to leave the Service prematurely through the inequitable functioning of a speeded-up system of selection-out through time in grade. We could not agree more that something is radically wrong with a system that forces out highly qualified officers ready and able to give additional years of service to the government rather than concentrating such dismissals on those whose performance is for one reason or another clearly sub-standard. Nowhere else can organizations afford the luxury

or such a waste of talent.

We too wonder why AFSA has seemingly ignored this pressing problem which is giving rise to so much disquiet among the officer corps and is hitting at the very essence of a true career service.

EDWARD W. HOLMES
JOHN G. KORMANN

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: See note following second letter.

THE article by Malcolm Churchill in the December issue of the JOURNAL pointing out the apparent extent of the recent and probable future elimination of FSOs makes for depressing reading. It appears particularly incongruous that management is contemplating at this time lateral entry of up to 50 officers a year initially, to be increased later to 5 and 10 per cent of each annual promotion for classes FSO 5 through 2. Some lateral entrants will probably be less able and certainly less experienced than many officers being simultaneously eliminated through time in grade. Furthermore, the new entrants will undoubtedly be younger than those being removed, thereby aggravating the existing problem of too many officers with long life expectancy in the upper grades.

The taxpayer may well decry the apparent waste of foreign service resources for which he has paid, and the FSO may deplore the end of the career Foreign Service as he knew it. Is there any hope that the personnel reforms outlined by Mr. Churchill might be adopted to alleviate the situation? The task force proposals in "Diplomacy for the 70's" and other recommendations will result in a younger, more open and flexible foreign service from which all but a select few will retire while still in their more productive years. This will be a far cry from a lifetime career service although the task force proposals should rationalize and make more humane the present, very unsatisfactory system, particularly if legislation is obtained to permit retirement after 20 years service at any age.

Mr. Churchill's grim statistics emphasize the need for all FSOs to be aware of both the existing realities and how various proposed reforms will affect their lives. If Mr. Churchill's data or conclusions are not correct, management should reassure us. In any case, now is the time for concerned FSOs to convey their views and recommendations to management. They should also not leave the AFSA Board in any doubt as to the preference of

the majority of the membership which the Board should be obligated to support.

ALAN LOGAN

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: Readers will also be interested in the statistics on this subject published in the February 1971 Department of State NEWS LETTER.

A Record?

IT occurs to me that the late Ambassador and historian Claude Bowers may have been the only non-career ambassador to have served 20 years as an ambassador (thirteen years in Spain—seven in Chile).

I am relying on memory, but I do recall that President Eisenhower allowed Ambassador Bowers to remain in Chile in 1953 so that he could finish his "20."

Perhaps some historical sleuth may be tempted to research this allegation.

WAYNE W. TAYLOR

Washington

Astrologically Speaking

UPON reading the perceptive analysis of the recent failures in American foreign policy by William C. Rogers (Pisces), I reviewed the astrological portents in the birth dates of our 98 newest FSO recruits.

Mr. Rogers will be encouraged to learn that 8 of the 98 were born under Pisces. The new policies of BEX seem to be moving on a good zodiac pattern.

The other 90 are spread across the

year: Capricorn, 10; Aquarius, 5; Aries, 10; Taurus, 9; Gemini, 11; Cancer, 4; Leo, 4; Virgo, 13; Libra, 9; Scorpio, 6; Sagittarius, 4.

How are we doing?

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.
Deputy Director of Personnel
for Recruitment
(Sagittarius)

Terminology Correction

I note from the September 1970 JOURNAL that widows of life members will automatically continue to benefit from their husband's membership.

I trust at the earliest opportunity the word "widow" would be replaced by "surviving spouse" for those female life members who would like to see that their family members receive the same privileges as male life members.

GLADYS P. ROGERS

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The Board concurs.*

An Orchid

IN response to your editorial in the September issue concerning efforts to improve the JOURNAL. I would like to register my opinion that the JOURNAL has indeed improved. I find many more interesting articles in recent issues than I did in the past. These has been a particular improvement in the airing of issues as contrasted to the earlier predominance of less controversial and blander material.

Keep up the good work.

RICHARD J. GREENE

Quito

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by S. I. Nadler



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