FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1972 60 CENTS





Or America on $1.63 a day with collision.

That's all it has to cost for the auto insurance you need to drive through your beautiful country when you're home on leave. And for the same prices, you get Canada, too.

Add a little more to cover shipping insurance if you're taking your car over with you.

How little it costs is only outdone by how easy we make it to get.

Simply fill out the application at the bottom of the page facing this ad, send it to us with your check and we'll mail you your policy.

Do it now so not even a minute of your leave is wasted.

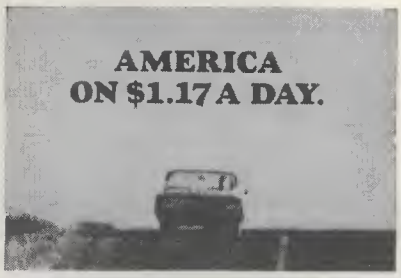
A.I.U. claims facilities will be at your service 24 hours a day and, if you should have to collect on a claim, we won't keep you waiting.

America on $1.17 a day is based on a 60-day leave. Thirty days and the price goes up a little to $1.73.

If somehow you've managed to accumulate three whole months, we give you America on $1.00 a day.

American International Underwriters, 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, U.S.A., Telephone: (202) 737-6855.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNDERWRITERS



TOURIST PREMIUMS UNITED STATES AND/OR CANADA.

CHECK DESIRED TERMS IN DAYS AND COVERAGES DESIRED	POLICY TERMS IN DAYS										
AUTOMOBILES Excluding operators under 25 and/or sport cars	☐ 30	☐ 45	☐ 60	☐ 75	☐ 90	☐ 105	☐ 120	☐ 135	☐ 150	☐ 165	☐ 180
COVERAGE A ☐ **INJURY OR DAMAGE TO OTHERS** Bodily injury liability $25,000/50,000 Property damage $5,000 Medical payments $1,000	$52.00	$59.00	$70.00	$80.00	$90.00	$101.00	$111.00	$122.00	$134.00	$145.00	$155.00
B ☐ **LOSS OR DAMAGE TO YOUR VEHICLE** including Fire and Theft– Subject to $25 Deductible except Collision subject to $100 Deductible	$21.00	$23.00	$28.00	$32.00	$36.00	$41.00	$44.00	$49.00	$53.00	$58.00	$62.00
REFER TO COMPANY FOR PREMIUMS FOR 1) AUTOMOBILES VALUED IN EXCESS OF $5,000 2) RENTED AUTOMOBILES											
C ☐ **MARINE SHIPMENT OF YOUR AUTOMOBILE ONE WAY TRIP** (available only with purchase of A or B.) $1.60 per $100 of value War Risk $0.05 per $100 of value Round Trip–double the rates above											
D ☐ **TRAILERS** Coverage Mandatory with *House Trailers* (Third party coverage is automatically provided on *utility trailers*–free of extra charge) Bodily injury $25,000/50,000 Property damage $5,000	$13.00	$15.00	$18.00	$20.00	$22.00	$26.00	$28.00	$30.00	$34.00	$36.00	$39.00

OPTIONAL DAMAGE TO ALL TYPES OF TRAILERS

E ☐ COMPREHENSIVE–$25 Deductible	$1.00 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE–SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT FOR SHORT TERM–MINIMUM 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
F ☐ FIRE ONLY–	$.50 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE–SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
G ☐ THEFT ONLY–$25 Deductible	$.10 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE–SUBJECT TO SHORT RATE TABLE OR 25% OF ANNUAL PREMIUM
H ☐ COLLISION–$100 Deductible	$1.50 per $100 OF INSURED VALUE

AIU AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE APPLICATION

(Completed information must be accompanied by check and/or money order for full premium (U.S. Dollars) and mailed to AIU, Investment Bldg., 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005)

Name of Applicant_____

Overseas Address_____

Mail Policy to_____

Effective Date of Insurance_____ Term_____ days

Coverages: A B C D E F G (circle coverages desired)

Has any insurance company or underwriter declined to accept or refused to renew your insurance?_____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Have you or any other persons or members of your household who will drive your car had any accidents during the past two years? _____ if yes, give particulars on separate sheet. (yes or no)

Do you plan to travel in Canada?_____ (yes or no)

IMPORTANT: This must be completed.

Date of Birth_____ Occupation_____

Make and Model of Motorcar_____ Value_____

Year of Manufacture_____ Motor-Serial No._____

Name and address of Mortgagee, if any_____

_____

_____ _____

Signature of Applicant Date

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1972: VOLUME 49, NUMBER 9

Diagnoses of Student Protest 12
JOSEPH J. SCHWAB

Student Dissent and the Technetronic Society 14
JAMES L. MEYER

A Look at Luis 20
MICHAEL P. CANNING

OTHER ARTICLES

Letter from Branxville to New Delhi, by Suson Weiss 6

DEPARTMENTS

Letters to the Editor 4

The Bookshelf 24

FSJ Competition 27

Editorials 32

AFSA News 33

Photographs and Illustrations:
COVER: Triptych, by Richard F. Wolford

American Foreign Service Association

DAVID H. McKILLOP, *President*
PRINCETON LYMAN, *First Vice President*
HORACE G. DAWSON, JR., *Second Vice President*

Board of Directors

WILLIAM C. HARROP, *Chairman*
THOMAS D. BOYATT, *Vice Chairman*
BARBARA J. GOOD, *Second Vice Chairman*
DAVID W. LOVING, *Secretary-Treasurer*
JOHN J. TUOHEY, *Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*
HERMAN J. COHEN JAMES L. HOLMES, JR.
F. ALLEN HARRIS WILLIAM R. LENDERKING, JR.
LINDA LOWENSTEIN W. A. WHITTEN

Staff

GERALD BUSHNELL, *Executive Director*
MARGARET S. TURKEL, *Executive Secretary*
CLARKE SLADE, *Educational Consultant*
HELEN VOGEL, *Committee Coordinator*

Journal Editorial Board

TERESITA C. SCHAFFER, *Chairman*
AMBLER MOSS FREDERICK QUINN
RALPH S. SMITH EDWARD M. COHEN
HARRIETT S. CROWLEY G. RICHARD MONSEN
JOEL WOLDMAN

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*
THOMAS R. DE BRINE, *Editorial Assistant*
McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR, 295 Modison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 532-6230
ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105 (415) 392-7144
JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 5 Winsley Street, London W.1 01-580 6594/8. Internotional Representotives.

©Americon Foreign Service Associotion, 1972. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the Americon Foreign Service Associotion, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037. Telephone (202) 338-4045

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the journal of professionals in foreign affairs, published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization.

Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the United States Government as a whole.

Membership in the American Foreign Service Association is open to the professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in Washington, as well as to persons having an active interest in, or close association with, foreign affairs.

Membership dues are: Active Members—Dues range from $13 to $52 annually depending upon income. Retired Active Members—Dues are $30 annually for members with incomes over $15,000; $15 annually for less than $15,000. Associate Members—Dues are $20 annually.

For subscription to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues); $6.00; two years, $10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add $1.00 annually for overseas postage.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*.

Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL are available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30, 1967.

A CHANCE TO GET AWAY FROM IT ALL...

...and still be among friends.

Ludwig Rudel, president of Glendale, Yearound, proudly announces a very successful summer and wishes to extend special thanks to his Foreign Service colleagues for their interest and confidence.

A few choice home sites are still available from $1550.

Prices for home sites to be offered for sale in 1973 will begin at $2250.

A new section of permanent camp sites has been developed and choice sites adjoining the stream are now available. Just 3½ hours from D.C. and well above the Eastern Seaboard humidity and smog in Prince Gallitzin State Park. Six thousand acres with a 1,700 acre lake. Swimming, skiing, sailing or fishing—you can have the whole thing. Make plans now to see the Alleghenies in their fall glory. Come join us at Glendale Yearound.

Call or write Glendale Yearound, Flinton, Pennsylvania 16640
Telephone 814 674-2278



DIRECTIONS:
From Washington, Interstate 70 to Breezewood, then through Bedford and north through Altoona. From Altoona take route 36 to Ashville, then route 53 north to Prince Gallitzin State Park. Drive along west shore of Glendale Lake to Beaver Valley Boat Launching Area and "Glendale Yearound."

LETTERS TO FSJ

Sexual Impartiality

■ I am struck by a letter on "Family Planning by Women" written by Nancy Dammann, which appeared in the April JOURNAL.

Frankly, I think Nancy Dammann's thesis that the percentage of women assigned to the AID family planning program both in Washington and overseas is evidence of discrimination against women is somewhat exaggerated and suggests the introduction of an element into recruitment that also has discriminatory aspects. An unspoken but strongly suggested inference from her letter is that hiring *should* be by quota. For whatever reason, the concept of quotas in recruitment for any US Government program or activity should be, I suggest, strongly repugnant to all of us.

Also, her assumption that family planning is a program concerning the safety and the well being of women states the obvious. However, the need to re-emphasize something else is equally important. Family planning is a program of supreme importance to *human* society, and, strangely enough, that includes men as well as women.

During the time I was assigned to the Philippines and served in the southern part of that country from 1968-1971, it was clear that family planning in that country—and I suspect in other countries—is probably of equal significance to individuals and to society as a whole. I would suggest that both men and women, if they are thoughtful, intelligent human beings, and prepared to listen to each other, are quite capable of understanding the human and social implications of family planning. It is by no means absolutely certain that women tend to be more sensitive to the fears of peasant women entering a clinic for some family planning help. If it is true, it is an educated guess which is not based on any broadly enough based statistical review, but rather on an assumption of sexual intuition—a concept neither scholarly nor libertarian.

The particular instance Nancy Dammann cites *is* a striking example of a cold blooded approach to family planning. That it was a man who was cold blooded *could* have been a coincidence rather than a function of his sex. I personally find *any* approach to family planning that distinguishes between the sex of those working in the program is self defeating. The primary quality required, I believe, for effective family planning programs is humaneness. It is not exclusively a governmental or a family problem. Population pressure and the social, political, and human effects are not confined to either men or women. These effects are sexually impartial. We should likewise be sexually impartial in the way we deal with them.

VICTOR WOLF, JR.
Copenhagen

A Reply from the Hill

■ It is a common tactic when one wants to discredit someone's position to use words like "gross distortion" and "disingenuous." I regret that Mr. Robert Don Levine of Phnom Penh felt it necessary to resort to this tactic. (Foreign Service JOURNAL, July, 1972, page 27.)

Rather than answer in kind, let me quote from the records of the debates which took place on the Senate floor when last year's foreign assistance authorization bill was up. It is my view this debate and exchange of letters is of more than academic interest. Events in Cambodia have already contributed to the successful Senate passage of the war powers legislation which is still pending before the Congress. They are a factor in this year's aid debate, and will be a factor in next year's. They have contributed to the uncertainty as to the statutory future of the Council of International Economic Policy among other factors. In turn, much water will have to go over the dam until the Constitutional and other questions raised by Vietnam and Cambodian invasion ameliorate. The presently existing severe strains in Executive-Congressional relations in the field of foreign policy clearly are not in the interest of the future conduct of US foreign policy and/or the US national interest.

Now for the facts with appropriate citation: The principal debates regarding Cambodia took place on the Senate floor on October 28, 1971 on the McGee Amendment which proposed that there be no ceiling on expenditures in Cambodia, and on October 29, when the Symington Amendment to set a $351 ceiling was on the floor. During the debate on the Symington Amendment, Senator Stennis stated (*Congressional Record, October 29, 1971, pg. 17174)*: "I think at this stage we have no valid choice except to affirm these figures, as the Senator from Missouri, who is well versed in this matter has proposed, and we will let this matter ride on with the actual ceiling on it. They cannot spend any more than that and in that way we have established legislative control on how much will be spent in this country for all purposes, including this used military equipment." On the same day Senator Symington stated: "This sum of $341 million is the amount requested by the Administration."

Yes, Mr. Levine, there was an overt veto threat on the Senate floor by Senator Scott, related to the Cooper-Church Amendment. *(See Congressional Record of October 28, page S 17075.)* There was also a document prepared by the Administration and circulated by the minority leaders office that emphasized the complete unacceptability to the Administration of either Cooper-Church or reducing the $341 million Cambodian aid figure.

Partially because of these developments, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 went down to defeat on the Senate floor. It was subsequently resurrected and there was another Cambodian debate on the Senate floor on November 11, 1971. At that time, Senator Fulbright stated *(Congressional Record, November 11, 1971, page 18270)*:

"The motivations of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Symington) and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Case) in putting a ceiling on money and personnel to be used in Cambodia were of the highest. They wanted it to be clear to the American people and to the Congress just how far we have gone towards continuing a massive American presence in Indochina. They wanted to draw the line someplace. They also wanted to require the Administration to level with the Congress in the future so that we would have information about our actions in Cambodia which the Administration heretofore

(*Continued on page* 31)



Living abroad has its advantages.

Touring the Grand Canal . . . climbing the Alps . . . sampling kangaroo soup . . . meeting a geisha . . . stalking big game . . . there's always something new and exciting to do when you're abroad. But when it comes to banking abroad . . . you're probably less interested in excitement and more interested in security and convenience.
That's where The Riggs National Bank comes in. No matter where you are in the world, as long as you have mail service, you can use the Riggs Diplomatic Financial Services—checking accounts, savings accounts, bank loans, trust services—practically any banking service you need is available to you.
And, banking with Riggs is as convenient as mailing a letter!
So take advantage of all the fun and exciting things your foreign location has to offer. But when it comes to something serious like banking . . . rely on Riggs, your convenient, dependable bank in Washington, D.C. since 1836.

THE
RIGGS
NATIONAL
BANK
OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

Founded 1836. Largest Bank in the Nation's Capital
Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Member Federal Reserve System



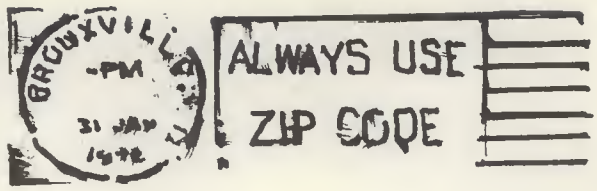
To Merchants...
Packers with Portfolio

It's true . . . Merchants has been
OFFICIALLY SELECTED for export packing
and storage of the possessions
of Foreign Service personnel.
And over 83 years of experience
in moving DPL families from
post to post worldwide means
the entire job will be handled swiftly . . .
safely . . . efficiently.
Call us if you have a move coming up . . .
and you'll be toasting the
Diplomatic Packers, too!

MERCHANTS
TRANSFER & STORAGE CO.
JOHN L. NEWBOLD, PRES.

547-7777
1616 First St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
Cable Address: "Removals"

MEMBERS:
National Furniture Warehouseman's Assn. • British Assn. of Removers • F.I.D.I. (Federation International des Demenageurs Internationaux)



Letter from Bronxville to New Delhi

Dear Mom,

I've been thinking how best to answer your question about the difficulties of being homesick when your family is 12,000 miles away.

Of course, there is loneliness and homesickness—a common experience for college freshmen, though perhaps more exaggerated in my case and less accessible to relief because of the distance involved. But I think the crux of the matter is a certain, rather special sense of insecurity, within myself and in relation to the world around me.

Most people spend their life in one place, grow up with a constant set of friends, a constant set of societal values, a constant and shared culture. The sum of all these things gives that person an instinctive, automatic and unchallenged sense of himself. It's like a shelf of rock on which his identity rests and from which he builds outward. He may later come to reject part of his background. He goes to college or work and encounters different people with different cultures which may challenge his own. He will undoubtedly suffer through all the normal, but still agonizing problems of growing up. But

---

Mary Louise Weiss and her husband Leonard, Deputy Director, INR, have lived in Yugoslavia, India and Germany. She represents the AAFSW on the State Department Mental Health Committee and is especially interested in the educational problems of Foreign Service children. Mrs. Weiss sent us this letter from her daughter, Susan. Susan, after graduation from Sarah Lawrence, worked first at the Rose Kennedy Center, Montefiore Hospital in New York and is now at the Office of Environmental Education HEW.



Quiet Diplomacy:

1972 GRAN TORINO

(Quiet...Because it's a Ford)

Gran Torino. The most changed automobile in the mid-size class. Computer-tuned to eliminate noise. Computer-tuned to provide a plush, quiet ride. Beautifully quiet. Like it or not . . . when you drive a 1972 Gran Torino you *have* to be quiet about it. Quiet...because it's a Ford.

As with all Ford-built cars, you can order your new Gran Torino now at *full Diplomatic discount.* And you pay no U.S. excise tax on any American-made Ford Motor Company car when shipped abroad. For full information:

In the Washington area, contact Diplomatic Sales, Ford Motor Company, 9th Floor, 815 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone—298-7419.

In the New York area, contact Diplomatic Sales, Overseas Distribution Operations, Ford Motor Company, 153 Halsey Street, Newark, N.J. 07102. Telephone—643-1900. From New York, telephone—964-7883.

FORD • TORINO • THUNDERBIRD
MUSTANG • MAVERICK • PINTO

MERCURY • MARQUIS • MONTEREY
MONTEGO • COUGAR • COMET

LINCOLN CONTINENTAL
CONTINENTAL MARK IV

Ford

he has a unified base from which to react. His life and origins and growing process will have a certain continuity to them. This is what I do not have. The culture, society, and values that I grew up with are not unified and continuous—on the contrary, they are sometimes wildly discontinuous, always changing, often in conflict. The life of our home and the life of our various communities often had little in common. There isn't a great deal to hold onto and build upon because each move jarred the assumptions one had grown to make about his "culture." My "heritage" is scattered all over the world, in communities that have long since broken up. In a very real way, I don't have a heritage, only myself, on which to build and with which to face the world. I have been homesick at Sarah Lawrence, but didn't always know what I was homesick for. Home was so many different places and so many different things.

I do have myself, but myself is a mixture of emotions, experiences, and values, which in part reflect all the different places we've lived in and all the peoples and cultures we've known. Being a reflection, it's full of the clashes of all those values and cultures I've been exposed to, rather than being a unified personality. That makes being me a contradictory and confusing thing sometimes.

Another peculiar aspect of my "heritage" is that, unlike most, it's not a shared one. I don't have anyone to "swap notes with," if you know what I mean. Even you and Daddy experienced things in a radically different way—you were adults and already formed, while I was a child, malleable, susceptible, and unmolded. The uniqueness, while precious, is also very lonely at times.

Being a child, I had a child's ability to adjust. I learned to assume that things were only temporary, that upheavals were always around the corner. This enabled me to survive, of course, but in the process I learned not to trust in "security," not to invest too much of myself in any one place for fear of losing it—in short, I learned to cultivate a sort of inner distance from the world around me. These are things I must unlearn today, for they are handicaps to me as an adult trying to send down roots. But the habit and conviction of uninvolvement are very hard to break.

Growing up as I did wasn't all bad, of course, but as for my adjusting to college, I lived the first years at Sarah Lawrence as a visitor, feeling out of place, but not certain where my place was. Being used to thinking of places, and people as temporary circumstances, I was reluctant to "make" a place for myself, for fear of losing it and the investment of emotion and person. I was lonely and felt isolated from my life, partly because I knew no one who had shared in my experiences and past life.

I'll leave the glories and special joys of growing up as I did and where I did for another letter.

Let me know as soon as you get orders for home leave—I will plan to meet you at the pier!

Much love,

Susie

Worldwide All-Risk Insurance Coverage For Government Employees

Special rates for American Foreign Service Association members

The annual Government Service Policy was designed more than 40 years ago especially to meet the personal property insurance needs of all employees of the United States Government. It covers *all* household and personal effects — including, as declared, furs, jewelry, silverware, paintings, antiques, cameras, liquor —against fire, theft, mysterious disappearance, windstorms, floods, breakage and general average—at any location in the world including accompanying luggage.

The premium is the same throughout the world. Yearly premium computed as follows: first $1,000, 2%; next $4,000, 1½%; and 1% for any value thereover. Thus, for $10,000 valuation, you pay only $130 yearly. Lower rates available to AFSA members.

The policy may be extended to cover goods in transit—premium charge dependent upon origin and destination—always one-half or more off the normal transit rate.

***AUTOMOBILE TRANSIT COVERAGE*: Security also writes an all-risk automobile transit policy with a $50.00 deductible to any destination in the world. Contact us for rates.**

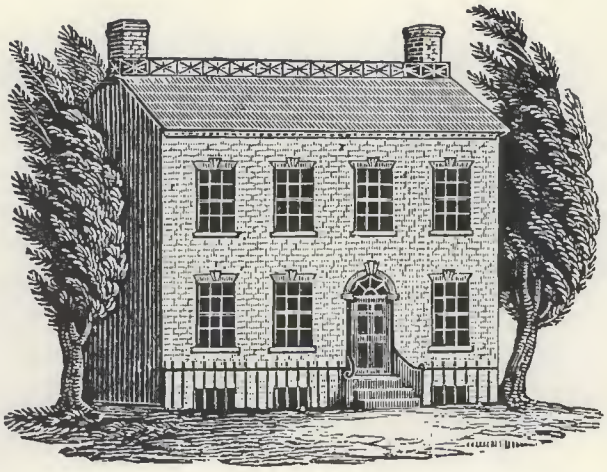
For more information, without obligation, call or write today . . .

Security Storage Company of Washington

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT

Tel. (202) 234-5600

1701 Florida Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009 Cable: STORAGE



FOR THOSE BACK HOME

A gift of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL will bring you closer to them, each month of the year. Families and friends will enjoy learning more about the foreign affairs agencies, and the duties, problems and pleasures of life overseas and in Washington.

Gift subscriptions from American Foreign Service Association members are at the reduced rate of $5.00 per year. Attractive announcement card will be sent to the recipient.



FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

Please enter a JOURNAL subscription for one year, $6.00, to be sent to:

Name .....

Street .....

City and State ..... Zip .....

Please enter a GIFT subscription for one year, $5.00, to be sent to:

Name .....

Street .....

City and State ..... Zip .....

DONOR (must be AFSA member) .....

Street .....

City and State ..... Zip .....

Airgram from the Field

Summary: *Despite the protests of the Opposition NFP bench, the Speaker of the House of Representatives ruled May 22 that in Parliament, crap and bullshit were synonymous.*

During Parliamentary debate May 22, an Opposition member used the term "bullshit" in describing government policies. The Deputy Prime Minister immediately protested that the term was not becoming to the House, and at the request of the Speaker, the word was withdrawn. Shortly thereafter, during another attack, the opposition member described a particular aspect of Government's policy as "utter crap." This drew an objection from the Minister of Finance who equated the term with the one previously ruled as being out of order. "I disagree," O.M. retorted. "It is American slang." Another Opposition Member interjected that "utter crap is no worse than shouting utter rubbish."

The Speaker called for a British dictionary and initially ruled for the O.M. However, because the Government continued to protest the O.M.'s spouting "utter crap" whenever he attacked its policies, the Speaker decided to dig deeper into the subject. During the lunch adjournment, the Speaker had a discreet phone call placed to the American Embassy to obtain a definitive opinion on "crap." Following the discussion between the Speaker's office and the Embassy, the Speaker returned to the afternoon session of the House and ruled that "crap" had a meaning in American slang similar to the word he had earlier ruled against.

He asked members not to use it again.

Queen of the Night

She's gone forever now,
Our medieval moon,
The moon of troubadors and ladies with white hands.
And with her vanishes the classic moon,
Artemis' moon of huntress and of bow.

Waxing and waning, pulling out the tides,
The gibbous moon, the lovers' moon,
The hours of languishing and sighs,
The mingling of reality and dreams,
And a fair goal, forever out of reach,
Are over now.

Still sleeps the moonlight white upon the bank,
Still curves the tender sickle in the sky,
And still the long white path enchants,
As it engilds the bosom of the sea.

But that old mystery has gone,
Yielding its place to other mysteries:
The unknown secrets of the widening worlds,
Of speed and numbers, voices from the void,
And white rocks tumbled on some far plateau,
Of orbits interlaced among the galaxies.

ENID SAUNDERS CANDLIN

UNIQUE AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

for all U.S. Government employees in Latin America

"THE EMBASSY PLAN" • Broad Coverage • Low Price

HARRY M. JANNETTE, JR. & COMPANY
General Insurance Agents
8428 KATE STREET, SUITE 206
DALLAS, TEXAS 75225

A unique automobile insurance package policy providing Comprehensive and Collision coverages with U. S. terms and conditions. Premium is based on country of assignment with no extra charge while traveling in other Latin countries, the U. S. and Canada. In addition, to comply with financial responsibility laws while in the U. S., the Plan can provide Bodily Injury/Property Damage Liability, and Uninsured Motorists — example: premium for all these coverages while on a 30-day Home leave in the U. S. available for as little as $15.00.

THE EMBASSY PLAN, designed especially for you, is the BROADEST and the LOWEST PRICED coverage on the world market and is available to U. S. Government employees. Write directly for free brochure and application.

Packaged group medical plans — personal property floaters — mutual funds
(22 years of insurance service)

To us, everybody's the Ambassador.

When you're thousands of miles away in a foreign country, the company that sells you a car is as important as the car you buy.

And Chrysler's reputation for serving the Foreign Service is second to none. Just ask anyone who's ordered a car from us.

We make certain you get the Chrysler Corporation car you want. In the right color combination. With the right equipment, standard or special.

At the right price. Which includes the same diplomatic discount we'd give the Ambassador.

And your car will be delivered when promised. So it's there waiting for you when you get home. No matter where home is.

We even check back with you after you have your new car. To see that everything's perfect.

Because to us, everybody's the Ambassador. And the Ambassador shouldn't have to do anything but choose the Chrysler Corporation's cars he'd like to look into. Then send us this check list of his choices.

Our Chrysler Export experts will take it from there.



Chrysler Export Division, P.O. Box 1688
Detroit, Michigan 48231

Please send information on these Chrysler products:

PLYMOUTH
- ☐ Valiant/ Duster
- ☐ Barracuda
- ☐ Satellite
- ☐ Fury

- ☐ CHRYSLER
- ☐ CHRYSLER IMPERIAL

DODGE
- ☐ Dart
- ☐ Challenger
- ☐ Coronet/ Charger
- ☐ Polara/ Monaco

Name_____

Post_____

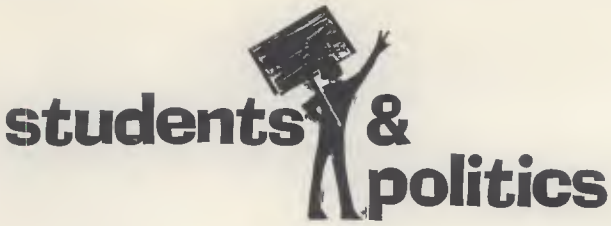
Address_____

City_____

Country_____

FS

EXPORT DIVISION CHRYSLER CORPORATION



Diagnoses of Student Protest

JOSEPH J. SCHWAB

Diagnosis 1: Conditioned Paranoids

There can be no doubt that some student activists are sick. A very few are very sick: Incipient schizophrenics, psychopathic personalities, free-floating haters, and depressives. Such cases are beyond the competence of a university or college as such. They are the business of admissions officers and psychiatrists. Equally clearly, however, such persons are a tiny percentage of student activists.

A larger percentage of the sick ones are mild paranoids and anxiety states. These *are* the business of college and university as such. It takes very little scrutiny to see that the style and severity of their symptoms closely resemble those of many assistant professors approaching the up or out point of their contractual tenures. It takes no more to see that the symptoms in the two groups arise from much the same sources. Student activists, like many assistant professors, do not know who makes decisions. They do not know how decisions are made well. They have only foggy and incomplete knowledge of the number and variety of considerations which go into the making of good decisions.

They do not know because, on the one hand, we have not taught them and because, on the other hand, we have mistaught them by making them on occasion both witness and victim of bad decisions badly made.

That we have mistaught them is patent enough. The "constitutional" student government whose actions are subject to review and reversal at whim by a dean or other administrative officer is one case in point. Another, and worse, consists of the nearly universal existence of large numbers of elective courses with names cryptic and catalog descriptions opaque, as far as students are concerned. A third, even more vicious in its side effects, consists in our widespread insistence on early commitment by students to a "major" or field of concentration. A fourth and significant one: the neatness and air of inevitability with which we invest our accounts in science textbooks and lectures of the evidences which lead to current theory.

Through operations like the first of these—student government—we mock students. In effect, we tell them that they may play at decision-making as long as the outcomes agree with ours. The original reason for such a policy is clear enough: students, as treated currently, are put in no position to maintain a respectable frequency of good decisions, and on good decisions the prosperity of the institution obviously rests. Indeed, students lack at least three crucial components of such competence. (1) They are unaware of the bodies of fact which link almost all decisions on student life to the surrounding community. They are almost equally unaware of the fact of *diversity* of interest and attitude among students and professors which constitutes an additional part of the problem on decision. (2) They are unskilled, because untrained, in ways of dealing with the numerous, concrete facts of actual situations, even where they know of them. (3) Perhaps most important, their "involvement" with the institution is inadequate: that is, their felt sense of its life expectancy does not exceed the four years of their tenure; their sense of the threat of having to undergo the consequences of a bad decision is pale and dilute by virtue of their merely peripheral membership in the community and remote connection with those among the faculties whose membership is intimate and durable. . . .

Through the second of these misteachings—the proffering of opaque electives—we positively *celebrate* nonrationality of decision. Where electives exist for the earlier years of student tenure, nearly all are opaque and almost entirely so. Not even the names of subject fields convey much; course descriptions convey still less. Even in later years, the student has little more by which to judge. He may have some idea of what he will learn *about* in a given course, but not much of *what* he will learn about it. He cannot know what disciplines are required by the problems of the course. ("Prerequisite: Economics 207" merely pushes the problem back to Economics 207.) He has no way to know what disciplines he will acquire—or forever miss. He does not know whether he wants them, whether he ought to want them, or what they will do to him. Yet there the electives are, and elect he must.

The third of these misteachings—insistence on early commitment to a major—is obviously damaging, in direct effect as well as side effect. Very few students—mainly those

Excerpted from the March/April 1970 issue of the University of Chicago Magazine, reprinted with permission.

with a conspicuous bent in one direction only—know enough about their tastes, their talents, and the character of the academic fields to have the raw materials for a good decision.

Consider, first, our failure to test talents and exhibit the character of a field. Most high school and first-year collegiate courses (especially surveys and general courses) systematically convey a false impression of the fields they represent and the talents they require. They do so by almost universal use of a single device. Instead of giving experience of the kinds of problems and modes of enquiry characteristic of the field, they provide the student with the experience of assimilating, applying, or otherwise using the *fruits* of enquiry in the field. Yet these two—assimilation and use as against pursuit of a body of knowledge—are often radically different in the competences they require and the satisfactions they afford. Consider, as a crude but telling example, the difference between solving a textbook problem in genetics as against charting the breeding pattern which would discern an unknown mode of inheritance, carrying out the indicated experiments, and processing the resulting data. . . .

Tragically enough, in courses deliberately designed as a conspectus of fields leading to student choice, the situation is worse. The faculties involved in such courses often engage in competitive seduction, each taking pains to make the "hard" easy and the complex simple, to replace mathematical equation with spool model, to emphasize the "practical" applications and the economic value of the knowledge it purveys, and to trot out for brief exposure its Famous Name and most winning personalities. Through such devices we eliminate the possibility of a realistic appraisal by the student of his talents and their appropriateness to the available alternatives. We make the whole thing a matter of taste, of likes and dislikes; and even in regard to this factor we are remiss, since we do nothing curricular to rectify students' prevailing false beliefs about the nature and use of felt wants and likes.

Thus the student is misled and discovers he is misled when he comes to the later courses in the field. At this point, effect and side effect become the same. The student comes to a realization of lost time, is haunted by a sense of failure and futility, is unable to determine how far he is at fault, how far the institution.

These are remediable curricular sins. It is entirely possible to construct and locate in the curriculum the kinds of courses which will represent the activities characteristic of a field and give students a chance to test the talents they require.

The fourth example of misteaching with respect to decision—the neatness and air of inevitability with which we invest our accounts of science in textbooks and lectures dignifies by explicit treatment the alienation of thought and action, theory and practice, which we purvey elsewhere by osmosis. By saying little or nothing about the data which point in directions different from currently accepted theory and by our silence on phenomena not encompassed by current formulations, we give the impression that in science all is unequivocal, all rational, sure, and matter of fact. . . .

Through operations like student government, then, we make fools of students. Through opaque electives we demand and celebrate nonrationality of decision. Through the demand for ungrounded early commitment to specialization we mislead and encourage the student to mislead himself. Through textbook rhetoric in the sciences and through our silences we identify the practical with the nonrational.

Little wonder that anxieties, persecution feelings, and a wearisome spate of intemperate, stereotyped protest should flood from students' mouths. Still less should we wonder that they so often cite their unexamined impulsions as sufficient ground for choice and, indeed, confuse the one with the other.

Diagnosis 2: A Poverty of Models

Two to three percent of student activists are vicious junior demagogues and cornbelt stormtroopers bent on attaining a following by kicking their father surrogates in the teeth and trying to usurp their functions. They are the counterparts of Joseph Conrad's secret agent. They combine ignorance of worldly conditions, handicaps of appearance and manner, considerable native ability and equally considerable interpersonal incompetences in such a fashion as to produce an enormous greed for power and prestige, an infinite capacity for generating righteous indignation and the entirely correct conviction that only the destruction of public faith in legality and the shattering of social order will produce the success to which they are sure they are entitled. These student activists constitute primarily a threat to the very existence of colleges and universites, by way of force and violence, of course, but also by virtue of the administrative and faculty time and energy which are thereby diverted from their proper use. As such, they are beyond the scope of this book. They also constitute symptoms, however, which are very much our business. They raise the question of how and why they succeed as well as they do in persuading other students to fight their battles for them—what needs they fill and what kinds of appeals they find effective.

"Most high school and first-year collegiate courses (especially surveys and general courses) systematically convey a false impression of the fields they represent and the talents they require."

In some institutions, their implosive success suggests a nearly complete vacuum. In others, where the success of the junior demagogue is less spectacular, the character of the demagoguery is seen to be of a similar and curiously significant kind: the demagogue creates not followers but imitators. His hearers tend to go out from his exhortations and recriminations not to do what he exhorts or to become backers, constituencies, cohorts, but to become leaders of their own constitu-

"The student demagogue uses words like 'alienation,' 'power structure,' and 'commitment' without thought for their meaning" . . .

encies, exhorters on a smaller scale, and seekers of lesser targets for their own lesser attacks. . .

This enthusiastic tendency toward imitation, this absence in a revolutionary movement of "party discipline," as it would have been called 30 years ago, leaves little doubt about one vacuum the demagogues fill. It is an absence of maturer and better models, of adults visibly and palpably exemplifying styles of life, uses of talents and competencies, preoccupations, cultivated tastes and concerns which are sources of enduring satisfaction to them and of useful outcomes to others.

The scarcity of models is of two kinds. In some small colleges it is a literal poverty, a poverty of models as such. The faculty have no professional lives apart from their teaching. They make no music. They write no books. They uncover no new knowledge. They forge no policies. They are not conspicuously engaged in honorable public service. They administer little apart from their homes and classrooms. They teach, to be sure, but their teaching is the full-time service they perform, not a flowering or a sharing of expertise or scholarship. . .

In some multiversities, it is a literal poverty of another sort. The visible bulk of the faculty is very busy indeed but not at their own business. They are not doing what flows from their talents but what is marketable. Here, as in the occasional small college the intrinsic satisfactions are visibly low. The pay (in fame and power as well as money) is high but so is the visible level of harassment, the intensity of competition and the professorial consumption of amphetamines, barbiturates, and ethanol.

In many other institutions, the scarcity of accessible models is not a poverty of models but of visibility. Men of research or scholarly bent are plentiful. They lead lives of sensibility or intellectual pursuit or both, and do so with durable satisfaction. Unfortunately, these lives and their satisfactions are not visible to the undergradute. The life of sense and sensibility is led in one place and at one time of the day. The life of teaching undergraduates is led in another. . .

There is an intellectual community of sorts, but the students don't belong to it, not even as second-class citizens. No wonder that they try to forge an emulative community of their own, one whose model—the civil rights movement—is far less relevant to curricular revision than its origin: students' exclusion from the intellectual community.

There is exclusion from the possibility of a role in the intellectual community. An undergraduate curriculum which is a mere inculcation of what I have elsewhere called a rhetoric of conclusions and of a body of rote methods for solving rote problems is its excluding wall, and the exclusion has an objective as well as a subjective consequence in relation to student demagoguery. It not only leads to protest and resentment, it results in noneducation. The student demagogue employs logic chopping instead of logic, and the difference passes unnoticed by his student audience. He cites facts that are not factual and omits facts that are facts and his student audience again does not notice. The student demagogue uses magic words like "alienation," "power structure," and "commitment" without thought for their meanings, and the student audience responds to the words as does the subject of a tyranny to its flag.

This confusion of word, fact, and idea may on occasion be knowingly and viciously used by the demagogue. Often, however, he is almost as innocent in his confusion as his audience He does not know a fact when he sees one. He does not even know how to look. How could he when his education has usually been professorial recital, memorization, and re-recital? His professor of chemistry, biology, even physics, has expounded inference, interpretation, and theory as if they were facts, and has exhibited facts, even laboratory facts, in such fashion that they appear to have presented themselves to the scientist wearing their meanings on their sleeves. His teacher of literature has imposed a critical doctrine and recited interpretations of literary works. Often he has not even revealed the existence of other doctrines, other interpretations, much less afforded students adequate occasions for the testing of doctrines and interpretations; still less has he been concerned that students develop their own measure of the competences of interpretation and criticism. . .

Little wonder then that many students are ready dupes of student demagogues. Little wonder that meetings and student protests are Towers of Babel. Students are irresponsible about facts and what they mean, about words and their reference, about ideas and their relationship to facts, because we have left them ignorant of the complex structure of knowledge, innocent of the exacting work involved in a responsible concern for truth, and undisciplined in the discrimination of meaning and the estimation of probability. We now reap the consequences of our failures, and I hope that we continue to be harassed to the extent necessary to rouse us from our bad habits.

There is a second, possibly significant, facet of this emulation of student demagogues—that the models are models of political-executive-administrative action. This feature may, of course, be entirely accidental, the enthusiastic emulation being due wholly to the scarcity of other models and not at all to what is modeled. It is the case, however, that the obscurity of models of theoretical intellect and sensibility is accompanied in our time by an unparalleled conspicuousness and public approval of executive-political-administrative models: our empire-building bureaucrats, such as the heads of NASA, NSF, Defense, NIH, and FBI, our corporate executives, and our political executives, especially those who are sons of wealth. It is also the case that the academic administrator and not the professor is the more attractive campus target of student activists.

These items suggest that the behavior of students in response to their demagogues may indicate an unfilled need for models of a partic-

ular kind as well as for models generally, that is, constructive workers whose materials and outcomes are people and institutions, as well as those who work with ideas and things.

Diagnosis 3: Privations of Competence

If a few student activists are sick and another two or three percent demagogues, some 10 percent are in it for kicks. A few of these are incorrigibly frivolous, pursuing the hostile or destructive act "for fun," for its own sake. Most of these represent accidents of childhood or simple emptiness of resources. There is little we can learn from this contingent and less that we can do for them.

The rest of them, by far the larger proportion, are another matter. They are not hostile or destructive per se; they show evidence of possessed resources, untapped and undeveloped, but present. They protest for kicks because they possess only a few alternative sources of durable satisfaction. (In this respect they are exemplars of a privation which characterizes a large proportion of students generally.)

Their sources of satisfaction are mainly these: sex of course; certain forms of bodily control and use (dance, and often subtle controls of posture, voice, walk, and facial expression used as media of communication and provocation); direction of others' behavior and expressed attitudes; and an intense and extensive orality—speech which is predominantly eristic, recriminative and provocative, or seductive.

These satisfactions (apart from sex) are among those which would derive from the developed competences discovered and exercised in quite early childhood by way of the sparse models, approvals, and successful transactions afforded by middle-class parents. The sources of satisfaction which normally would be instigated by models, approvals, and successful transactions at a later age with persons in other than parental relations and developed by way of the school curriculum are (except for the political-executive) conspicuous by their scarcity. Music is listened to but is heard only to be moved by. (Indeed, a number of this group are under the impression that their generation invented the protest song.) Reading is largely for reassurance—for vivid expression of the already believed and arguments in its favor. Thinking is devoted to the marshaling of reasons for and expressions of these same beliefs. "Making" in all its aspects—crafts, constructions, manual competences of all sorts, not merely the fine arts—is virtually absent. Listening, looking, and reading for the discovery of form, structure, and coherence, accompanied by satisfaction in both the process and the outcome, are rare. Reading and thinking concerned with the dispassionate examination of beliefs and for evidences against as well as for them are denigrated arts. In general, then, listening, looking, reading, and thinking are taken as merely tedious means required by urgent ends, and not as sources of satisfaction.

Even the arts which define student activism, the political-executive arts, are exercised in only truncated form. There is exhortation and debate of the affirmative-negative-rebuttal variety. There is executive assignment of labors and reasonably assiduous execution of assignments. There is mass action. But missing are the genuinely practical arts—deliberation and calculation—by which agreement on proximate ends is found, means evaluated, and cooperation effected without need for threat, coercion, or force. Since these practical arts are often as scarce among professors as among students, a word of explanation is in order.

The practical arts in their political aspect begin in two premises: (1) that institutions are normally to be preserved and changed, not destroyed, since it is only through institutions that political life can go on and action be effected; (2) that *legitimate* differences of interest exist among men, since institutions imply differences of members' roles and each role generates its peculiar needs. Given these premises, it follows that practical reason operating within an institution must find its goals and select its actual strategies in ways which preserve the institution by honoring and taking fullest possible account of the diversities of interest, talent, experience, and

"Student activists know that there are such things as arts of the practical but they lack knowledge about them."

habits of thought which constitute its human resources. If it does otherwise, it must either lose the unhonored resources or try to reduce the persons exemplifying them to slavery. . . .

With respect to goals, this means that proximate goals are hit upon by searching out and rehearsing a wide variety of possible goals to find the one or ones that yield to the greatest degree the *diverse* goods needed and sought by the diverse interests represented. Since each party to the search knows and honors his need for the other talents present, this useful process is a workable one.

Student activists know that there are such things as arts of the practical but they lack knowledge about them. They know so little about them, indeed, that they are inclined to give them invidious names—logrolling, backscratching, compromise. They lack competence in the exercise of these arts and consequently take no satisfaction in their use. Yet the students are engaged in political-executive action, and this union of inclination and incapacity constitutes one of the most alarming aspects of student activism: that despite its studied disavowal of the doctrinaire it has been taken in by the apparatus of doctrinalism. Instead of deliberation, there is debate. Strategic and tactical positions are arrayed against one another in the fashion appropriate to doctrines—one to win as true, the others to lose as falsehoods. . . .

One student to another: "Let's talk this over somewhere else, where we won't be interrupted by people who disagree with us." It is this apparatus of doctrinalism that leads to the wholly impractical situation among the student activists themselves, as well as between students and others, in which he who is not with us is against us, and one or

"Included among student activists are some of our best students, best, moreover, with respect to mathematical as well as verbal competence."

another species of warfare is the only recourse.

Most of these competence deficiencies and satisfaction deficiencies point unmistakably and in the most conventional sense to deficiencies of curriculum. If most species of listening, looking, reading, and thinking are tedious to students who are potentially competent at listening, looking, reading, and thinking, it is because we have not discovered to them the existence of their competences or contributed to their sufficient development. . . .

The practical competences of deliberation are not, of course, traditional obligations of the academic curriculum. . . The apparatus of doctrinalism, which leads inevitably to the warfare of who-is-not-with-us-is-against-us, like the belief in felt wants as first defense of the self, is an error we cannot afford not to correct in students and in ourselves. Our systems of lectures, lecture notes, prescribed readings, and examinations must make room for some experience of deliberation and reasonable choice, of mutual criticism, of a pooling of diversities of experience and insights—and do so frequently enough and effectively enough to constitute them as sources of durable satisfaction.

Diagnosis 4: Community

The majority of student activists (85 percent on some campuses—rarely less than 50 percent, judging by newspaper stories, membership claims of SDS, and word-of-mouth estimates from students and faculty members) are not sick, not demagogues or imitators of demagogues, and not members of the new left. They are, to put it inaccurately for the moment, *occasional* protesters. Some are moved to first participation by a particular issue. Many are originally moved by the ordinary impulse of any late adolescent to use an opportunity to thumb a nose at (*not* kick in the teeth) the parental generation. Another substantial group are first moved by a sense of generational loyalty. And some, of course, are mere sheep, afraid of what they are being led to do but following anyway, through greater fear of being left out.

What is important about this large group of occasional protesters (the sheep excepted) is what makes the name inaccurate: they do not remain occasional. Many of them discover something or are affected by something in the course of their first participation, or their first few, which makes them readier for further participation. For some, the discovered impulsion is obscure and probably various. For most it is one thing and very clear: they discover community.

Dozens of this group (from different campuses) have said, in effect, "The sit-in was one of the deepest experiences of my life. We were packed in those rooms and corridors with hardly room to breathe, talking the whole night through. We came to no agreement but it was a great experience just the same. . . ."

The lesson of these memories is very clear. To the question, "What did you talk about?" the answer (from highly capable young people) was a vague and lordly "Oh, everything," or "It doesn't matter" or "I don't remember" or "The administration." Such vague responses as these, together with the emphases on "experience," "feeling," "happening," as well as clearer descriptions of what was felt, make it very clear that the appeal was . . . to community pure and simple. So starved of community are these young people that they saw nothing comic, even a week later, in a "deep experience" which was mainly a sharing of stinks, of verbal exchanges with little or no memorable content, and with little consequence apart from the wish for more.

Hopefully this euphoric nostalgia is not permanent. Many of the affected students turn out to be bright enough, even affectively sophisticated enough, to realize after a few weeks that their experience of community had something wrong with it, that it lacked a history and a future, that there were missing components as well as missing relations. (I do not mean to suggest that students know what is missing—only that they know something is. I shall return shortly to the question of what is missing, why community is much more than a warm, crowded nest with lots of cheeping.) They realize that its repetition would be unsatisfactory at best and eventually cloying. The experience has revealed to them, however, the importance of community, and discovery of the inadequacy of this particular experience of community only confirms them in their appetite for a more complete one.

That many students have this hunger, even that it is a legitimate hunger, constitutes no necessary reason why we should assuage it. That the university is Alma Mater is no reason for her becoming Omna Mater. The university is only one of many agencies that affect students' lives; it has a character derived from its special functions; and this character can unsuit it to some other functions. . .

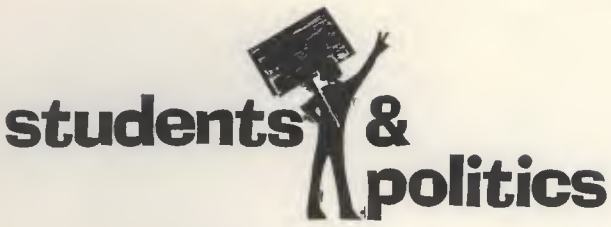
Diagnosis 5: Student Activists as Students

It has been stated or suggested by some that the differentiation of student activists and other students is a differentiation of the best or better students from the poor and average. I do not find this to be the case. On the contrary, student activists appear to be drawn from, and to represent well, almost the entire spectrum of student competence. In short, student activists are *students*. They are drawn from the ranks neither of superior students nor of inferior, but from the whole range of students generally.

But an exceedingly important fact is implicated in this one. Included among student activists are some of our best students, best, moreover, with respect to mathematical as well as verbal competence.

Of special importance is their possession of a quality which arises from the union of their high intelligence with the bents that lead them to protest: what is mere alienation in the less capable and less stable is here at least partially transformed into cultural freedom. They are able

(*Continued on page* 28)



Student Dissent and the Technetronic Society

JAMES L. MEYER

THERE's been a lot of talk lately about "the end of student dissent" and a "return to normalcy" on American college campuses. Don't believe it. While our colleges aren't swarming with beady-eyed bomb throwers, neither is Joe College making a comeback. The Silent Generation of the 1950s is still as remote as the Ice Age.

The "quiet campus" myth was deflated by a comprehensive study released by the American Council on Education, September, 1971. It found that almost 20 percent of American colleges experienced at least one "severe protest" in 1970-71, a figure only slightly lower than that for the 1968-69 academic year. However, the report said that coverage of student unrest by the news media was much less than before — perhaps because it was becoming commonplace — leading many to falsely assume that student dissent was declining. In fact, student leftism has been spreading to smaller, less-known colleges, the study said, while the level of alienation and radicalism on prestige campuses remains as high as ever.

Still, there have been changes in the style of student dissent in the past year. Many young people have withdrawn into privatism, feeling that the protests have accomplished nothing. Many student leaders have been rethinking the goals and tactics of student activism. While a surface calm now reigns at most universities, social and political alienation continue to spread among American students, as does the underlying process of attitude and value change which will have profound effects on American society in coming years.

A host of scholarly studies and opinion surveys confirm the leftward movement of American students in recent years. In the 1950s and early 1960s, polls of students showed general support for traditional American values and institutions. By 1970, however, large minorities—and at times majorities—of college students favored substantial changes in the American way of life. A study sponsored by the John D. Rockefeller III Fund in the spring of 1970 found that between 45 and 56 percent of university students favored "fundamental reform" of big business, political parties and the military. The study concluded that the youthful counterculture heralded by Charles Reich will indeed spread and change many basic American values as time goes by.

Students are especially critical of US foreign policy. Berkeley researchers surveyed a representative cross-section of American colleges in 1970 and found that 86 percent of all students supported the goals of anti-Vietnam war demonstrations. In April, 1971, 448 student body presidents and student newspaper editors, representing all types of colleges, sent President Nixon an open letter condemning his Vietnamization policy and calling for a quicker end to the war. Research by Harvard Professor Graham Allison (see FOREIGN POLICY, Winter 1970-71) suggests that the young American elite has basic views about our foreign policy that are often diametrically opposed to the attitudes held by most older Americans.

Harvard Professor S. M. Lipset analyzed all student opinion studies conducted in the past few years and concluded that, while only a handful are would-be revolutionaries, "it is clear that the anti-Establishment youth culture has grown enormously during the 1960s." He adds, "As America enters the '70s, most college students take a critical liberal-to-left posture."

A conservative estimate based on 1971 data suggests that about three percent of American college students are "anti-system" radicals. These students believe that America is in such bad shape that meaningful change can only come from pressures generated outside of the traditional political process. For many this means some sort of revolution is needed, although only a tiny number advocate violence.

Another four percent are "within-the-system" radicals, who believe major reforms can be achieved by working within the democratic sys-

---

James L. Meyer entered the Foreign Service in 1962, after experience in journalism and advertising. He has served with USIA in Chile, Venezuela and Argentina, as Student Affairs Officer in the latter post. After a year at the University of Michigan, he was appointed Youth Affairs Advisor at USIA and since April of this year he has been director of the US Information Center, Stuttgart.

tem. Seven percent may not seem like much, but since we have about eight million college students, it totals some 560,000 young people, enough to make a substantial impact on American society.

In fact, the influence of these radical reformers extends far beyond their numbers. They are often among the best and most articulate students. They are heavily concentrated in the best universities. They provide most of the leadership of the student movement, and their views often strike a responsive chord among the mass of students.

Thus another 30 to 40 percent of students are liberal to moderate left and will support the radicals, either actively or passively, on many issues. Still another 40 percent are middle-of-the-road, while some 15 percent are conservative. Many students from these two groups will sympathize with the activists only on broadly popular issues such as civil rights, environmental protection or anti-war efforts.

Many non-student youth are coming to agree with the student activists about the need for reforms in American society. This was evidenced by the White House Conference on Youth, April, 1971. The Conference convened 1000 young people, carefully selected to achieve proportional representation of the various geographic, occupational and racial subgroups of the 14-24 age cohort. As Conference Chairman Stephen Hess explained it, the intention was to put together "an honest cross section of American youth." Most of the youthful delegates represented traditionally moderate-to-conservative sectors of American society. Nonetheless, the Conference approved a series of resolutions, e.g., legalization of marijuana, withdrawal from Vietnam by the end of 1971, that many adults would regard as radical. As TIME commented, "The nature of the representation made the results even more startling."

The White House Conference on Youth was but another in a series of "startling" events that include the Columbia and Berkeley uprisings and stretch back to the student sit-ins of the early 1960s. Why have so many American youth become involved in protest and political activism? The answers can be found in the far-reaching transformation of American society since 1945. Few of us seem to realize it, but the United States is a much different place today from what it was only 25 years ago.

The basic, underlying cause of this metamorphosis is the rapid pace of technological change, which is converting the United States from an industrial society to the world's first post-industrial or, in Zbigniew Brzezinski's terms, "technetronic" society. This process, in turn, has had a powerful influence on the way American youth—especially college students—think and act.

The profound effect of technological change on the world view of youth is often overlooked because it does not act in direct and obvious ways. Technological innovation starts an interrelated change of social cause and effect which remakes man's environment.

A shorthand method of distinguishing the technetronic society from the industrial society is to note that the central element of the industrial society is the machine, whereas in the technetronic society it is the computer.

The machine, a mutiplier of man's physical power, enabled agricultural societies to progress to new levels of prosperity, new forms of social organization, and new ways of understanding the universe and man's place in it.

The computer, a multiplier of man's mental power, is today having similar effects on industrial societies. It is basic to automation and to rapid information processing, the twin pillars of the emerging technetronic society. A computer can solve in two seconds a mathematical problem it would take a man 38 years to do. Its effects on our society are likely to be more profound than most of us can imagine. The number of computers in America has grown from five in 1950 to over 80,000 in 1971. Some experts have prophesied that before the end of the century computerized automation will result in two percent of the American population being able to produce all the food and material goods required by the entire nation. Computers, combined with America's massive R & D expenditures ($27.8 billion in 1971), are helping generate new knowledge so fast that the sum of what man knows has doubled in the past decade.

All of this is leading the United States, as well as other industrialized nations, into the technetronic era where knowledge in all of its technological-scientific and cultural-sociological forms will increasingly become the wellspring of progress. Traditional sources of progress—labor, capital and natural resources—will decline in relative importance. As Daniel Bell has pointed out, those persons who develop and apply knowledge will be the predominant element in the post-industrial society. The knowledge sector has been the fastest growing part of the American work force for some time; by 1980 it will expand 40 percent at which time it will comprise 16.3 percent of the total work force.

Understanding this process is crucial to understanding student unrest because the two are intimately related. As rapid technological innovation propels America into the technetronic age, it is also generating powerful social forces which are transforming the cultural environment, developing new attitudes and values among many youth, and causing tensions, uncertainty and conflict in American society.

This, of course, is nothing new. Advances in technology have been a root cause of social change throughout history. The development of agriculture led to new forms of social organization. The steam engine helped pave the way for the Industrial Revolution, which transformed traditional political and social relationships, radically altered man's view of himself and the world, and provoked an ongoing series of

social upheavals, political conflict and violence as new social classes struggled for a larger share of national power and material rewards.

The difference is that these previous social changes took place over long periods of time, while change today is much more rapid. The Industrial Revolution spanned some 150 years. Nonetheless, it caused great social and psychological disruption. The Technetronic Revolution in America has produced tremendous changes in just 25 years. The resulting unrest and conflict should come as no surprise.

The profound effect of technological change on the world view of youth is often overlooked because it does not act in direct and obvious ways. Technological innovation starts an inter-related chain of social cause and effect which remakes man's environment. The new milieu, in turn, leads to new values and viewpoints on the part of many who experiencc it.

The speed-up of change in America widens the generation gap because it affects youth more than older persons. Those under 30 have experienced only one social-political era, the post-1945 years. Their attitudes are a response to their perceptions of this period. Student attitudes are even more responsive to the times than nonstudents' because education expands one's understanding of and receptivity to contemporary developments.

Older persons, however, have experienced two ages, the turbulent present and the comparatively uncomplicated, pre-1945 past. Their basic values and views were shaped in a time that was, in terms of social change, much different from today. People tend to form a stable frame of reference in late adolescence which they use to evaluate all subsequent experiences. Many persons fecl that their psychological security is inseparablc from the cultural values they acquired while young. For most adults, their early, formative experiences serve as perception filters, shielding their attitude structure from the potentially-disruptive effects of changes in the sociopolitical environment. It's impossible for them to make major adjustmcnts in their attitudes to respond to the rapidly-changing times, for to do so would threaten the moral and ideological foundation upon which they have built their adult lives. Thus we have two American generations whose perceptions of contemporary reality are often quite different.

What are some of the technologically-induced social forces that are transforming America? How do they relate to the attitudes of Amcrican university students?

Widespread prosperity. Some economists estimate that one-third of US economic growth in the past two decades is due to new inventions and technological advances in production methods. Technology provides the leverage that allows the US, with six percent of world population, to produce one-third of world GNP.

Large numbers of American students have never known economic insecurity. Confident of their future, many began to feel that work that is satisfying and meaningful in personal terms is more important than the old American dream of making piles of money. American students have been lucky enough to afford the luxury of concerning themselves with questions that go beyond the merely economic into thc elusive realm of the quality of man's existence. Increasing numbers of students have expressed this preoccupation by involvement with the social problcms of the day.

Educational expansion. A spreading technology demands a better-educated work force, which in turn fuels further technological progress. About half of all college-age Americans now pursue education beyond high school, compared with 13 percent in 1951. During the '60s, America tripled expenditures on higher education; by 1968 new colleges were being started at the rate of one a week.

Not only are more people going to college, they are staying there longer. This stimulates youth activism, bccause students are more aware of social problems and the alternatives in life than are nonstudents. Students are mobile, concentrated in certain geographic areas, and easily organized. Not yet tied down to carcers or families, living in an academic milieu that stresses ideas and ideal solutions, students are often critical because they apply high standards in judging American society.

Communications explosion. TV is the most commonplace of postwar technological innovations. The present younger generation is the first to grow up with television. You don't have to be an all-out McLuhan fan to appreciate the importance of this fact. Television profoundly affects youth attitudes by its early and rapid communication of information that was not available to previous generations of American youth. Prior to TV, it was easier to isolate children from the realities of the outside world and to maintain the myths that all societies develop about themselves. Now, when kids can witness a variety of life-styles and a host of social problems with the flick of a switch, they quickly become aware of the possibilities and the failings of American life.

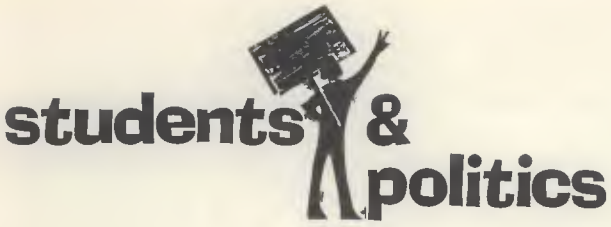
Moreover, television can changc the way people perceive the world around them. According to McLuhan, print media foster a sense of detachment and distance between the reader and current evcnts. In contrast, watching TV is a more emotional experience, which demands a certain psychological participation from the viewer. It stimulates a greater feeling of involvement with and proximity to the larger society. As a result, many young people havc developed new modes of perception which make them feel more personally concerned with the problcms of the day.

Internal Migration. Expanding technology stimulates urbanization by reducing the need for agricultural workers and by encouraging industrial growth, which tends to concentrate in metropolitan areas. Country to city migration has accounted for much of America's urban growth since 1945.

This has been an important factor in the development of political protest among youth and students of minority groups. In 1940 about 55 percent of American blacks lived in rural areas and small towns, mostly in the South. By 1970 some 74 percent of blacks lived in metropolitan arcas, and almost as many blacks lived outside the South as in it.

Traditional attitudcs and social

(*Continued on page* 29)



A Look at Luis

BY MICHAEL CANNING

MUCH has been written about Latin American student political movements, but little has appeared which investigates the details of the student environment which can foster political awareness. The following account attempts to create the atmosphere of present day university life in a Latin American city. It is a personalized fiction of a prototype student, Luis, and his student milieu. Luis is not meant to be "typical" or "representative" so much as one kind of student in a possible university context. The students, school and city described depict no specific persons or places but are a composite of the author's observations, conversations and readings about the Latin American student scene over the last few years.

THE School of Economics (Facultad de Economia) faced bluntly on Calle Castilla, its skirt tight to a cracked sidewalk. A dirty-orange, last-century edifice once destined to house the *nouveau riche* of the capital, it still held echoes of attempted class in the curled ornamentation of the windows and the pressed sheetmetal fleurs-de-lis of the ceilings. A creaky side staircase led up to three floors of classrooms, a concession to modernity being concrete steps to the second floor replacing wooden stairs long since worn to saddles. Bathrooms graced the first and third floors, the lower one fitted with a massive porcelain tub as a reminder of an affluent owner. The ground floor also held the school's offices behind an entrance hall, and the hall in turn held a billboard chaotic with announcements, class lists, political exhortations and club notes.

The street in front of the School usually boasted several minor entrepreneurs: a periodical and book salesman, draping a wall and sidewalk with his wares; a pistachio nut vendor (a powder of crushed nut cases perpetually covered the building's entrance); an itinerant fruit seller, vaguely attached to a nearby food store.

The street was dominated by strident, fiercely competitive smells. Sewage leaks and an occasional pass by urchins produced a steady urine level. A main street one block away contributed periodic jets of coarse exhaust from befouled buses. The hot nut's aroma lingered even with the vendor gone. Discarded fruit covers lining curb crevices ripened to pungency. Come a heavy rain and the street's oddments would be whipped to a foam and almost cleansed away.

The Economics School was the academic home for Luis Arturo Salazar Ocampo, a second-year student in economics. Luis had been born in the capital and had grown up with a vision of attending the university. His father was an assistant in a public relations firm, a step up from the public accountant's office he had had for most of his adult life. Luis was the third of four children, each successive child bearing evidences of the family's earnest upward mobility. An older brother had been the first to enter the university, but he had dropped out after two years. Luis had attended a large public high school before entering the university. His younger sister, an excellent student, was in a private girl's school and would assuredly follow him into higher education.

Upon entering the university, Luis had thought a sound future lay in a "technical" field and thus began in the Engineering School. Not quite a year of requisite mathematics altered his outlook. He switched to economics, hoping, at a minimum, to follow his father's career as an accountant and, at best, to become a full-fledged economist, perhaps a professor of economic theory. His subject switch demanded a second entrance examination—such exams not being transferable between schools — for entry into the Economics School. As did some 80 percent of the applicants that year, Luis failed the examination the first time and had to spend the rest of that year seeking work. Through his father he was able to find a bank teller's position for several months, before he succeeded in entering the school on his second attempt.

The first year in economics had been disappointing. Academic demands were not strenuous, but classes were large, subject matter uncertain in focus and professors uninspired. While his professional intent had never been that precise, the first year helped little to clarify it. Class readings were rarely pertinent to his country. Texts were too theo-

Michael Canning is a USIA officer with field experience in Central America and Peru. Both overseas and in Washington, he has been involved in programs relating to Latin American students. He recently completed a Congressional Fellowship before being assigned to Uganda.

rctical, too tied to examples from developed economies. The only economies that attracted him was that which undcrlined his own country's plight. Only when "development" was cited in lecture or book was his mind sparked. Thc cnd of the first year lcft him reading little besides a daily newspaper, one weekly magazine, a periodic novel and—when necessary—his class notcs.

The sccond year proved mellower. At least one professor was entertaining, spicing his talks with sardonic attacks on the government's economie policies. Assigned readings were more onerous (and impossible to locatc) but were rarely revcaled in thc all-important examinations. There was a looseness in Luis's schedule that gave him time on his own, time to roam the city and be with friends. The year saw Luis perpetually weighing his desire for a career with personal advancement against his wish to form himself into a professional able to enhance his nation's welfare.

While barren physically, the School did provide the site for a solid camaraderie. The sweet times were when Luis and close friends could mect at a corner café, Augustino's, locatcd near the School. Hcre they would order soft drinks or beer (Luis always took coffee) at a window table and talk, nursing their drinks along without interferencc from thc manager. The conversation would usually wander through current films and over female anatomy, by a bit of classwork and into a great deal of politics. A secretarial academy on the same strcet sent its clientele by Augustino's window, adding to the café's attractiveness. The window table housed a floating group from the School, and its members, all knowing the approximate hours when compatriots were there, came and went amidst a continuum of talk. Among those at the table was a core group Luis had come to know particularly well.

Eduardo had grown up with Luis and still seemed much as he had in high school, a slim, street-wise kid. His was a relaxed, ironic manner which continually kidded Luis's seriousness. He was one year ahead of Luis and thus a good source of lecture notes, professional gossip and general information on the "next year." Eduardo had a literary bent and was a constant book recommcndcr. He had dabbled in poetry once, but found it embarrassing to talk about with anyone but Luis.

Manuel was an intensc *político,* hyperactive in radical student politics, nicknamed "Chino" after a fondncss for citing Chairman Mao. Perpetually campaigning, ever in meetings, Manuel came to Augustino's window table as a respite from the swirl of radical politics. His arrivals were abrupt, as were his exits, usually after a cutting remark by Eduardo. For scrious political business in the café, Manuel would shift to another table circled by the School's *pekineses* and their hangers-on.

Ernesto, always called "Chato," was a stocky, swarthy, bull-necked young man from the provinces. He camc from a principally rural district, his family only in rccent generations having risen above *campesino* status. He lived in a downtown *pensión,* a decrepit building rudely converted into barren cubicles for poor university students and visited it only to sleep or imbibe an uncertain luncheon soup. His provincial baekground contributed to his taciturnity, his girl-shyness, his reluctance to venture a solid opinion. In awe of Manuel, amused by Eduardo, comfortable with Luis, Chato was a presence at the table more than a voice, a figure often called upon to personify the downtrodden.

The national university was a much fragmented institution, as much caused by the intense autonomy of the separate schools as by geography. A university city, long planned, presently housed three schools. Major schools, such as Medicine, Arts and Sciences, and Economics, remained completely separate institutions located in disparate downtown settings. The university claimed no sports facilities except a poorly-maintained gymnasium-pool complex still unfinished at the university city. The university's general library was downtown—ten blocks from the Economics School—and allowed checkouts only overnight. There was one

About This Issue

Many JOURNAL readers may consider "Students and Politics" a dead or exhausted topic, worn out once the subject of the New Left faded. This series of articles assumes that the theme of the political role of university students remains a valid one in the fields of politics and foreign affairs. However quickly treatment of the "kids" and the "counterculture" may have faded from a satiated US media, the manner of politicization among the young deserves investigation, an investigation the foreign affairs agencies have only fitfully or grudgngly conducted.

Joseph Schwab's article, "Diagnoses of Student Protest," views recent student political protest in the United States fashioned by a context too rarely discussed: the college curriculum. The study premises in our universities do not create student politicization, but they help define the environment in which certain kinds of political views are fostered. In "Student Dissent and the Technetronic Society," James Meyer questions whether "quiet on the campus" necessarily means the end of student political commitment or motivation. He tries to give some underpinnings to the worldwide "student movement" by suggesting that student political attitudes are significantly different from preceding generations and that they are more likely to stay that way. He argues from a view that sees new technologies altering the world's political realities while at the same time speeding the pace of those alterations. Michael Canning's "A Look at Luis" focuses on student politicization at the individual level: the forces at work in the life of a single Latin American student. His aim is not so much to "explain" student political behavior, but to offer one possible context in which the political attitudes of a Latin American university student might be formed.

Mike, photograph below, suggested the theme of this issue and worked on the material during his year and a half on the Editorial Board.



Liquor Discounts
FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBERS

5% OFF OUR USUAL LOW PRICES
on liquor, wine, brandy, gin, rum, cordials, cocktails, vermouth, champagne.

10% OFF
on estate bottling wines

Our French Champagnes are the lowest-priced in the city.

We loan glasses for parties
NO CHARGE

Riverside Liquors

2123 E St., N.W. **338-4882**
(conveniently located across from the State Department on E Street, next to Peoples Drug Store)
Our 39th Year

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER
GENERAL ELECTRIC -U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges
Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners
Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos
Small Appliances
Available for All Electric Currents
Local Warehousing for Immediate Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

SHOWROOM: 4513 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C. 20016 EMerson 2-8300

WRITE FOR CATALOG. Our catalog is sent to administrative officers of embassies and consulates throughout the world.

student dining hall in the entire university (capacity 550), and its fare was a consistent focus of student rebellion. The only university book store was on the fringes of downtown, near the graveyard.

For Luis, university life was even more pointedly limited to that dirt-orange building. The School had no student lounge or meeting room; no cafeteria or supply store. The School library consisted of several cases of volumes in one professor's office, books to be used only by the professional staff or an occasional favored student. Study places were nonexistent in the building, so the "academic experience" extended little beyond the classroom. There were no student clubs (half a dozen students sometimes assembled to play chess), no lecture series, no music groups.

Throughout the university, and also at the school level, there was one dominant, consistently viable student unit: the school student federation, the student political organ and its representative to the university's administration and the wider society. The Economics School's political body, the Council, had a small facility on the second floor comprising a large main room and a small ante-room. The stark lighting from single naked bulbs matched the super-spare furnishings. Yet here was a site of concentrated student activity and concern, the only identifiable one. With victories in recent student elections, Manuel's Maoist group had come to totally control the council, and, like other political factions before them, identified the students' interests with their political ends.

The university's politics were variably linked with national parties. The chief national parties, prior to their ascendance to power, had claimed major student followings, but such student auxiliaries had long since diminished to minute groups seen by most politically committed students as irrevocably coopted by established politics. Such student partisans were too defined by adults and too plainly serving time in a predictable hierarchy. The principal student parties represented leftist fringe groups that were obscure or clandestine in the wider society, bodies often dependent on the student unit for the public expression of their views. There was contact between party unit and student unit, but policy was not defined totally from above and there existed a shifting pattern of discipline. For the students, national and international issues were rhetorically important and provided occasions for calls to demonstrate or exhibit *solidaridad* with a cause. Just as important were university issues, especially ones that determined power relationships within the institution. The leftist student politician thus played a dual role: the embodiment of the "national conscience" and the periodic server of a volatile student constituency.

Luis had been periodically intrigued by school politics. While by no means honoring all of the personalities involved in university politics, he saw much that was admirable in some of them. Much of this admiration was colored by his assessment of Manuel. The latter was viewed as a dedicated, even passionate, young man. Surely wrapped up in ideological cant and tactical squabbles, but also charged with concern for the nation's underdogs and with an earnest ardor towards national development. There was a consistency about Manuel along with a toughness in criticizing his political elders.

Even more, there was a pulse to the *políticos'* lives that Luis felt he sorely lacked. People sought them out and consulted them. They were forever on call for meetings and strategy sessions. They talked easily of discussion and challenge with the school's heads, men far beyond Luis' compass. In the right circumstances, Manuel and his *compañeros* were as public as major soccer stars, quoted in prominent dailies and flashed past television screens. In the swirl of a major street demonstration or after the presentation of a strong student demand, an electric, perfervid atmosphere coursed through the school; the squares, corners and *cantinas* of the school's neighborhood held knots of students endlessly discussing the progress of a stand or issue. University students as an entity became part of the public mind, argued and asked about, the highlighters of an issue and the agents of a political act. Above all, committed beings.

Luis had witnessed political out-

bursts and clashes among his contemporarics in high school, but they had been primitive or inchoate in nature. The groups were strictly defined from above, and their most vigorous actions were swelling street demonstrations called by university students. Luis himself, more out of curiosity than commitment, had accompanied a train of students protesting a bus fare hike by marching on the Public Transit Building. For him, the march offered the ready mix of anxiety and exhilaration. He had cared little—and heard less—about what the rally's leaders proclaimed, but he remembered the sweet synthesis of group unity and individual autonomy at the core of that zealous mass.

In the first years in the university, Luis had dismissed political affairs as not worth his time. While political issues interestcd him more, the everyday activity of student politics seemed tired and venal. To be politically or personally committed were two points of Luis' internal debate, a discussion that burst into speech at appropriate times at Augustino's table. It usually came in arguments with Manuel with Luis denouncing the political machinations of the student federation and Manuel countering with his ethic of direct action and revolution. It was hard to answer Manuel's assertion that he acted — however symbolically — on his beliefs. In response, Luis could but feign cynicism or hope for a timely retort from Eduardo.

Each year at first semester's end, the university's political awareness was heightened by the fervor of student elections. For at least a month the university complex was festooned with political slogans, most of them black and blatant cries atop last year's lettering. Candidates' mcetings blossomed and posters flourished. Few classes met, many being interrupted for an address by this or that candidate or spokesman. The chief prize was the presidency of the university-wide student federation, and it was contested between Peking and Moscow-lining communist groups. A "student reform" ticket attempted to identify its causc with student welfare issues. An anarcho-radical group tried to bust up the meetings of other leftist student elements with acts of "revolutionary conscience." Campaign meetings were perpetual, rallies constant, the rhetoric soared into bombast.

Although it was removed from the din and debate of the campaign at the university city, the Economics School provided a minor version of it. The School exhibited three solid weeks of campaigning for three dozen school offices. Catchwords and placards punctuated the halls, including a party platform pasted in the third floor bathtub. Manuel was running for a seat on the School Council. At one point, Manuel and two of his running mates broke up one of Luis's classes before a professor arrived. Some of the class members simply walked out while the remainder listened patiently to the arguments of the *pekineses* as to the power they would command on the Council once elected. Luis noticed a different temper to their statements. They were less fustian and apocalyptic than in their public outbursts; this was a more considered, practical appeal to direct student interests. Luis was not impressed by the arguments but was somehow touched by the appeal.

Luis voted in the student elections for the first time. He refrained from voting in the university-wide races but cast ballots in the Economics School races. He voted specifically for Manuel but only for a fraction of his ticket.

The election aftermath was the topic at the Augustino's table for weeks. Eduardo treated the results as tragicomic. Manuel, a winner, was alternately smug and defensive. Chato stayed in a private world, glum about a series of bad first semester examinations.

A month after the election a spontaneous land seizure by peasants in a rural district was crushed by local gendarmes. The university student federation papered the university with mimeographed notes proclaiming a sympathy strike and rally for the martyred peasants. Luis heard of the rally from a handout thrust towards him by a grim fellow student at the entrance to his building. He contemplated a minute then honored the strikc by retiring to Augustino's. Over a cup of coffee, he recalled that high school rally and found it a fiery memory. He decided he would attend that afternoon's gathering. ■

OSS

The SECRET History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency

R. Harris Smith

What did Stewart Alsop, John Birch, David Bruce, Julia Child, Allen Dulles, John Gardner, Arthur Goldberg, Charles Hitch, Herbert Marcuse, Walt Rostow, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. have in common? They were all members of the OSS.

"Mr. Smith's lively and objective account brings to life the mixture of intelligence, bravery, creativity, confusion, corruption, monarchism, communism and sheer zaniness in Wild Bill Donovan's circus."
—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

"This is a readable and entertaining book on that astonishing wartime organization, the Office of Strategic Services."
—Stewart Alsop

"Vividly portrays an important feature of America's democratic martial spirit at its best and worst—exemplified by the most brilliant team of amateur enthusiasts the nation ever assembled in wartime. A delight to read."—**Paul Seabury**

"A rich file of facts, vignettes, and who was who in the OSS, the chief intelligence agency during World War II."
—Kirkus Reviews

"Unquestionably the best history of the OSS ever written . . . is also a fascinating study of politics and people, intrigue and imagination, accident and adventure.—**Thomas Braden**

$10.95

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley · Los Angeles · New York

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Is Anybody Listening?

THE PETER PRESCRIPTION: *How to Make Things Go Right. William Morrow & Co., $5.95.*

THE cry of "Management Reform" has now been abroad in the land for two years (the land, that is, bounded by 21st street to the east, 23rd street to the west and D and C streets on the north and south, respectively). Now, in the Second Year of Reform, amidst talk of "blue ribbon" commissions and the emasculation of the State Department, Lawrence Peter has brought forth "Son of The Peter Principle" or, "The Peter Prescription," and he's bang on target again!

Peter has lost neither his light touch nor his taste for nifty aphorisms (i.e., there is little to admire in Bureaucracy, but you've got to hand it to the Internal Revenue Service). In an area which has produced more excrement per square memo than any other in government, he provides a serious analysis of bureaucratic problems and a guide for action—both individual and managerial. In fact, this book and Robert Townsend's "Up the Organization" are probably the best one-two reading available on the problems ailing the foreign affairs community — though neither deals expressly with foreign policy-making!

Peter, at least refers directly to State. Perhaps it was inevitable that he would choose a State Department example to demonstrate his exhortation to use words to mystify rather than clarify: J. Brayton Redecker's definition of national interests is just one of a number of samples available here; it is suggestive, however, that Peter turned instinctively to State for his illustration.

On nittier and grittier questions of personnel management, this book also has much to say. For example, Peter's basic thesis, that man should *not* seek to rise to his level of incompetence, plus his formula for avoiding undesired escalation, will doubtless be welcomed by Bill Macomber as he tries to explain the promotion lists of recent years, conal rectification, and Henry Kissinger.

For the decision-maker, Peter has three basic rules which all systems analysts should be required to ask themselves before PARA-lysing policy: 1) Where am I? 2) Where do I want to be? and 3) How do I know I am getting there? Here, in shorthand are the guidelines for any continuing management reform effort. For Presidents, Presidents-to-be, and other senior officials traditionally distrustful of the State Department, Peter offers the following:

> Frustration can frequently be replaced with satisfaction when the competent employee is granted the authority to utilize his power to do his job or manage his department in his own way. . . . Improved effectiveness follows when administrators show respect for competent people and translate that respect into patterns of freedom to use individual initiative.

One reads Peter's description of Unwitting Incompetence with standard bemused tolerance until one ponders such observations as:

> "The actions of a leader suffering from Unwitting Incompetence may so confound the entire organization as to render normally competent subordinates temporarily incompetent. . . . This Incom-

Announcing
a very interesting alternative to Southern California, Southern Florida and Southern Arizona.

For at least ninety years, our neck of the woods has been a closely guarded private secret among the knowing few. (And not just because of our low tax rates). We count 14 golf courses, enough tennis courts and more bridle paths and trails than a thoroughbred hunter can cover in a year. Now we have a condominium type community of charming one, two, three and four bedroom homes.

The information we will send you may very well change your mind about where you go to finally settle down or establish a new base for your goings and comings. We hope so. Drop us a line. Or call. Or come down and inspect.

Village Green of Southern Pines, N.C.

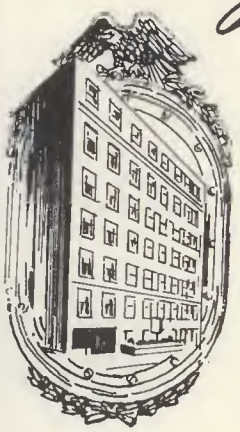
From $34,900. to $58,900.



Between Southern Pines and Pinehurst Tel. (919) 692-7000

Georgetown Manor





HOTEL and MOTOR INN
1075 THOMAS JEFFERSON ST., N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

• Luxurious one or two bedroom suites throughout, completely equipped with kit., auto. dishwasher, individual heater, air cond., color TV, and much more • Restaurant, Lounge, Valet Parking • Special daily, weekly, & monthly rates available to Foreign Service Personnel • Perfect location for families or couples • No additional charge for children under 15 • Just minutes away from State Department • Secluded, quiet, dignified atmosphere.

SGL. $24.00 DBL. $26.00 2 BDRM. $40.00

For reservations or information call 202-377-0900

IN THE HEART OF HISTORIC GEORGETOWN
½ BLOCK TO C&O CANAL

petency Fallout occurs when the qualified subordinate either becomes immobilized through frustration or voluntarily employs Creative Incompetence when he perceives the futility of attempting to function competently under an Unwitting Incompetent."

There are real lessons here, however lightly delivered. They suggest that: 1) improvements in the conduct of foreign affairs are as likely to begin at the top as at the bottom; 2) the best way to carry out an improvement is to put a competent person in charge, back him fully, and let him go; 3) individuals have to be engaged by and committed to change for it to last; and 4) such commitment is impossible unless they have a significant say in objectives and goals being sought.

Good health, either bureaucratic or political, is really not much more complicated than that and certainly does not require infallibility. However, as if speaking to all of us, Peter begins his book: "To err is human, but when the eraser wears out ahead of the pencil, you're overdoing it."

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

China and Us

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD COMMUNIST CHINA: *The Historical Record: 1949-1969, by Foster Rhea Dulles. Crowell, $7.95.*

AN authority on US public attitudes and policies toward China, Dr. Dulles succinctly analyzes the trends of feeling and opinion that formed US China policy in the Cold War. That we now seek communication with the Chinese people and a *modus vivendi* with its government makes it imperative that we understand the unhappy stage in US-China relations from which we have so recently emerged. "And China remains, as it always has been, the key to our power structure in eastern Asia and a principal determinant of our own policies."

Dulles opens his account with the triumph of the Chinese Communists in late 1949. This, he attributes to the effects on the long-suffering Chinese people of protracted foreign war and intermittent civil strife, the stirring of nationalistic impulses in China as throughout Asia, the failure of the dictatorial Kuomintang regime to realize the urgent need for internal reforms, and the Communists' skill in riding the crest of a revolutionary movement not entirely of their own making but of which they took every advantage.

The confusion and controversy that bedeviled US attempts to formulate and implement an effective foreign policy to cope with the new and alarming situation in China are absorbingly related—and well documented. Many persons and forces played important parts in this tragedy but none more so than John Foster Dulles and Senator Joe McCarthy. The latter's malevolent machinations, mightily aided by the China Lobby and Kuomintang agents, paralyzed US efforts to disengage from the Chinese civil war, dispersed and discredited China experts in the State Department, and virtually suppressed factual reporting on developments in China.

American interests were badly served by John Foster Dulles' "ideological zealotry" and sanctimonious inflexibility. "A preacher in the world of politics" (Anthony Eden's characterization), Dulles' religious

Your New Mercedes-Benz Overseas or Stateside:

Easy to arrange—here. Easy to enjoy—there.

Just stop in to see us about the time you get your overseas orders. You can test-drive various Mercedes-Benz models, and decide which one is just right for you. Then select the color, trim and options you want. And that's the hard part. The rest we do.

Our Overseas Delivery experts will schedule delivery almost anywhere in the world. And handle all the details—documentation, licensing, insurance, the works.

As a member of the foreign service your **diplomatic discount** will save you money.

Come in today and we'll figure out exactly how much you can save. Or mail the coupon below for your free guide to overseas delivery. It has all the facts, plus a handy worksheet to help you to compute savings on the model of your choice, equipped the way you want it.

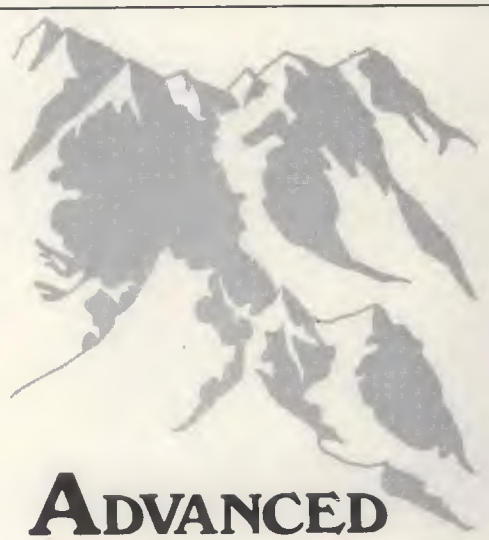
John C. Metcalf, Jr., Diplomatic Sales
McNey Motors, Inc.
4800 Elm Street, Bethesda, Maryland 20014, USA, Phone 301-656-4444

Please send me a free Mercedes-Benz guide to overseas delivery.

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

State ..... Zip ..... Telephone No. .....



ADVANCED LOAN PLAN SERVICE

ANOTHER SERVICE OF

YOUR STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

and philosophical background convinced him that no compromise was possible with atheistic Communism and that even neutrality was "immoral." He saw the Peking authorities as puppets of the Kremlin: "the Mao Tse-tung regime is a creature of the Moscow Politburo." He foresaw no possibility that the Chinese Communists might reflect the indigenous forces of Chinese nationalism nor that they could be acting independently. In this regard, the author states:

"Since the triumph of the Communists in 1949, a militantly awakened China with expansive ambitions has directly challenged the historic position of the United States in eastern Asia. In our obsessive fears of international Communism we failed to realize in the 1950s the strength of nationalism within this new China, and basing our policy on containment, we did not realistically accept the full implication of those forces other than Communism that have been let loose in a revolutionary Asia."

As Dr. Fairbank of Harvard writes, this book makes us realize "what a long road back it is from the Cold War to coexistence and contact." In this retrospective look, there are few prescient statesmen, but there are many errors of omission and commission, fatuous prophecies, and divers misadventures. Adlai Stevenson doubted that "tearful and interminable post-mortems about China will save any souls for democracy."

However, if T. S. Eliot was right that "Time present and time past/ Are both perhaps present in time future/ And time future contained in time past," then this dry-eyed, clear-eyed scrutiny of things past ought to be instructive for us all—and especially for those charged with the conduct of our relations with the Chinese People's Republic.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

China and They

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, *by Winberg Chai. Putnam, $7.95.*

A MORE accurate title for this book would be "Some Articles and Documents Relating to China's Foreign Relations." Professor Chai has selected 66 pieces of material which he presents under seven general topics: The meaning of Maoism; Sino-American relations; Sino-Soviet disputes; Chinese strategies in developing nations; Chinese policies on economic aid, trade, and cultural relations; overseas Chinese; boundaries and disputed territories; and war, peace, world order, and ecology. Each subject is preceded by a brief introduction, and each document (primarily reproductions of articles from the PEOPLE'S DAILY, PEKING REVIEW, and a variety of publications of Peking's Foreign Language Press) is preceded by a few explanatory sentences. In a 40-page introduction, an effort is made to provide a historical perspective (starting with the Opium War).

Professor Chai produced a book in search of an audience. Certainly a China specialist is not likely to turn to this publication for his documentation. The author appreciates this fact, stressing in the Preface that the book would be valuable to the general readers and non-



COLQUITT-CARRUTHERS
REALTORS
Sales—Rentals—Investments
Specializing in Residential Properties
Northwest Washington and Montgomery County
Please Write for Information
4502 East-West Hwy, Bethesda, Md. 652-0001
1761 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Md. 881-4500
4608 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 362-2300
441 N. Frederick Avenue, Gaithersburg, Md. 948-9500
Over 1300 Homes Available in our Files

Calvert
The school that comes to your child
Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world; an enrichment program. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start any time, transfer to other schools. 125,000 kindergarten-through-8th graders have used the Calvert system since 1904. Non-profit. Phone: 301-243-6030 or write for catalog.
Calvert School
Box F9-2, Tuscany Rd. Baltimore, Md. 21210
Parent's name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....
Child's Age ..... Grade .....

RETIREMENT HOME HUNTING
$35,000 to $75,000
JAMES E. PARKS, FSO-Ret.
REAL ESTATE BROKER SINCE 1957
For further information write:
150 East N.Y. Ave.
P.O. Box 268
Southern Pines, N.C. 28387
Telephone: 919-692-2951

specialists on Chinese affairs who are often handicapped by their inability to locate original documents and policy papers from the People's Republic of China. But it would indeed be an unusual "general reader" who would first of all attempt to locate such documents and then be willing to read translations of official Chinese materials—most of which are tedious reading even for the professional China watcher.

If, however, there are "general readers" who are interested in getting a feel for what the Chinese say in their official documents and an appreciation of the special lingo they use in expressing ideas, the materials assembled by Dr. Chai constitute a reasonably representative sample and should adequately meet these requirements.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

An F.S. Junior Reviews

CHILDREN'S HOMAGE TO PICASSO, *by Michael Batterberry and Ariane Ruskin. Harry N. Abrams, Inc., $12.50.*

As a child and a bullfight fan, I feel justified in saying that this is a delightful picture book. Quite obviously the children who contributed their pictures to this book knew and loved the bullfight. In their pictures, which are as interesting to adults as to children, one can sense the quality of the bullfight, the bullfighters, capes, and the bull itself.

I feel one good quality of the book is the contrast between the children's work and that of Picasso. Or is it contrast? Each artist's view of the bullfight is represented in big, colored drawings, and whatever is unimportant to the artist is forgotten; to some the bull is the main figure, to others, the spectators.

As a gift to a child, this book would be fully enjoyed. The large colored illustrations and the bold printing are not found in all books.

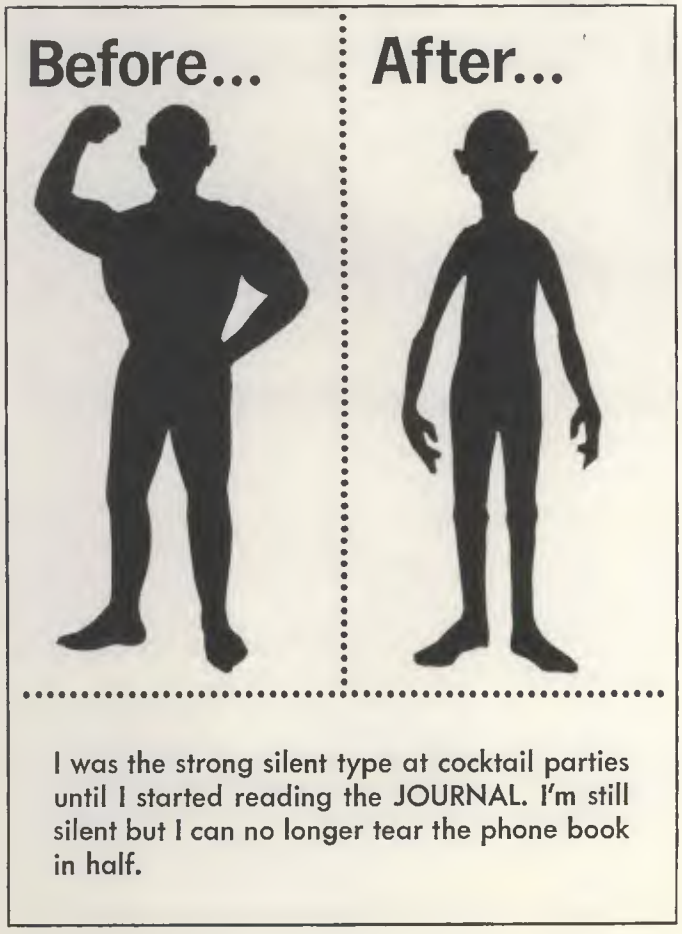
—POLLY SMITH, age 12

FSJ COMPETITION

Donald Kaul's column, "Over the Coffee," in the Des Moines REGISTER, recently featured a press agent's clarification of Marie Antoinette's "Let them cat cake" statement. "First let me say that the queen had no idea the microphone was turned on when she made that remark the other day. More importantly, she had no intention of giving the impression that she lacked sympathy for the poor. Taken in context, her statement was merely a plea for a rise in the standard of living for her beloved countrymen. She further expressed confidence that, given continued prosperity under King Louis' ever-normal granary policy, it will come to pass."

Readers are invited to supply similar clarifying remarks for such statements as "L'état c'est moi," "Après moi le délugc," "Et surtout pas trop de zèle," or even for the unnamed FSO's remark, "I'm tired of having to go to the airport to meet congressmen." Press agentry applied to other famous and infamous remarks will be welcomed but competitors are requested to refrain from applying ex post facto wisdom to bloopers by current political figures.

One hundred words or so, entries to FSJOURNAL Competition, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, by November 15, please. Ten dollars to the winner.



I was the strong silent type at cocktail parties until I started reading the JOURNAL. I'm still silent but I can no longer tear the phone book in half.



Worldwide Common Market

If you don't have time to shop the world for out-of-this-world gift ideas, shop your embassy's W. Bell & Company catalog. An exciting selection of more than 7,000 domestic and imported items is at your fingertips, stateside and in 56 countries overseas. Shop from home away from home. Make your choice *at considerable savings* and we'll ship it anywhere on the globe. W. Bell & Company is the world's most uncommon marketplace, serving the diplomatic corps at home and abroad.

12401 Twinbrook Parkway
Rockville, Maryland 20852

W. Bell & Co.

DIAGNOSES OF STUDENT PROTEST
from page 16

to see some of the personal and institutional values of our generation from a clarifying distance. The same distance provides them with refreshed standards by which to evaluate what they see. . . . Further, and perhaps of greater significance, precisely because they are to a degree different from—alien to—the surrounding culture, they are forced to examine *themselves.* They are neither willing nor able to assume that they are like the parental prototypes, chips off the old block; hence they must try to see afresh what their potentials are, what their needs are, and the extent to which existing institutions are and are not appropriate.

The fruits of this examination are rotten in some cases, green in many others, ripe in relatively few. In the first place, such evaluative processes are among the most difficult of enquiries, and in the second place, these young people have been systematically mistaught (or not taught) the methods and principles appropriate to such enquiries. Nevertheless, the potential for such enquiries exists in the group to an extent vastly greater than existed in our generation.

If members of the group could (a) be inducted into a curriculum with intellectual content which (b) included a substantial and mature practical component, which (c) existed in a community with place for students in it, and which (d) possessed a culture identifiable with the lives of its faculty and potentially sharable by students, this small portion of the activist body might well become a saving part. . .

The superior activists, however, are not capable, even with appropriate education, of alone fulfilling such a role, for the very alienation that confers their peculiar advantage also confers the disadvantage of crippling their readiness to collaborate with elders and those firmly established. But consider what might emerge if the superior, adequately controlled, and decently educated activist students were indiscriminately combined with the substantially larger number of equally superior, better controlled, and decently educated not-so-activist members of the student body, the combined group to play a distinguishable, needed, and honorable role in the collegiate community vis-a-vis both their fellow students and the faculty. The smaller, activist constituency would supply a much needed yeast of challenge to set ways and those set in their ways; the larger constituency would supply needed discipline, needed resistance to easy change, and criticism uncolored by the impulse toward change for the sake of difference; the members of the combined group would constitute a potent and uniquely competent force for learning. Their unique competence would arise from the conspicuous ambiguity of the role they would play: constituted of both studenthood and facultyhood and acting as a link between the two. ■

RENTAL HOUSES
Chevy Chase-Bethesda
Massachusetts Avenue Extended
A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.
An Accredited Management Organization
1418 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005 — DI 7-9057
6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750
Washington Real Estate Since 1907

DESTINATION WASHINGTON?
Our PICTURE GALLERY OF FINE HOMES and DESTINATION WASHINGTON with complete information on financing, taxes, insurance, schools, etc., plus the do's and don'ts of buying or renting, sent free for the asking. Our 75 full-time associates can provide real service to your family. Offices in Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax and McLean.
Crowell & COMPANY, INC. REALTORS
2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington, Va. 22207
Phone (703) 524-3131

GOING HOME?
Hicks Realty INC. REALTORS
EXPERTS IN SALES AND RENTALS
OFFICES in ALEXANDRIA, ARLINGTON and McLEAN
For Free Brochures and Advanced Information
Write to us at:
3706 Mt. Vernon Ave, Alexandria, Va. 22305
703-548-3111

Copenhaver
Fine Stationers and Engravers
Members of the Foreign Service of the United States of America can depend on *Copenhaver* for quality, service and correct counseling on questions or protocol for their calling cards, informals and invitations, etc.
Urgent requests filled promptly
ADams 2-1200
Member Park and Shop
1518 CONNECTICUT AVE.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TECHNETRONIC SOCIETY

from page 19

pressures in southern rural areas make black political activism difficult. Blacks raised in big cities, especially outside the South, are under fewer cultural constraints. They tend to be more sophisticated, more impatient with discrimination, and more likely to organize to defend their rights. As increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking and American Indian youth are raised in large cities, a similar process is taking place with them.

One other factor, which may or may not be related to technology, has influenced American student attitudes: the decline of the cold war. Societies that feel threatened tend to draw together. Internal problems are downplayed, and conformity valued on the grounds that dissent weakens the nation *vis a vis* the enemy.

But when outside threats seem less formidable, societies often become less defensive of their shortcomings. Internal political differences become more apparent. Students respond to this liberalized ambience more quickly than most older persons. They begin to notice problems and voice criticisms that would have been deemed improper or irrelevant in the heyday of the cold war.

As a result of the rapid changes in the American scene since 1945, the attitudes of many youth are quite different from those of most adults. More important, as dissenting youth grow older, most will maintain their new value structures relatively intact. This is partly because the alienated young are more numerous and more radical than ever before. There's strength in numbers, and even if growing older makes today's militant students moderate their views to the same extent as happened with previous generations, today's dissidents will still end up as political and cultural liberal-leftists.

Moreover, the basic social forces that caused these radical new student attitudes will continue and spread in the future. These social forces and the new environment they create will be continually available to support and reinforce the new values developed by American students. As technological change continues to transform America into a technetronic society, it will continue to develop and maintain a new world view among increased numbers of educated young persons.

Contrast this with the situation in the United States prior to World War II, which is often erroneously cited as proof of how today's radical young will become conservative with age. The Depression stimulated leftism among American students and youth. However, this radicalism, like that of the Old Left in general, was almost exclusively concerned with man's economic condition. By and large, the basic values of the Depression leftists were traditional American values. They revered the Puritan ethic and the "American way of life" as much as any Wall Street capitalist. They only wanted to restore prosperity and redistribute political and economic power.

Few of them worried about the

DON'T

buy, sell or rent property in northern virginia
BEFORE you talk to PAUL PRENTICE
—former foreign service officer
—twelve-year resident—alexandria
KEY YOUR TRANSACTION TO YOUR ETA/ETD
for consultation — no obligation — call or write:
PAUL PRENTICE
agent for
JAMES DUNCAN, REAL ESTATE
122 NORTH ALFRED STREET, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314
OFFICE (703) 548-8400 HOME (703) 549-3232

COMING or GOING
You can count on
PERSONALIZED SERVICE
from
W. C. AND A. N. MILLER DEVELOPMENT CO.
A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912
NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS • PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
4701 Songomore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016
Phone 229-4000 Phone 229-4016

RETURNING TO WASHINGTON?
BEING TRANSFERRED ABROAD?
Tell us your requirements and let us send you an up-to-date realty analysis without obligation.
SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
rrr
Routh Robbins-Realtors
1359 Chain Bridge Road
McLean, Virginia 22101
Robert E. Peck, Representative
Off: **703-356-7000** Home: **703-356-3864**

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY HOTEL
The Nicest Small Hotel in Washington
600 - 20th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006 628-5425
Why Foreign Service Personnel prefer the Francis Scott Key Hotel
(1) It is only two blocks from the State Department
(2) It offers family accommodations
(3) One room, kitchen, dinette and bath, completely furnished efficiency suites
(4) Completely air-conditioned
(5) Restaurant with excellent food at moderate prices
ROOMS
One Person $11.00—Two Persons $14.00
Efficiency Suites—Double Beds or Twin Beds
One Person $12.00 & Up—Two Persons $15.00 & Up
Additional persons $1.50 each.
10% discount for weekly occupancy.
Mrs. G. L. Warner, Manager

intangible, even spiritual, problems of alienation, identity and self-realization that concern today's New Left. Few were cultural rebels. They assumed all would be well if only economic man were taken care of. The 1930s radicalism was almost 100 percent materialistic and often only skin deep. It was a radicalism of economic scarcity and the poor; the New Left is a radicalism of technological prosperity and the rich. The Depression was an exception to 20th century US economic trends. When it ended, so did the *raison d'être* of the Old Left in America. New Left radicalism is not caused by an exception to the main tide of events—it is caused *by* the main tide of events, the Technetronic Revolution.

The spread of new attitudes among American students is not only an inevitable development, it is, generally speaking, a positive development as well.

Indeed, with few exceptions, student activists have been a constructive—if often nettlesome—force for reform in American society. Tens of thousands of students have participated in civil rights campaigns, voter registration drives, environmental clean-up actions, and tutorial projects in slum schools. A 1969 Gallup Poll found that 51 percent of college students had participated in some kind of volunteer social work. Top law students compete for a spot with Nader's Raiders, while students at Berkeley and in Oregon tax themselves to finance public-interest law firms. Nor was the Princeton Plan, aimed at encouraging volunteer student political workers in the fall, 1970, elections, the dud many believed it to be. A December 1970, Gallup Poll revealed that 13 percent of all college students had worked for candidates of both parties in hundreds of campaigns around the nation.

No less a radical than John D. Rockefeller III recently declared that "the ferment of youth is potentially a powerful and constructive force in dealing with the problems our society faces."

Still, most Americans take a dim view of student activism, while completely misunderstanding its causes. Thus the 1970s promise to be an unsettling era of tensions, conflicts and occasional violence between young reformers and the Establishment. Pessimists will forecast the downfall of the Republic, but a period of social upheaval can have its redeeming features. At times a society is calm only because nobody cares enough to concern themselves with unresolved social problems. America was generally quiet and peaceful in the 1950s, but this didn't mean there were no ills to be remedied. In today's rapidly changing world, alienation, *anomie* and turmoil appear to be the price of progress and reform.

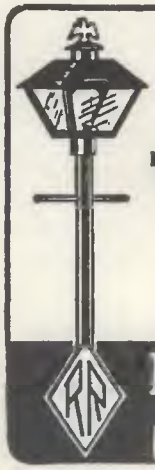
America's student activists are in the vanguard of this process. They have assumed the thankless role of America's gadfly. They often goof, go too far, and fall prey to common human foibles. But when all is said and done, they do the nation a service by calling attention to the need for changes in institutions and attitudes commensurate with the changes in the times. ■

STUART & MAURY, Inc.
REALTORS
Sales • Rentals • Insurance
Specializing in Residential Properties
Northwest Washington • Bethesda,
Chevy Chase and Potomac in Maryland
Member: Multiple Listing Service
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
Telephone: (202) 244-1000
Let Us Know You Saw Our Ad In The Journal

Washington Area Housing Guide
Free comprehensive information kit containing local tax and salary scales, a financing guide, school, recreation and health facilities, history and everything else you need to know about living or buying in Northern Virginia, county by county. Also, what to do in Washington D.C., moving hints and details of our complete relocation services, rental housing and property management.
Town & Country PROPERTIES INC. REALTORS
Write or call collect (Area Code 703)

3807 Mt. Vernon Ave., Alexandria, Va.	836-8915
4701 Old Dominion Dr., Arlington, Va.	525-6900
4205 Evergreen La., Annandale, Va.	256-9100
1384 Chain Bridge Road, McLean, Va.	356-1323
6556 Blacklick Road, Springfield, Va.	451-0111
9637 Lee Highway, Fairfax, Va.	591-7000
1805 Belle View Blvd., Fort Hunt, Alexandria	768-5100
13414 Occoquan Road, Woodbridge, Va.	494-7101


"SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL"
"AN ICE CREAM SODA" is one of the few items we cannot mail. **Drugs, cosmetics, sundries** mailed daily to every country in the world.
We Maintain
"Permanent Family Prescription Records"
"SEND NO MONEY"
Pay only AFTER satisfactory receipt of order.
WORLD WIDE PRESCRIPTION SERVICE
Western Pharmacy
1665 35th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007


REAL ESTATE
Specialists in
TOWN HOUSES
CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM
202-546-2676
RHEA RADIN, Inc.
REALTOR
220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

LETTERS *from page 4*

has not seen fit to provide."

Senator Fulbright then put in the record the background of some of his unsuccessful attempts to obtain information relating to Cambodia and Laos from the Administration.

Finally, I would ask Mr. Levine why staffers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee made *three* trips to Cambodia. Was it because they enjoyed the climate or because of informational needs?

My case rests and I leave it for the members of the AFSA to decide whether the Cambodian situation indeed was a case where the Congress had legitimate concerns which do relate to the successful functioning of our democracy.

KENNETH A. GUENTHER
FSO-5 Resigned
U.S. Senate Staff

Ambassadorial Appointments

■ Two recent cases of ambassadorial appointments which have come to my attention leave me concerned about the future of the Service. If I am correctly informed, they involved:

(1) The nomination of a very competent senior officer was held up for five or six months as a result of charges brought against him by a junior officer who had served at a consular post and claimed the senior officer, in his capacity as DCM of the supervisory mission, had been responsible for his not being promoted. As a matter of fact, the senior officer had not even been the rating officer. But in any case, is the Department going to permit a junior officer to hold up a Presidential appointment such as this, and if so, can we expect rating officers will continue to submit objective efficiency reports including critical comments when deserved? And if not, what happens to our system of promotion on the basis of merit?

(2) The appointment of another senior officer as Chief of Mission was abandoned and he was instead sent as Consul General to a quiet country because the Department was afraid, on account of the officer's previous service in the field of Personnel, that there might be another "Macc controversy." Are good officers going to be willing to do the important and vital Personnel work if this sort of thing goes on, and is it wise to let such considerations of possible controversy decide that a competent officer, deemed worthy of nomination as an Ambassador, should instead be sent to a relatively unimportant consular post.

If these stories are true, I would hope that serious thought is being given to their implications.

BREWSTER H. MORRIS
Tiburon

Tribute to a Friend

■ Carmel Offie died in a BEA plane, which crashed on take off from London airport on June 18th. It had been jokingly calculated that Offie spent more time in the air than on the ground, therefore it was perhaps inevitable that he should lose his life in an airplane.

Offie left the Foreign Service many years ago yet his interest in its task continued and he remained closely in touch with his former colleagues. His subsequent international business career took him over many of the same routes and even farther afield. He never lost his devotion to American government service, and was a staunch defender of American ideals and the nation. He knew kings, presidents and prime ministers, and they sought his counsel as eagerly as did diplomats, business men, housewives, peasants and children. He was a generous and true friend and will be honestly mourned.

SOLIE REINHARDT
Porto Ercole, Italy

Labor Reporting

■ The AFGE crusade described in the attached sheet would strike me as more holy and less pious if AFL-CIO were above suspicion of ever having used the promotion panels, through "labor members," to reward friends and strike down critics.

A student of the promotion-panel experience might enjoy flipping through the files of FSOs known at some time to have dared criticize AFL-CIO foreign policies and activities in writing.

These remarks come under the heading of musings of a happily retired officer. You see, I tested two axioms and satisfied myself that both were true:

Axiom No. 1: The rewards for good labor reporting and analysis are rich.

Axiom No. 2: If you value promotion, never, NEVER sign your name to an unfavorable report on the activities of AFL-CIO foreign-labor experts.

Of course, it remains true that two or more wrongs don't make a right. A lot of other platitudes are also permissible, including one on the unlikelihood that any one will ever come up with a wholly fair promotion system.

A READER

Pollution Unresolved

■ I am afraid that Kay Fessenden ("Solution for Pollution," June 1972) cannot justify her $370 expenditure and her seven-day shipboard vacation on the Atlantic Ocean by feeling that she is thus preventing pollution.

More than one study has indicated that a jet aircraft puts out 1.5 pounds of pollutants for every thousand seat miles, whereas an ocean-liner (typically carrying 1,927 passengers) puts out 32.3 pounds of pollutants on an equivalent basis (See GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE, Sept. 1970 or FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL, March 25, 1971. This does not even take into account the wastes emitted into the ocean by 2,000 passengers, plus an almost equal number of employees, during seven days at sea.

I am afraid that a simplistic return to the "good old days" will simply not solve our many problems.

AL STOFFEL
Washington

Advice to Neophytes

■ Not since Talleyrand advised neophytes in diplomacy, "*Et surtout, pas trop de zèle,*" has such sage, wordly-wise counsel been offered as that given and illustrated by FSO H. Christopher Martin in his fable, "In the Foreign Service, as elsewhere, doing too much may do you in."

The goodly company of the Greek philosphers and the Chinese teacher, Confucius ("All things in moderation—even in virtue"), salute FSO Martin and, like me, hope to read him often in the JOURNAL.

ROBERT W. RINDEN
Oskaloosa

FSJ EDITORIAL

Whither the Foreign Service?

THE Foreign Service has served the Nation well. The past record of the career service shows consistent good judgment in policy matters and an outstanding record of personal sacrifice. Now the question is where we are going. Will the "reforms" being put into effect in the State Department enable the Service to continue to make the significant contributions it has made in the past? Proposed or being implemented are changes to downgrade approximately a quarter of our senior positions, to increase the rigidity of the cone system, to abolish the Staff Officer Corps, and to establish a whole new career service of Washington based specialists (FAS). Management has even stated that the principle of selection out is up for review.

These changes will make it easier to administer the Foreign Service, but we question whether these changes will make it easier to fulfill our responsibilities to the President and the Nation. That seems to us to be the more important question.

Management, the Service, and this Association have all tended to look at these personnel policy proposals—slice by slice—as they are put forward. Everyone has a position on cones, FAS, etc., but who has a position on the whole package?

The Task Force's recommendations in many cases were put forward as a package, but only pieces were adopted. The Department's administrators have implemented those recommendations they needed to accomplish their principal job—administer the Foreign Service. AFSA was among the first to point out that this area needed basic reform, that the "benevolent paternalism" of the past had to be replaced. But in modernizing the administration of the service we must not lose sight of our basic goals.

What are the implications for the job the Foreign Service will be able to do given these reforms:

—downgrading one out of every four *senior* jobs?

—making promotions depend heavily on demonstrated expertise in a *single* area?

—creating a *Washington* based body of experts?

Unlike major policy decisions made in other areas in the State Department, personnel policy issues are decided exclusively in one Bureau. The Executive Order will change this by forcing management to consult with an exclusive representative of its employees. However, most of these major reforms will be implemented *just before* the exclusive employee representative is elected. AFSA questions whether this is in keeping with the spirit of the President's Order.

If the proposed reforms are targeted at improving the administration of the Foreign Service, they hit their mark. However, we are afraid that if they are targeted at making the Service better able to do its job, they miss. It would be most unfortunate if the effects of those important reforms which focus on openness and on improving the decision-making process, such as PARA, are swamped by errors in the way we organize our "most important resources"—people. ■

Needed—An Aid Career Development

AFSA, which has long supported a uniform system for all Foreign Service personnel, recognizes that there are many inequities in the AID personnel system. AID's annual struggle for existence has inhibited the development of any real and equitable career system for its Foreign Service personnel. It is unjust and unfair that AID employees, who often serve in the most difficult and hazardous assignments, should be the virtual orphans of the Foreign Affairs Agencies. The long list of names inscribed on the Memorial Plaque in the Administrator's reception room bears witness to the nature of AID assignments.

There is urgent need for effective career development programs for AID Foreign Service personnel to help them adjust to the changing nature of Agency requirements. Many of these employees have over 25 years of service, much of which has been overseas, with AID or its predecessor agencies. These people should not be subjected to the humiliation of walking the halls of AID/W looking for non-existent jobs or finding themselves unqualified for current openings. Only a well planned, continuous and relevant career development program can equip these people who have served their country so well and so long with the know-how required in the newer approach to foreign technical assistance and changing Agency requirements. The patchwork programs of the past will not do. ■

AFSA NEWS

published by the
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

STATE/USIA/AID NEWS

In State: AFSA, AFGE, and management agreed in a series of "consent meetings" on the mechanical details of the election process; however there was not agreement on who is eligible to vote. AFSA wants the list of eligibles as large as possible consistent with the E.O. on the principle that the franchise should not be arbitrarily restricted. AFGE, on the other hand, pushed for the narrow approach of the Civil Service system which disenfranchises all supervisors. The Employee Management Relations Commission held hearings on August 10-11. We expect their decision by the end of August and believe that those employees for whose vote we fought (e.g. Country Directors and Inspectors) will be declared eligible. We trust that **the State Department election will be directed between September 1 and 7 with the voting a few weeks later.**

In USIA & AID: In these two units AFSA, AFGE and management have also been engaging in "consent meetings." Agreement has been reached on election mechanics with disagreement again centering on voter eligibility. It is possible that AFSA, AFGE and management will agree to abide in USIA and AID by the precedents resulting from the Commission's decisions in the State Department hearings. In this case the elections in USIA and AID would be run concurrently (or almost so) with the State election. On the other hand, AFGE could demand hearings in USIA and AID on voter eligibility in which case the elections in these units would be delayed.

Foreign Service Conversions to FAS Approved. On July 31, the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia overturned the earlier lower court injunction which AFGE obtained to block all Foreign Service employees from voluntarily converting to the Foreign Affairs Specialist (FAS) program. The injunction now prevents only Civil Service employees from converting to FAS (see **AFSA News** Redtop of August 10, 1972). This dramatic upset of AFGE's attempt to block FSSOs, FSOs, FSIOs, and FSRs from becoming FSRUs is due to AFSA's insistence that the Foreign Affairs Agencies seek a clarification of the Circuit Court's first opinion which left unclear the rights of Staff Officers.

AFSA has expressed its deep concern to the Director General that the FAS conversion program should, under no circumstances, grant tenure to politically appointed FSRs. AFSA has urged that conversions to the FAS program be limited to bona fide specialists and FSRs with Civil Service conversion rights in the State Department and USIA (see **AFSA News** Redtop of August 29, 1972).

Grievance Legislation: The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on State Department Organization is continuing to hold hearings on the Senate-passed grievance bill (S 3722). AFSA testified before the Hays Subcommittee on July 18 and 25. Acting Chairman Porter of the Interim Grievance panel and Mr. Jacobson of the Civil Service Commission have testified since. Three more hearings are currently scheduled; the American Civil Liberties Union, and Mr. John Hemenway to testify on September 6, Senator John Sherman Cooper and Senator Birch Bayh to testify during the second week in September and Under Secretary Macomber to appear later in the month. Legislative action this term is becoming increasingly unlikely. Consequently AFSA is making plans to reintroduce the grievance legislation in both Houses when the new term convenes in early 1973.

Pay Comparability: AFSA's Red Borders Numbers 12 and 18 focus attention on an increasing problem for the career Foreign Service —the growing salary gap between Foreign Service employees and their counterparts in the Civil Service. Red Border No. 18 of August 16, 1972 compares the total lifetime average earnings of a Civil Service management intern and a Foreign Service officer. The study shows a difference in total lifetime earnings favoring the management intern in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars. AFSA has urged the managements of the foreign affairs agencies to immediately take the action necessary to bring Foreign Service salaries into line with the Civil Service, pursuant to the recommendations of Task Force II and this Association.

Cutbacks: As of June, 1972, AID direct hire Foreign Service personnel (FSR and FSS) were serving basically in overseas posts:

	USAID/ Overseas	AID/ Washington	Average Grade
FSR	2,488	743	3.7
FSS	390	126	7.4
	2,878	869	

A breakdown by grade and assignment of AID Foreign Service personnel (FSR and FSS) shows

the nature of their assignments:

FSR

Grade	Overseas	AID/W	Total
01	91	64	155
02	303	146	449
03	731	245	976
04	639	154	793
05	492	98	590
06	154	33	187
07	75	3	78
08	3	—	3
Total	2,488	743	3,231

FSS

Grade	Overseas	AID/W	Total
01*	1	—	1
02*	—	1	1
03	6	2	8
04	19	16	35
05	60	22	82
06	98	32	130
07	134	33	167
08	62	20	82
09	7	—	7
10	3	—	3
Total	390	126	516

* FSS 01s and 02s are detailed to AID from other agencies. They are not AID direct hire.

AID is facing even more serious constraints on its personnel ceilings than the other foreign affairs agencies. OMB has asked for an earlier budget submission from the Agency this year. It is reported that OMB will hold the upcoming AID budget request **below** what it received from the Congress last year and that the Agency expects a 25% personnel cut from its 197? base by the end of FY 1974.

AID personnel management, which appropriated the conversion decision of FSRLs to FSR career status from the selection boards to itself over AFSA's strong objections, clearly intends to severely limit conversions despite the demonstrated merit and sacrifice of many of the Agency's FSRL employees.

AID NEWS

AID Foreign Service Retirement Legislation: The Security Assistance Authorization Bill approved by the House of Representatives contains provisions authorizing the participation of certain categories of AID foreign service personnel in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. This bill will be considered by the Senate, when it reconvenes in early September, as a replacement for the Senate bill defeated on July 31 due to a floor fight on the end the war amendment. It is not yet known whether the new Senate bill will resemble the House-passd bill—which contains the AID foreign service retirement—or the earlier Senate bill which had no such provision.

The provision in the House bill would include in the Foreign Service Retirement System all tenured AID foreign service reserve officers and foreign service staff with 10 years of service. With one important exception, the provision is identical to that proposed by the Administration and authorized for USIA at the time its foreign service employees were included in the plan. The difference moves the mandatory retirement age from 60 to 70. Both AID and AFSA hope to return the age to 60 during conference or at some other stage in the legislative process. If further Senate action on the Security Assistance authorization appears to encounter extended delays due to the end the war amendments, AID may seek introduction of the retirement provision as a separate bill in the Senate as there is support for the retirement legislation in both Houses of Congress.

Review Personnel File: AFSA urges all AID employees, who have not previously done so, to review their entire personnel file which will be sent to the selection boards in the fall. All employees should have copies of their performance evaluation reports. However, Part Two of the efficiency report — the development appraisal report—was until recently not shown to employees. At AFSA's request, AID management agreed to provide **directly** to any employee copies of the Development Appraisal Reports. AID employees should write directly to Mr. Warren Lane, Assistant Director, Personnel Division, AID/PM/FSP, to request copies of development appraisal reports or of any Performance Evaluation Reports not in their files.

An employee may request the removal of any false or prejudicial material in his or her performance file. If the Agency fails to remove the material, the employee may file a grievance under the Interim Grievance Procedures.

Reductions

AID set an all-time record in the number of personnel reductions during FY-72 with a total of 1,758 AID employees leaving the Agency. This included 320 retirements, as compared to 217 retirements in 1971.

AFSA ACTIVITIES

Chapter News: Our first nationwide chapter has been formed in Japan. An election among AFSA members in Japan was held in June and July to choose a nine-director board. Those elected are: David G. Brown (Chairman), Gregory Johnson (Vice Chairman), Paul B. Blackburn, Rust M. Deming, Robert W. Duemling, Fern E. Hauser, Paul W. Leinenbach, Charles A. Schmitz, and Stephen R. Springer.

John R. Countryman has been elected President of AFSA/Tripoli. The Chapter's past president, Terry Day, was caught in the 60 percent cutback in Tripoli.

Certificate of Incorporation: All active AFSA members are urged to vote on the amendments to our Certificate of Incorporation. The green ballot is printed in the next-to-last page of the August Foreign Service **Journal.** Mr. John Hemenway is preparing another statement in opposition to the proposed Amendments, in addition to his 600 word statement printed in the August Foreign Service **Journal.**

USIA NEWS

Promotion Board Precepts: AFSA has received a preliminary copy of the draft precepts for the Agency's 1972 selection boards. AFSA's USIA Advisory Committee is presently reviewing the precepts and plans to hold an Open Meeting on them in the near future in Washington. The Association was extremely disappointed to see included in the preliminary draft provisions similar to those contained in last year's precepts for the Director to personally choose from an alphabetical list prepared by the selection board, those officers to be promoted from Class-2 to Class-1. The Board of the Foreign Service and this Association have expressed their concern over this method of promotion.

Access to Personnel Files: Despite both AID and State allowing their employees to review their **complete** personnel files before they are transmitted to the selection boards, USIA has refused an AFSA request to permit its employees similar access. USIA's management refuses to allow its employees to see the classified Development Appraisal Reports for 1965 and 1966, to protect the confidential nature of these reports. AFSA has pointed out that this makes meaningless the Interim Grievance Procedure's provisions for an employee to have removed from his or her file any false or prejudicial information. USIA management has stated that it will entertain a request from any USIA officer, who is low-ranked by a selection board to review these DARs **ex post facto.** AFSA has stated that any selection out decision, which is made on the basis of even a partially secret file, is probably subject to challenge in the courts. It makes no sense to allow an employee to review the complete file after he or she has been low-ranked, as there then is no way to remedy the erroneous impression the selection board may have received by reviewing reports containing false or prejudicial information. AFSA is continuing to urge USIA management to reconsider its decision on this matter.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Overtime: The Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC) has been following up on complaints regarding the failure of posts and missions to pay Staff personnel overtime as required by joint State/AID/USIA regulations. In discussions with the SCAC officials, State/AID/USIA management officials have stated that their firm policy is that all overtime should be paid in accordance with the regulations. Each Agency budgets specifically for the payment of overtime. The Staff Corps Advisory Committee is preparing a detailed AFSA red border on the subject which will be issued shortly.

AFSA NEWS

AFSA Relations with American Businessmen: AFSA's program to improve Foreign Service commercial operations continues. In collaboration with the Business Council for International Understanding (BCIU), we are seeking to stimulate contact and communication between Foreign Service officers and businessmen at home and abroad.

In the process, we wish to encourage American businessmen to become Associate Members of AFSA, receive the Foreign Service **Journal,** have access to our Club and gradually improve their rapport with the Service. The annual fee is $20. Presently our 600 Associate members are drawn largely from the academic world and we wish to broaden this participation in business and professional circles.

BCU has written 550 businessmen including the heads of its 80 member companies urging them to take advantage of opportunities to meet with Foreign Service personnel and to consider joining AFSA. We would appreciate our keymen and chapter heads encouraging wider contact with businessmen, to get their reactions to AFSA Bulletin No. 16, to have their ideas and recommendations on how the Foreign Service can better support business needs, and to recruit new Associate members for AFSA.

AFSA NEWS

Through an arrangement with Richard Holbrooke, managing editor, the Board of Directors announces that special subscription rates to **Foreign Policy** are available to AFSA members. This quarterly magazine which began publication in the winter of 1970-71 will feature in its forthcoming issue an article on war powers legislation by Senator Eagleton with additional comment by Senator Stennis and a rebuttal by Senator Goldwater; Ambassador John W. Tuthill has written on Operation Topsy; Bill Turpin of USIA takes another look at the State Department's role in foreign policy; and Stephen Hess discusses foreign policy in Presidential campaigns. Also featured is an essay on Dean Rusk by John Henry. **Foreign Policy** aims for specific emphasis on international economics, with lively and controversial material presented with no political orientation or bias.

AFSA members may place a two-year subscription to **Foreign Policy** for $15.00, a saving of $5.00 over the newsstand price and $2.00 off the regular subscription rate. Subscriptions at this rate may be sent direct to **Foreign Policy,** 345 East 46th Street, New York 10017, including mention of your AFSA membership, or the Association will forward the subscription if it is included with your membership renewal or other correspondence with AFSA. To avoid bookkeeping problems, however, a separate check should be made out to **Foreign Policy.**

The most recent issue of the magazine featured a 25th anniversary interview with George F. Kennan. Copies of this issue are available from the publication office at $2.50.

Foreign Service Authors

"The Raj," a novel by FSO-retired Donald Robinson, is now out in paperback. The book, an exciting story of India in the 1930's, was favorably reviewed in the **Journal** and elsewhere on its initial publication last year.

STATE NEWS

Classification Study: The review of the classification of all State Department jobs is nearing completion. The working group in the Director General's office has submitted its proposed job classification charges to the Bureaus in State for comments, and expects to submit its final proposal to the Director General on September 30. Management has declined to discuss the details of the reclassification study with AFSA, on the basis that it is still in a "preliminary stage." AFSA understands, informally, that the job classification study will call for substantial downgrading of senior Foreign Service jobs—between a 25 and 30% downgrading of Class-1 officer jobs, and between 15 and 20% downgrading of Class-2 jobs.

This reclassification proposal will limit the leadership ability of the Foreign Service to coordinate the foreign relations of the United States. It seems incongruous to the Association, when the Department has gone to the Congress to upgrade the Under Secretary's title to Deputy Secretary of State, that, on the other hand, it is making plans to reduce the job titles of between a quarter and a third of its senior officers. (see editorial).

State Hiring: State has announced that its personnel strength as of July 1 has been reduced by more than 400 in compliance with the 5% government-wide FY-72 cut. This reduction was achieved through normal attrition rather than a reduction-in-force program. The normal lateral entry program into the Foreign Service Officers Corps from other departments and agencies has been suspended for the time being. However, the Department will offer opportunities to Foreign Service employees in the Staff Officer Corps, in the Reserve Corps, or in the Civil Service in the Department to transfer laterally into the FSO Corps.

A new class of 29 Foreign Service Officers entered on duty in August. The total number of incoming FSOs in FY-73 will be under 100, including FSRs recruited under the Equal Opportunity Program.

Review Personnel Files: AFSA urges all employees to review their personnel files, which will shortly be transmitted to the 1972 selection boards. The Department has agreed to provide copies of Development Appraisal Reports, the formerly classified part of the Efficiency Report, to all employees in the field. Employees wishing copies of these reports should request them from PER/PMS-PS. Any specific inaccuracy, error, or prejudicial statement in the employee's performance file should be called to the attention of the Director of Personnel, in writing. Requests for the removal of Efficiency Reports should generally be made subject of an informal grievance submission under the Interim Grievance Procedures.

Integration of Selection Boards: AFSA has opposed the integration in 1972 of all selection boards for FSOs, FSRs, FSRUs, and FSSOs. The Association believes that such a basic reform of the Foreign Service should not be made without full consideration of the impact it may have on individuals and on our organizational structure. AFSA does not believe that the present promotional system is perfect; however, the Association believes that less harm will be done by continuing it for another year than by making changes, which may have to be modified again as a more comprehensive personnel plan evolves. The Association pointed out that the ceaseless shifts in personnel policies have been called the single most objectionable feature of our system, and urges the Department not to pre-judge the nature of the personnel reforms to be worked out between management and the employees through their representative over the next year by making these sweeping changes in promotion operations now. Several of the questions which the Association raised relate to whether the promotion system should share the harshly limited promotion opportunities equally between lifetime career personnel and reservists appointed for specified limited periods of time. The Association pointed out that the proposal creates major problems in comparability between FSOs and FSSOs. AFSA also pointed out that the proposal would increase the rigidity of the present cone system without encouraging the multifunctional diverse experience which has fostered our program direction competence in the past.

Magnuson Bill: The Magnuson Bill which is still pending before the Senate Commerce Committee has been introduced into the House of Representatives as HR 15903. Although hearings have been held in the Senate Commerce Subcommittee, no hearings are scheduled at present in the House. Work is well advanced on the OMB study of government's trade promotion programs The study is expected to be completed and submitted to the President and interested agencies by the end of September.

Naturalization of Aliens: The Association has supported passage of HR 14585, which is pending consideration before Subcommittee No. 1, House Committee on the Judiciary. This bill provides for the expeditious naturalization of aliens who have been admitted to the United States for permanent residence on the basis of 15 or more years of faithful service as an employee of the U.S. Government abroad.

Position List Revised: The list of positions comparable to the Chiefs of Mission is in the process of being revised. The proposed revision would delete **inter alia** the following categories: 1) Deputy Chiefs of Mission at Class 2 missions; 2) Country Directors and Executive Directors of regional Bureaus; and 3) Foreign Service Inspectors.

Class Standing: In response to an AFSA request information of the relative rankings for Support Staff employees this year is being given by quartiles. In the past, FSOs and FSRs were given information regarding their relative ranking by the selection board but Support Staff and FSSOs were not. This year all categories including FSSOs will be told how they are ranked with their peers.

MEMBERS INTERESTS COMMITTEE

In reply to an AFSA petition, the Comptroller General has rendered the opinion that overseas allowances (education, quarters and cost-of-living) were **never** subject to last year's wage-price freeze. AFSA is particularly gratified by the ruling because we argued with management right from the start that these allowances should not be subject to the wage-freeze because they are not part of wages and salaries. And when management appeared to be sweeping the whole problem under the rug, AFSA went directly to the GAO to seek the favorable opinion that eventually emerged.

This exercise is not academic. While increases in education, quarters, and cost-of-living allowances were unblocked after November 15, 1971, absolutely no increases were allowed during the freeze between August 15 and November 14, 1971. This was the period when the dollar was floating downward, and Foreign Service employees abroad found their allowance dollars buying five to ten percent less. What the GAO ruling does is allow retroactive upward adjustments of the allowances for that key 90-day period in 1971. In short, any allowances that were scheduled to go up between August 15 and November 14 can now be paid retroactively.

Our next hurdle is to persuade management to pay the allowance increases retroactively. We are in a new fiscal year now, and last year's money has by now been spent on other things. But overseas allowances are payable to employees as a statutory right, and we have communicated to management AFSA's demand that retroactive payments be made.

Overseas Transfer Allowances: The Association has received a number of inquiries regarding the increased overseas transfer allowance. Money to pay the new allowance has been included in the FY-73 budget and the Department's allowance staff is currently working on the publication of new regulations. The regulations have been delayed because the enactment of the appropriations legislation has been delayed. AFSA and the Department disagree on what expenses should be covered. The Association, naturally wishes to have as many expenses included as possible. As soon as the new regulations are published, each administrative office will be able to process claims. Individuals who have traveled since the beginning of the fiscal year should apply for regular allowances while waiting to apply retroactively for the new transfer allowance. We will supply additional information in the **AFSA News** regarding this matter. AFSA will fight any attempt to prevent the allowance from being retroactive to July 1.

Retroactive Allowances to be Paid: Pursuant to the initial request of AFSA the General Accounting Office recently ruled that increases in allowances during the Phase I price freeze were incorrectly frozen by the State Department as the allowances did not represent salaries. The Members Interest Committee has followed up with the Bureau of Administration of State regarding retroactive payments and is pleased to report that the Department had planned for funding to provide means to effect payment in the event the GAO authorized it. The allowances staff is now working on this with the other affected agencies and expects to send an implementing airgram to the field shortly. This is an excellent example of how your AFSA Members Interest Committee works on your behalf appealing to other responsible bodies within the government to protect the rights of our members.

Home Leave: Thanks to those AFSA members who have transmitted the results of their claims for home leave deductions on their federal income tax returns. Only two reports so far have informed us of disallowed claims, both of which are being studied for possible use as test cases. Please keep the reports coming in. One report of a successful claim indicates that the employee claimed as a transportation expense the $600 loss arising from the purchase of a car at the beginning of home leave and its resale at the end. This particular return filed on the West Coast was audited, and reminds us that transportation expenses are an important aspect of deductible home leave costs, in addition to hotels and restaurant meals.

Use of Foreign Airlines

Queries from AFSA members indicate that many employees and a number of administrative officers are still unclear about the practical impact of management's year-old decision to abolish penalties for foreign airline travel. Since the regulations themselves haven't really changed, we can understand why there would be some confusion. If you have official orders to travel from point A to point B, if you wish to fly directly between the two points, and an American carrier flies that route, you should arrange your schedule to fly on the American airline. However, if for your personal convenience, you wish to travel from A to B indirectly through point C to take annual leave, if there is no additional cost to the government, and the indirect routing requires use of foreign carriers, you can do so without penalty. An example would be a case of official travel between Washington and Frankfurt. American carriers fly between the two cities. However, if you wish to take annual leave enroute in Paris, you would have to take an American carrier to Paris, and a foreign carrier for the Paris-Frankfurt segment. In earlier days, you would have had to reimburse the government for the Paris-Frankfurt segment if the stopover in Paris was for your own convenience. This penalty attached to the use of foreign carriers is no longer applicable. AFSA members are cautioned, however, not to abuse this freedom by doing such silly things as flying foreign carriers across the Atlantic. Also, do not confuse the problem of using foreign carriers with the one of comparative costs of different routings. If an indirect routing costs more than a direct routing, you will have to pay the difference yourself regardless of the nationality of the airline carriers.

AFSA NEWS

Government-wide Personnel Cuts: Although no hard information has been released, Washington is buzzing with the expectation that another government-wide personnel cut will be announced after the election. With financial analysts predicting a government budget shortfall between 35 and 38 billion dollars for FY-73 and OMB making ominous references to the 43% increase in expenditures for federal salaries since the Nixon administration took office, the handwriting appears to be on the wall. The Washington **Post** reports that the FY-72 5% federal job cutback **should** have cut approximately 100,000 jobs and 57,000 people from the federal rolls. However, due to a cut back of the goal to 4% in late 1971 and increased hirings by some Agencies (HEW, Justice and Labor), the federal job cuts (most of which were made by the Defense agencies) were nearly offset. Consequently, the actual cut in federal jobs was about 15,000. Given the fiscal squeeze and the less than successful 5% cut of FY-72 predictions in Washington are running between 5 and 10% for FY-73. The Foreign Affairs Agencies, which have had reductions in the past **three** years under OPRED, BALPA and the 1972 5% cut cannot afford to take another personnel cut and still perform their jobs. It is doubtful if a reduction over 5% could be conducted by the Foreign Affairs Agencies without a form of RIF.

Ms.: Any Foreign Service employee who wishes to use Ms. instead of Miss or Mrs. on her official records should request the personnel officer to make the correction on the Personnel Audit Report.

Hatch Act Declared Unconstitutional: A majority of a three-member District Court panel declared provisions of the 32-year-old Hatch Act to be constitutionally vague and over-broad. The Court stayed its order enjoining the Civil Service Commission from continuing to enforce the Hatch Act pending almost certain appeal to the Supreme Court. The Court's majority said that the Act's terms lacked precision and were excessively broad and vague. The dissenting judge found no constitutional infirmities, stating that the problem areas could be cleaned up administratively. Thus, while the constitutionality of the Hatch Act has been placed in question, it still controls political activity of all federal employees.

Junior Threshold: AFSA believes that prompt action is necessary to correct the conceptual approach now embodied in the junior threshold system. As outlined in the July issue of the **Journal,** AFSA has proposed a threshold designed to judge whether a junior officer should be retained for mid-career levels of the Service. Under AFSA's proposal such a determination would be made on the basis of the officer's merits, not functional specialties or the Service's temporary manning levels. The threshold would decide if the officer should be granted tenure, not if he should be promoted to Class 5. AFSA has made clear its view that the question of promotion to Class 5 should be considered separately — after the question of tenure is decided. AFSA feels that the junior threshold is today inducing young officers to make radical changes in career directions and even to wonder if they have a future in the Service. For this reason we have urged the Department to consider our proposal on a priority basis. As the issue is too important to await a formal employee-management system, we have held a series of discussions with management on the threshold. These discussions have been productive, and AFSA trusts that the Department will soon be able to make some important decisions on this basis.

New Career

On the 500th anniversary of the founding of the University of Munich, the legal faculty awarded Leo M. Goodman, FSO-retired, with an honorary doctorate of laws for his promotion of US-German relations and his assistance to the university. Mr. Goodman formerly had been Consul General in Bremen and is currently a Special Advisor for Bavaria to the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany.

New Editorial Board Member



G. Richard Monsen is currently assigned as Chief of the Policy Guidance Staff in USIA, having previously served as Chief of the Agency's National Security Advisory Staff. His last overseas post was Rabat, Morocco, where he was Counselor for Public Affairs. Prior to that he was Senior Advisor for Public Affairs at the US Mission to the United Nations, serving as press spokesman for the Mission and director of the Agency's Foreign Correspondents' Center in New York.

Mr. Monsen served in Paris for six years as Information Officer and later as Deputy Public Affairs Officer. For most of this time he edited the French-language magazine, "Informations et Documents."

Prior to his European assignments, Mr. Monsen was concerned with Latin American affairs for several years, serving on the Argentine and Brazil desks in the Department before transferring to USIA.

A native of Utah, Mr. Monsen received a B.A. from the University of Utah. He attended the National University of Mexico for one semester before entering the Army, where he served in Europe and was awarded the Silver Star. After the war he alternated between journalism (Salt Lake "Tribune," Kiplinger "Washington Letter") and graduate studies at Stanford. He received an M.A. there in 1948 and spent the following year in Paris on a Fulbright scholarship. In 1958-59 he was assigned by the USIA to the Johns Hopkins Center for European Studies in Bologna, Italy.

Foreign Service People

MARRIAGES

Caputo-Peters. Nancy Louise Caputo was married to Dr. Lawrence S. Peters, son of FSO-ret. and Mrs. Stephen Peters. Dr. and Mrs. Peters will be residing at Duke University while he is doing his internship at the Medical Center there.

English-Ramsay. Pauline Ann English was married to Walter G. Ramsay in Tabriz, Iran on June 15. Mrs. Ramsay is the superintendent of the Tabriz International School and Mr. Ramsay is Consul there.

Gorrell-Larsen. Angela Gorrell, daughter of FSO-ret. and Mrs. Juan Gorrell, was married to Marine Sergeant Donald M. Larsen in Caracas on July 28.

Stedman-Donaldson. Diana Stedman, daughter of FSO and Mrs. William P. Stedman, Jr., was married to Stuart C. Donaldson on August 5 in Fairfax, Va. The Donaldsons will make their home in Columbus, Ohio where Mr. Donaldson will work for the State of Ohio.

BIRTHS

Bryant. A daughter, Alexandra White, was born to FSO and Mrs. Edward W. M. Bryant on May 17, in Asmara.

DEATHS

Coxson. Emmett M. Coxson, FSO, and First Secretary of the Embassy in Prague died July 11 in Czechoslovakia. Mr. Coxson's previous assignments had been in Guayaquil, Khartoum, Bucharest, and the European Bureau of the Department. He is survived by his wife, Betty, 715 N. Overlook Drive, Alexandria, Va. 22305, and four children, Gregory, Molly, Susan and Andrea. Contributions to the Coxson Children Educational Fund may be sent in care of EUR/EX, Attn: Mr. Wiggins or to IO/UNESCO, Attn: Norman Barth.

Daniels. Jenny Frankel Daniels, FSS-ret., died at her home in Medellin, Colombia May 17. After serving many years at the Consulate in Medellin, Mrs. Daniels later served at Vienna, Santiago, Brussels and the Department. Mrs. Daniels is survived by a brother, John Frankel, and a sister, Mary Frankel, Apartado 901, PROP. Hztal., "El Poblado," Carrera 34 No. 11-107, Medellin, Colombia, S.A.

Davies. The Rev. John Paton Davies, Sr., a Baptist missionary to China for over 40 years, died July 3 at his home in Alexandria, Virginia. His two sons, John Jr. and Donald, are retired Foreign Service officers. Besides his two sons, Mr. Davies is survived by two brothers, Bonar of Memphis and Caleb of New Wilmington, Pa.

Engert. Sara Cunningham Engert, wife of Cornelius Van H. Engert, Amb.-ret'd., died July 14 in Brussels. Mrs. Engert had accompanied her husband to posts in Havana, San Salvador, Santiago, Caracas, Peking, Cairo, Addis Ababa, Teheran, Beirut and Afghanistan. In addition to her husband of 2022 Columbia Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, Mrs. Engert leaves a son, Roderick M. of Washington, a daughter, Mrs. Frederick Gillen of Geneseo, N.Y., two sisters, Mrs. Murray Sargent and Mrs. Willard Rappleye of New York City and six grandchildren.

Goldman. Loren L. Goldman, FSO-ret., died June 15 in Brussels. Among the posts Mr. Goldman had served in are Beirut, Palermo, Bern, Nice, and Tripoli. Mr. Goldman leaves his wife, Janet, a son, Loren Lee, Jr., and a sister, Mrs. Leo Brisbois. Mrs. Goldman may be contacted c/o Mrs. Leo Brisbois, 4205 Arizona Ave., N.W., Baltimore, Md. 21206.

Klieforth. Barbara Leslie Klieforth, widow of retired FSO Alfred W. Klieforth, died at her home in Lemon Grove, California on June 18. In addition to her two sons, Alexander of the Embassy in Rome and Leslie with the Embassy in Saigon, Mrs. Klieforth leaves nine grandchildren.

Phelan. Raymond Phelan, FSO-ret., died July 26 at his home in San Jose, California. Mr. Phelan entered the Foreign Service in 1916 and subsequently served in numerous posts throughout Africa and Latin America. The Phelan family has devoted a total of nearly 170 years to the Foreign Service. Mr. Phelan leaves his wife, Margaret, c/o Mr. Robert Phelan, 1824 Emory St., San Jose, Calif. 95126; a sister Cecilia; five sons, Patrick and Albert of Washington, D.C., Fletcher of Overland, Kan., Robert of San Jose, and Rev. Gerald Phelan, S. J., of Rome, Italy, and a daughter, Mother Margaret Mary Phelan of the Order of Sacred Heart, San Francisco.

Westerfield. Ambassador Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr., died suddenly at his post in Monrovia, Liberia. Prior to his appointment to the Embassy in Monrovia in 1969, Ambassador Westerfield had served in the Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Economic Bureau and later as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs. Ambassador Westerfield leaves his wife, Helene of 1743 Upshur St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20013, a son, Samuel, a daughter, Sheila, and a sister, Anne Pitts.

CLUB NEWS

Once again the Club is holding International Nights, starting on September 28th with a Caribbean Evening. Last year we ran the gamut from A to A, Africa to Austria, and those who were able to come were more than delighted with the music and food of the different countries. This year we are scheduling in addition to the Caribbean Night, a British Night featuring English folk songs, Scottish bagpipe players and hearty, well-prepared English specialties; a Spanish evening featuring Flamenco dancers and a Middle East evening with muscularly motivated terpsichoreans.

The Caribbean Night promises to be a most unusual evening. The 10 piece Trinidad Steel Band will bring to the club the atmosphere of the Islands and among the many unusual items will be roast suckling pig. The price per person is $6.25 which includes the many-course dinner and entertainment. Reservations will be necessary and they can be made easily by calling 338-5730.

AFSA NEWS

SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED

The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association appreciates the continued support given to the scholarship program by our members and friends. The scholarship given annually by Senator Benton in honor of an outstanding member of the Foreign Service is named for Ambassador Charles W. Yost.

The following are the names of recipients of AFSA Scholarships for 1972-1973 and their respective awards.

(1972-1973)

Glenn Eugene Adams, **Anthony J. Healy Memorial;** Heather Lynn Anderson, **AAFSW;** John Howland Barber, Jr., **Allen Richard Turner Memorial;** Carol Janet Barth, **Gertrude Stewart Memorial;** Paul Rogers Bastek, **Wilbur J. Carr Memorial;** Robert Matthew Berlin, **Oliver Bishop Harriman;** Martha Jo Braycich, **Wives' Group of Quito;** Charlotte Hill Brown, **Charles E. Merrill Trust;** Daniel Lucius Brown, **Julius C. Holmes Memorial;** Joanna-Maria Brown, **Bruce;** Lisa Yildiz Brown, **Mary Mohler Rowell Memorial;** Margarita Andrea Brown, **Bruce;** Christopher Mark Chadbourne, **Ernest Linwood Ives Memorial;** Bradford Alan Cox, **AAFSW;** Deborah Tate Dodderidge, **Margaret F. Berger Memorial.**

Also Karen Theresa Gardner, **Arthur B. Emmons Memorial;** Brian Charles Gendreau, **Oliver Bishop Harriman;** Gerard Joachim Gendron, Jr., **Paris Fund;** David Hunt Gibbons, **AAFSW;** Gregory Joseph Gonzalez, **Gertrude Stewart Memorial;** Paul Raymond Gonzalez, **Gertrude Stewart Memorial;** Stephen Richard Hartwell, **William Benton;** Marie-Claire Hatcher, **American Consulate General Ladies' Club of Frankfurt;** Ana Raquel Yolanda Hill, **U.S. Embassy Women's Group, Managua;** Stephanie Horner, **Selden Chapin Memorial;** Jane Elizabeth Jurecky, **Gertrude Stewart Memorial;** Daniel Karp, **William Benton;** Andrew Thomas Kendzie, **AAFSW;** Marian Theresa Keough, **Charles E. Merrill Trust;** Francis Patrick LaRocca, Jr., **Stephen P. Dorsey Memorial** (funded by an anonymous Foreign Service Officer); Teodor Roger Lopatkiewicz, **Paris Fund;** Lorene Elizabeth Ludy, **New York Times Foundation;** Patricia Lynn Malchow, **AAFSW;** Catherine Denise Marshall, **George H. De Mange Memorial;** Laure Emily Mattos, **H. Earle Russell, Sr., Memorial;** Lawrence Francis McAuliffe, **William Benton in honor of Charles W. Yost;** William Murray Miller, **Louise Moore Rawlings Memorial;** Nancy Gabrielle Muller, **AAFSW;** Patrick Ludwig Neat, **Bruce and Dione Patchen Memorial;** Robert Bernard Nolan, **American Women's Group of Bonn/Bad Godesberg;** Stephen James Nolan, **Charles E. Merrill Trust;** Devon O'Neill Parr, **Gertrude Stewart Memorial;** Paul Manning Price, **AAFSW;** Robin Stephanie Rick, **Maurice L. Stafford Memorial;** Lynn Elaine Roman, **AAFSW;** Anna Maria Shetterly, **John Gordon Mein Memorial;** Jenny B. Shetterly, **Charles E. Merrill Trust.**

And, Judith R. Sillari, **AAFSW;** Kathryn Susan Smith, **Foreign Service Wives in Iran;** Sidney Benita Sowell, **Wilbur J. Carr Memorial;** Judith Catherine Springer, **American Women's Group in Yaounde;** Susan Louise Springer, **American Women's Club of Berlin** (John F. Kennedy F.S. Scholarship); Michael Joseph Supple, **Herbert Peck Fales Memorial;** Richard Charles Tilson, **AAFSW;** Edward Andrew Tsoy, **Jefferson Patterson Scholarship;** Jan Tueller, **Wilbur J. Carr Memorial;** Andrew Leslie Turner, **John Campbell White Memorial;** Mary Kathleen Turner, **Isabel Preston Hill Memorial;** Susan Deane Turner, **Richard Hallock Davis Memorial;** Rebecca Louise Wagner, **AAFSW;** Andrew Blanchard Watson, **Timberlake Scholarship;** George William Wellde, Jr., **AAFSW;** Moon Yon Whang, **Vietnam Memorial.**

In addition to the memorial scholarships listed above, contributions were received in memory of the following: Dean G. Acheson, Keith E. Angell, William Dawson, Laetitia Shelby Dickinson, Magdalen G. H. Flexner, Thomas G. Murdock, Jameson Parker, Francis B. Stevens, Llewellyn E. Thompson, Ann Tienken.

New Editorial Board Member



Harriett S. Crowley, Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Population and Humanity, AID, has just joined the **Journal** Editorial Board. Mrs. Crowley brings a background of wide experience in the communications world to the **Journal.** She published a weekly newspaper, the Hawaii **Sentinel,** from 1935 to 1941, worked for OWI from 1941-43 as a Defense Information Writer and served as Women's News Editor of the New York **Times** from 1943-46.

In 1946 Mrs. Crowley originated the Women's National News Service, of which she was co-owner and editor, directing a daily syndicate service for nine years with 70 correspondents in the US and abroad.

AAFSW NEWS

The opening meeting of the AAFSW will be a coffee, Tuesday, October 10, at 10 AM, at the State Department. Open to all members and potential members, this session will offer a view of the redecorated 8th floor, a chance to see friends and sign up for AAFSW activities (Languages, Book Fair, Writers' Group, etc.).

The new officers under Mrs. William Leonhart, AAFSW president, urge members to bring eligible friends who may want to join. The Board would like to remind all Foreign Service women that meetings are held on the second Tuesday of each month, October through May, and you may join at any meeting or, better yet, call or write Membership Chairman, Mrs. Robert S. Steven, 7118 Hadlow Ct., Springfield, Va. Tel: 451-9087.

AAFSW NEWS

Ambassador E. E. Palmer not only collects rare books, he gives them away—to the annual Book Fair held by the Association of American Foreign Service Women. This year he is Honorary Chairman of the Fair, to be held October 17-20.

Ambassador Palmer's wife, the late Eno Palmer, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Book Fair. She contributed generously from the start of this AAFSW effort to raise scholarship funds for the children of American foreign service employees. The Ambassador has continued this interest in the Fair, sending large numbers of valuable books every year.

This year his contributions included an **Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux,** Vol. IV (1772), which would have proved more interesting to jewel thieves than to bird lovers, if looters had been inclined to browse in the library of an 18th century French woman. The first 24 pages are glued together, a hole cut from their center, making a fine repository for jewelry.

Ambassador Palmer now resides at 640 Lynwood Drive, San Bernardino, Calif. After serving as Ambassador to Afghanistan until late 1948, and following his retirement, he served from 1950 to 1952 as US Representative to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, in Beirut. Last year, at a vigorous 84, he travelled extensively through the Near and Middle East and North Africa. He continues to correspond with many associates and friends in the Foreign Service.

Co-chairmen of the Book Fair, Mrs. Edward Streator and Mrs. Thomas Recknagel, have received the Ambassador's acceptance of their invitation to act as Honorary Chairman.

"We are the honored ones," said Mrs. Recknagel. "Ambassador Palmer's interest in the Fair, and support of our efforts, has encouraged all those who have contributed and whom we hope will contribute books this year to the sole fund-raising event sponsored by the Association."

New to FSJ Editorial Board



Joel M. Woldman, 34, is Deputy Policy Officer in the Office of the Assistant Director for South Asia at USIA, where he has responsibility for Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma and Pakistan. Mr. Woldman entered the Foreign Service in 1966 and has served abroad at Karachi and Rawalpindi between 1966 and 1970 as American Center Director.

While on detail to the Department of State in 1970-71, he did political analysis on Pakistan in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and then was Country Officer for Pakistan in NEA/PAB.

He holds a masters degree and a doctorate in Political Science from the University of Michigan and did his undergraduate work at Brandeis. Field research for his doctoral dissertation was carried out in India and the United Kingdom under a grant from the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Fellowship Program.

Birthday Celebration

The members of the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, of which Loy Henderson is President, gave a dinner to celebrate his 80th birthday on June 28. Ambassador Robert Murphy was master of ceremonies, General Alfred Gruenther was the principal speaker and appropriate remarks were made by the honored guest, Loy Henderson. Letters were read from the President, the Secretary of State, Under Secretary Irwin, former Secretary Rusk and former Under Secretary Douglas Dillon.

The American Foreign Service Association presented Life Memberships in the Association to Ambassadors Henderson and Murphy.

PORSCHE BMW AUDI SAAB VW RENAULT FIAT VOLVO TRIUMPH MERCEDES JAGUAR

Beat Stateside prices!

All European cars delivered stateside or in Europe at special factory prices. We arrange every detail. For complete information send for our free 60 page Master Catalog. Please indicate whether you require delivery in U.S. or in Europe.

FSJ-90

Name_____

Social Security #_____

Address_____

Place of Delivery_____

Date of Rotation_____

NEMET AUTO INTERNATIONAL
153-03 Hillside Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432
Tel: (212) 523-5858

WHERE TO LIVE IN WASHINGTON?

If you're not familiar with the Washington area, the nice folks in our 10 offices (inside and outside the beltway) will show you around. New homes, resales, and recreation communities.

VIRGINIA:
6510 Arlington Blvd., Falls Church
9001 Braddock Rd., Springfield
1984 Chain Bridge Rd., McLean
310 Pelham St., Fredericksburg
Oddfellows Bldg., Marshall

MARYLAND:
2600 University Blvd., Wheaton
11125 Rockville Pike, Rockville
6480 New Hampshire Ave., Takoma Park

FREE—Complete relocation kit!
Write any office or call
(202) 659-7155.

SHANNON & LUCHS

REALTORS ESTABLISHED 1906

travel-pak

COVERS STOLEN LUGGAGE, FIRE DAMAGE, BODILY INJURY LIABILITY, BREAKING AND ENTERING, SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS, PET LIABILITY, LIGHTNING DAMAGE, TRANSIT WAR RISKS, PROPERTY DAMAGE LIABILITY, MARRING, DENTING, CHIPPING, SCRATCHING, OVERTURNING, SINKING, TENANT'S LIABILITY, HURRICANE, FLOOD, SPORTS LIABILITY, EXPLOSION, VANDALISM, ROBBERY, DISAPPEARANCE, STORAGE COVERAGE, EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, LOSSES BY AIR, RAIL, MARINE, ETC., PILFERAGE, WINDSTORM, . . . *and even more. If you're overseas or about to move there, send for our free TRAVEL-PAK Brochure. Call or write today.*



James W. Barrett Company, Inc.
Insurance Brokers
1140 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone 202-296-6440

UNDERWRITERS SERVICE, INC. OFFICES
SAN FRANCISCO • OAKLAND • WASHINGTON • NEW YORK • HONOLULU