

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1973

60 CENTS



The Foreign Service Honors Its Dead . . .



President Nixon Views Memorial Plaques

VIETNAM 1967
DERICK J ABRAMSON
VIETNAM 1968
THOMAS M. COMPERTZ
VIETNAM 1968
JOHN T. MCCARTHY
VIETNAM 1968
KERMIT J. KRAUSE
VIETNAM 1968
FREY S. LUNDSTEDT
VIETNAM 1968
ROBERT R. LITTLE
VIETNAM 1968
STEPHEN H. MILLER
VIETNAM 1968
HUGH C. LOBIT
VIETNAM 1968
RICHARD A. SCHENK
VIETNAM 1968
MICHAEL MURPHY
VIETNAM 1968
JOHN GORDON MEIN
GUATEMALA 1968
GEORGE B. GAINES
VIETNAM 1969
ROBERT P. PERRY
JORDAN 1970
DAN A. MITRIONE
URUGUAY 1970
LEO ALLEN NOEL JR.
JUDAN 1973
GEORGE CURTIS MOORE
SUDAN 1973

The Foreign Service Honors Its Dead . . .

President Nixon Views Memorial Plaques

Introduction by Thomas D. Boyatt

On behalf of the American Foreign Service Association and Foreign Service men and women everywhere, permit me to recall, Mr. President, a most eloquent passage from your first inaugural address. On that occasion you said:

Where peace is unknown, make it welcome;
where peace is fragile, make it strong;
where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

We want you to know, Mr. President, that your Foreign Service fully shares your sentiments and fully supports these goals. We are most appreciative of the very great honor you do us by your presence here on this occasion in memory of our friends and colleagues who have given their lives in the cause of peace.

Excerpted from The President's Remarks at a State Department Ceremony in Memory of Cleo A. Noel, Jr., and George Curtis Moore. March 6 1973

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to come here to express appreciation to all of you who have worked in the cause of peace in this Department, some for many years and some, of course, more recently.

I, of course, regret that my presence here is on an occasion which is mingled also with sadness. You will note the plaque that we have just witnessed here a moment ago, and you will note the last two names on the plaque.

We have all read what has happened and heard about it over these past few days. I think you should know that tomorrow, in respect to these men who have died in the service of their country and in service of the cause of peace for the whole world, that the flags, not only in embassies abroad and in the State Department, but all over America, have been ordered to be at half-mast. I have taken this extraordinary action of lowering flags even though the individuals involved were not Members of the Congress or members of the Cabinet, where normally such action is only taken, because I think it is well for the Nation to be reminded of how much we owe to the men and women who serve America in the cause of peace as members of our Foreign Service, in the civilian activities that we have in farflung areas around the world.

I think of these two men, Ambassador Noel, Mr. Moore, of the country to which they are accredited, the Sudan; I think of the Minister from the Sudan whom I saw this morning. I know that the incident which led to their death was one that was not of this country's making and not of theirs, and yet, they were willing to take this risk. And for their bravery and for their courage, our country can be very thankful.

Secretary Rogers had told me a few months ago that a survey made of the Foreign Service, in which he had asked what would be the attitude of a member of the Foreign Service, in the event he were captured and held hostage—what would be the attitude as to what our Government should do. It was unanimous that the United States Government should not submit to demands for blackmail or ransom.

That is a reaction of courageous men and women. That was the attitude of these two men. They were willing to risk their own lives in order that others might live. They were willing also to have their Government take a position of no compromise with terrorism because they knew that once that compromise was entered into that it could lead to consequences that would be far worse in the years ahead.

I was noting a well-intentioned comment by one individual who raised a question as to whether the United States, in this instance, might have been better advised to bring pressure on another government to release 60 who were held in prison in order to save the lives of two.

I disagree with that. All of us would have liked to have saved the lives of these two very brave men, but they knew and we knew that in the event we had paid international blackmail in this way, it would have saved their lives, but it would have endangered the lives of hundreds of others all over the world, because once the individual, the terrorist, or others, has a demand that is made, that is satisfied, he then is encouraged to try it again. And that is why the position of your Government has to be one in the interest of preserving life, of not submitting to international blackmail or extortion any place in the world.

That is our policy and that is the policy we are going to continue to have.

Ladies and gentlemen, today we honor two brave men and all of the others here on this plaque and the one on the other side, who have given their lives for their country while serving in the Foreign Service. And today, too, we not only express the policy of the United States of America, but we use this opportunity respectfully to suggest that other governments throughout the world, rather than standing aside, should join with us in taking this firm line against extortion and against international blackmail by terrorist groups. . . .

Finally, on this particular day, may I close as I began, by expressing the deep appreciation of the President of the United States and all that the President represents in his office for your service to the country.

The American Foreign Service Association, on behalf of all the men and women of the Foreign Service, expresses its profound sorrow and shock at the brutal tragedy of today's senseless murders in Khartoum. To the families of these dedicated public servants, Ambassador Cleo Noel and Curt Moore—our friends and colleagues—we extend our deepest sympathy in a loss shared by Foreign Service people everywhere.

The tragic conjunction of the deaths of these two fine Foreign Service officers and the recent release from years in Vietnam prisons of a number of other Foreign Service officers will remind all Americans that our country is well served by her Foreign Service. Diplomacy today is conducted by thousands of Foreign Service people and their families who daily face unique and real dangers as they do their duty.—AFSA Press Release, March 2, 1973.

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1973: VOLUME 50, NO. 4

The Problem of International Order 13

EARL C. RAVENAL

The Dollar's Shadow 16

JIM HOAGLAND

How Much Conventional Force Do We Need? 18

BERNARD BRODIE

Who Said That? 6

WILLIAM LENDERKING, JR.

Going to Prague 19

P.B.

Communication Re: The Cone System 29

DEPARTMENTS

Editorials 4

The Bookshelf 24

AFSA News 33

Letters to the Editor 38

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*

CLARKE SLADE, *Educational Consultant*

HELEN VOGEL, *Committee Coordinator*

C. B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*

Journal Editorial Board

TERESITA C. SCHAFER, *Chairman*

RALPH S. SMITH, *Vice Chairman*

FREDERICK QUINN

EDWARD M. COHEN HARRIET S. CROWLEY

G. RICHARD MONSEN JOEL M. WOLDMAN

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*

McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

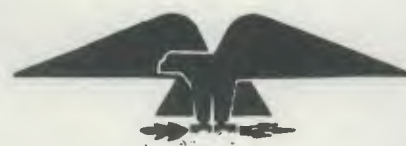
JAMES C. SASMOR, 295 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 532-6230

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. International Representatives.

©American Foreign Service Association, 1973. The Foreign Service Journal is published twelve times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, 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.

**AMERICA
ON \$1.17 A DAY.**

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

**AMERICA
ON \$1.17 A DAY.**

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	\$42.00	\$46.00	\$56.00	\$64.00	\$72.00	\$82.00	\$88.00	\$98.00	\$106.00	\$116.00	\$124.00
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 <i>House Trailers</i> (Third party coverage is automatically provided on <i>utility trailers</i> —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. FSO 43

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 _____

What Does It Mean?

AMBASSADOR CLEO NOEL turned to his host, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, thanked him for his hospitality, and with his DCM Curt Moore, was led away to his death. In their final act, these men displayed to their captors, to the other hostages, and to a watching world an inestimable courage and the highest form of dedication.

Their true effectiveness as diplomats, may, in fact, have made them more vulnerable. Their sacrifice had an unparalleled impact in the Sudan and among friends throughout the Arab world. Cleo Noel, through patience and an acute awareness of scene and people, maintained links between this country and the Sudan through some of the darkest days in 1967. He won the admiration of many. He encouraged the undoubted envy of some and the hatred of a few. So, too, with Curt Moore. Entering a situation clearly adverse to his mission, he worked quietly and with impressive effectiveness to re-open relations with the Sudan. He was on the eve of departing after finishing a task crowned by success.

Both men were aware of the perils of their tasks and did not shrink from them. Both knew that, while the United States would, in the event of their capture, make every effort to effect their release, no major political concessions would be made or pressed on others. Cleo Noel had calmly discussed this contingency before he went to Khartoum. He well realized and agreed that the United States has no other choice in such situations if any degree of international order is to be preserved.

Caught, throughout their careers, in the vortex of the Middle East problem, both men retained a clear view of their country's interest and a balanced, but sympathetic understanding of those among whom they lived. They projected in life, and in dying, that particular ability to keep in focus their own task and the viewpoint of others which is the mark of true diplomacy.

In that tragic week in early March, Cleo and Curt reminded us all that ours is not just a job, nor even just a profession. It is a calling. It requires a special spirit with the added dimension of courage and dedication. At stake are not only the interests of one's own country, but the fundamental world-wide relationships with others on which peace and progress must rest.

Statement by Secretary Rogers On the Deaths of Ambassador Noel and Mr. Moore

No words can express our shock and grief at the senseless and barbarous murder of Ambassador Noel and Mr. Moore. They were men of great courage and dedication who served their nation with distinction in the diplomatic service.

Mrs. Rogers and I join all of their colleagues in the Department of State, and particularly those who serve with such distinction in the diplomatic service, in extending our deepest sympathies to the wives and families of these brave men.

About the April Issue

OUR main feature this month consists of two views on US security policy: Earl Ravenal reflects on the way the global power structure is likely to shape up during the coming years, and Bernard Brodic has some unorthodox views on nuclear strategy. In addition, we present an excerpt from Jim Hoagland's recent book on South Africa. Finally, as part of our continuing dialogue on the personnel system, a group of officers has responded to recently published criticism of the cone system by explaining the management requirements which led to its implementation.

GROUP LIFE INSURANCE

The Association announces with pleasure that our members are keeping up their record longevity and therefore the Reversionary rate for the year March 1, 1973-February 28, 1974 will continue at 50%.

This is added coverage without additional premium for our members and for this insurance year a basic \$17,500 policy will pay \$26,250, a \$5,000 policy \$7,500 and others in proportion.

The Reversionary does not apply to AD&D, Additional \$10,000 or Family Coverage.

For details of this remarkable policy available, with some limitations, to FSOs, FSIOs, FSRs, and FSSs of State, USIA and AID, write or telephone for information.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

SUITE 1305
1750 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
PHONE 298-7570



All risks insurance

**\$1.50 per
\$100 per annum**

**WORLDWIDE
(including USA)
NO DEDUCTIBLE
Underwritten at
Lloyds**

For very many years U.S.O.I.B. Ltd. have insured members of the Foreign Service. First class service and claims settlements.

Complete and return coupon for full details.

To : United Services Officers' Insurance Brokers Ltd.
Clanville Lodge, Andover, Hampshire, England.

Please airmail details of your special policy for serving members of the Foreign Service.

Name _____

Address _____

**"Anytime it will serve the interest of
the United States to recognize
Communist China we will do it."**

Who said that?

WILLIAM LENDERKING

SOME people are unable to resist the temptation to make predictions and issue oracular statements. When predictions prove accurate, the men who uttered them step forward to accept their just accolades; when they prove false or embarrassing, the authors are usually nowhere to be found.

Here are ten predictions and statements by prominent people. Can you name the authors? Since subscribers to the Foreign Service JOURNAL are *ipso facto* presumed to be experts, any score below 100 percent is failing. Bonus self-esteem points for guessing the occasion, context, date, or other semi-relevant details.

1. "(We have) always believed that the only way to prevent a global war of annihilation is to normalize relations among states regardless of their social systems. This being so, we must engage in a mutual search for ways of accomplishing this."

- a. Jawaharlal Nehru
- b. Chou En-lai
- c. Nikita Khrushchev
- d. Lyndon Johnson

2. By 1975, "I see Vietnam, after the war's ending, neutralized with a Laos-type setup, and India and Japan, with new young leadership, as a great counterpoise to China and with their independence guaranteed by America and Russia."

- a. Joseph Alsop
- b. Max Lerner
- c. Joseph Kraft
- d. William Buckley

3. "By 1965, man will circle the moon and return to earth. By 1969, man will land on the moon. By 1979, we will be building roads on the moon."

- a. Wernher Von Braun
- b. Willy Ley
- c. John F. Kennedy
- d. Willy Loman

4. "The Administration's true aim is not to secure freedom for the South Vietnamese people, but rather to contain China. And that is leading the United States into a massive land war on the mainland which the United States cannot win. America might have as many as 300,000 troops in Indochina within six months the way things are going now."

- a. I. F. Stone
- b. George McGovern
- c. Mark Hatfield
- d. Hans Morgenthau

Smith-Waterhouse and Company
publishers of the
"National Land Review"

a publication specializing
in creating a central
market for the sale of
land in key growth areas
of the United States



Smith-Waterhouse & Company
Publishing · Marketing Research

847 WEST NORTH AVENUE / PITTSBURGH, PA. 15233

travel-pak

Personal Effects & Liability Insurance for People Living Overseas

Whether you're coming—
going—or living overseas,
TRAVEL-PAK is an insurance
policy specifically for you.

TRAVEL-PAK protects
against property loss under
almost any circumstance,
including:

Breakage - Fire - Theft -
Shipping or Storage Loss -
Denting or Chipping -
Pilferage - Explosion -
Vandalism - Natural Disaster

And, the annual premium
is about what you would pay
for shipping insurance alone.

In addition, TRAVEL-PAK
provides up to \$100,000
protection against liability
suits resulting from bodily
injury, property damage,
pet's liability and much more.

If you aren't
protected now,
you should be.

For more
information,
contact us today.

To: James W. Barrett Co., Inc.



1140 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • U.S.A.

Please send me your free brochure on Travel-Pak. I
understand there is no obligation and no salesman will
call.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____ ZONE OR ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

Telephone (202) 296-6440

5. "It's a pretty safe bet that, twenty years from now (1978), all the world's over-populated and underdeveloped countries will be under some form of totalitarian rule—probably by the Communist Party."

- a. Fidel Castro
- b. Alvin Toffler
- c. Aldous Huxley
- d. Gunnar Myrdal

6. "On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States. . . . Whether we like it or not, the Russians will try to socialize their sphere of influence just as we try to democratize our sphere of influence. . . ."

- a. Averell Harriman
- b. George Kennan
- c. Henry Wallace
- d. Robert Taft

7. "Anytime it will serve the interest of the United States to recognize Communist China we will do it. We are not controlled by dogma or anything of that sort."

- a. Dean Acheson
- b. Adlai Stevenson
- c. Walter Lippman
- d. John Foster Dulles

8. "The world cannot be safe until China changes. Thus our aim, to the extent that we can influence events, should be to induce change. The way to do this is to persuade China that it must change: that it cannot satisfy its imperial ambitions, and that its own national interest requires a turning away from foreign adventuring and a turning inward toward the solution of its own problems."

- a. Anthony Eden
- b. Richard Nixon
- c. Dean Rusk
- d. Joseph Stilwell

9. In a study of how to cope with nuclear devastation and how to prepare for it, research on "the survival of populations in environments similar to overcrowded shelters (concentration camps, Russian and German use of crowded freight cars, troopships, crowded prisons, etc.)" and "investigation of the use of sedation and chemical tranquilization for long periods and for possible use in shelters" was proposed by

- a. Nelson Rockefeller
- b. Edward Teller
- c. Lewis Strauss
- d. Herman Kahn

10. "In American policy toward the world there is no place for grudging or limited participation, and any attempt to cut our losses by setting bounds to our policy can only turn us backward onto the deadly road toward self-defeating isolation."

- a. Woodrow Wilson
- b. Henry Stimson
- c. Walt Rostow
- d. Douglas MacArthur

Answers on page 26

FOREIGN SERVICE AND USIA OFFICERS SAVE MONEY WITH USAA INSURANCE.

USAA Insures Homes, Household Goods, Automobiles, Personal Possessions, Boats, your Personal Liability, and your Life*. And for less money than most other companies. Initial premiums are low. Dividends (not guaranteed, but paid every year since 1924) make the cost even lower.

Most of USAA's coverages follow right along with policyholder-members when they go overseas. Household Goods, Personal Articles (for expensive cameras, furs, silverware, jewelry, and similar items), Personal Liabil-

ity, and Boatowners policies offer worldwide coverage. Auto insurance is available in many foreign countries. As a career Ambassador or Minister, or commissioned officer in the Foreign Service or U.S. Information Agency, you are eligible to apply for insurance. Once you have a policy with USAA, you are always eligible to apply for more insurance at any time, even if you leave the Foreign Service. Use the coupon to request information on USAA's policies.



*THROUGH A WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARY OF USAA.

SEND INFORMATION FOR INSURANCE CHECKED BELOW



USAA Building,
San Antonio,
Texas 78288

UNITED SERVICES AUTOMOBILE ASSN. (A reciprocal interinsurance exchange)

- ☐ Automobile
- ☐ Household Goods and Personal Effects — Worldwide (clothing, china, cameras, golf clubs, etc.)
- ☐ Comprehensive Personal Insurance (Liability)
- ☐ Renters Insurance (combination Household Goods and Comprehensive Personal Insurance.)
- ☐ Personal Articles Floater (Expensive single items — jewelry, furs, art, etc.)
- ☐ Boatowners _____ (STATE)
- ☐ Homeowners or Dwelling Fire and

Allied Perils _____ (STATE)

USAA LIFE INSURANCE CO. (A wholly-owned subsidiary of USAA)

- ☐ Life Insurance
- Date of Birth _____ Day _____ Month _____ Year _____

(Life ins. not available in Ohio)

(Available only to Career Ambassadors, Career Ministers, and commissioned officers of the Foreign Service and the United States Information Agency, including those who are retired.) 3083

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE WITHIN SPACE BELOW

Full Name _____ Personal Rank and Class* _____ Soc. Sec. No. _____

Street Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Area Code Phone Number _____ USAA Membership No. _____
(If Stateside) ☐ Not a USAA Member

*R and S Classes not eligible unless holding a Presidential commission

(There is no obligation)

Going To Prague

Coaldust and ice on the roads
As I zoomed over Boehmerwald, New Year's Day
Leaving my loves in the Dolomites
And glanced through fogged windows at long pine woods:
Shall I find solace hiking in Bohemia?

I grow old, Father William
And would stand on my head
Reverse my tread
And go be a young man in Panama
Or rush down the mild Moselle at dawn
To be a private in Lorraine
With a wife as young as I was
In a green and simpler Continent,
Our children almost born.

Now my son I held in the palm of my hand
Is tall and a skiing devil:
Light in the snow and slow in arithmetic,

A different boy from Midwest me
And my thumb is stiff on the pen
And my country shuddering unmerc.

I told him at the Munich airport
What Rosenstock-Huessy told me:
Go build your life with God or not
But remember the saint is only such
Because his good lives after him;
Otherwise you die. He laughed,
At such uncanny news.

Then he flew to America
And I through fogs on the autobahns
Came to the land of the safe oppressed socialists.
Prague Castle looms above us all
In the winter ruins of Hus
The smoked despair of Kafka
The hearth of horrid years.

—P.B

A sense of security, once you've arrived.

Security has been helping government families make their way around the world since 1890. The move immortalized here was from Washington to Shanghai in 1948.

A more recent tradition is insured security once you've arrived. Our Government Service Policy covers household and personal effects against fire, theft, mysterious disappearance, windstorms, floods and breakage during your stay anywhere in the world. (When the Ambassador to Haiti's home burned in Port-au-Prince several decades ago, our check for his entire valuation was in the mail before the smoke cleared.)

The annual premium is the same, whether you're in Madagascar or Madrid. Worldly goods valued at \$10,000 would be covered at a rate of \$130 per year (and lower to AFSA members.) The policy can cover insurance in transit and a separate all-risk auto transit policy is also available.

For specific rate information, please contact our Insurance Department.

Security Storage Company of Washington

MAIN OFFICE: 1701 Florida Ave. N.W., Wash., D.C. 20009
PHONE: (202) 234-5600 / MARYLAND: Bethesda - Chevy Chase, Marlow Heights, White Oak / VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean / PHILIP LARNER GORE, President.





1973 Lincoln Continental

Summitry '73 by Ford.

The fine art of summitry has seldom been practiced with such authority as by the 1973 Lincoln Continental and the Ford LTD. Each is a leader in its own realm. The Lincoln Continental . . . the final step up around the world. The Ford LTD . . . a better idea in luxury and quiet.

Both are available at exceptional savings when you exercise your diplomatic discount privileges as a member of the U.S. Foreign Service. Order now. Save now. Arrange delivery stateside or overseas.

For full information:

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

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



1973 Ford LTD Brougham

FORD • TORINO • THUNDERBIRD • MUSTANG • MAVERICK
• PINTO • MERCURY • MARQUIS • MONTEREY • MONTEGO
• COUGAR • COMET • LINCOLN CONTINENTAL
• CONTINENTAL MARK IV



All 1973 cars must meet Federal Emission Standards before sale. See your Ford Dealer for details.

Works when you can't!

AFSA's Income Protection Plan Pays up to \$600.00 a month when you're sick or hurt and can't work!

Here's solid protection against the greatest single threat to your financial security — the loss of your income due to a disabling sickness or accident.

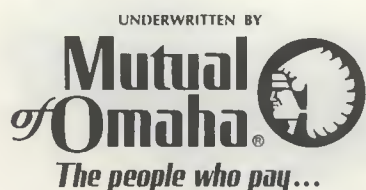
Your AFSA Income Protection plan provides you and your family with the emergency cash you need to live on when your regular income is cut off by disability.

This is TAX-FREE CASH you can use as you see fit — to buy groceries, make the house or car payments or take care of the numerous other expenses

that continue whether you're able to work or not.

What's more, because of its many liberal benefits and valuable extras at low Association Group rates, your AFSA plan gives you more for your money than comparable coverage purchased on an individual basis.

So get free facts on this outstanding plan today. Complete and mail the coupon below. You'll receive full details on this "must" protection without obligation.



Life Insurance Affiliate: United of Omaha

MUTUAL OF OMAHA INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: OMAHA, NEBRASKA

Joseph E. Jones, Administrator
1666 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Please rush me full details on AFSA's Disability Income Protection plan.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

the problem of INTERNATIONAL ORDER

EARL C. RAVENAL

AMERICA will spend the next decade or two digesting the experience of Vietnam. This process, and the diversity of the "lessons" that will be learned, may divide the country as the war itself has divided it. It has already generated a number of solutions and adjustments: some to refine the techniques of war that were applied to Vietnam, others to devise a diplomacy for the emerging phase of the international system.

Whether or not, in retrospect, America comes to consider the state of affairs brought about in Vietnam by arms and diplomacy to be worthy or satisfactory, there will probably remain a coalescence of opinion that we should avoid another encounter—similar or dissimilar—conducted as disadvantageously and indecisively, with as large a ration of destruction to others and injury to our own society and polity, and with as many risky points of proximity to ultimate disaster.

Earl C. Ravenal was Director of the Asian Division (Systems Analysis) in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1967 to 1969. He is now a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D. C. His articles on foreign policy and international affairs have appeared in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOREIGN POLICY, and other major professional and popular publications in the United States and abroad. He is co-author and editor of the recent book, "Peace With China? U. S. Decisions for Asia," and author of the forthcoming book, "Beyond the Balance of Power: Foreign Policy and International Order."

And yet, for various reasons, I do not believe that the solutions or adjustments envisioned within our foreign policy establishment cut deeply or sharply enough into the problem. Nor do I believe that our political system is even likely to produce a "correct" future orientation. I would not predict some early catastrophe; simply that this country, and the world, will need more than their deserved portion of luck to survive a series of near misses and oblique encounters, and stagger on from one half-intended crisis to the next half-effective resolution.

Thus far, the remedies projected by our foreign policy establishment are variations on the "world policeman" theme that many had reckoned—prematurely—to have been discredited: they would alter the means, the configuration, or the rationale—but not the fact—of intervention for the purpose of control. The military, for instance, would substitute new instruments of war. The Administration would restructure the international system around a balance of power. And the Administration's liberal opponents would change the criteria for defending other nations. All maintain the conviction—or the illusion—that the world can be policed, by us or by some agent to our satisfaction. In order to support this conviction or illusion, they invoke three kinds of mechanisms (singly or in some combination):

- The notion of the aseptic war. In this conception, the United States might rely unilaterally on its own

improved, and more remote, arms; or we might rely on the forces, especially the ground forces, of our allies. Here we would still be the policeman, but would count on more help from the victim of the crime. The Nixon Doctrine is an attempt to combine both of these approaches: to rely on more appropriate arms and more competent allies.

- The notion that "nothing is going to happen anyway"—therefore, the United States can act as policeman with little fear that our role will be activated.

- The notion that the international system itself will prevent or contain conflict—if we remain a member of the police force. Such schemes can be as utopian as blueprints for world government, or as realistic as cultivation of a balance of power. But they all rely on the structure, institutions, and rules of the system.

But these mechanisms and these reliances (on arms, allies, adversaries, and systems) will not permit us to perpetuate and perfect our control. In short, America's foreign policy establishment has not learned the ultimate lessons of Vietnam. Vietnam should have demonstrated the intractability of the international system to the exercise of American military force, and the exasperation of the American people with extended and ill-defined foreign adventures. Therefore, the hope of controlling events—the guiding image of 30 years of our foreign policies—is a mirage. The interna-

tional system will not permit it; our society will not sustain it. Vietnam indicates the need for a fundamentally changed attitude toward the world.

A NATION'S external policy problem has three components, deriving from the various "orders" of its environment: nature, power, and law.

The order of nature—the tangible ecological system, the domain of raw materials, energy, population, and pollution—exerts steadily increasing pressure, aggravated by the willful actions of human beings and their institutions. Individually, we are creating for each other our common fate.

The order of power—the political-military configuration of the system—poses the challenge to statesmen (to the extent that they wish to assume this challenge) of conducting worldwide institution-building in a context of individual state policy management. As long as the state system endures, regardless of its momentary institutions or dispensations of power, it will be characterized by the coexistence of diverse autonomies, probably not even arranged in some convenient distribution around a single mode of conduct.

The order of law—the abstract intellectual structure of rights, obligations, and restraints—offers the predicament of arranging a tolerable coordination of behavior in a system that lacks "law" in its fundamental sense.

This discussion will concentrate on the second of these environmental overlays, the order of power (though with overtones of international law and undercurrents of ecology), which I identify with "the international system."

Although a universal political authority is possible in theory—and ethical logic might indicate its "necessity"—it is discouraging to imagine the conditions in which it might be brought about and the modes in which it would operate. Therefore, in all present and foreseeable and even acceptable circumstances, the problem of order in the international system reduces to the problem of foreign policy of individual states: their reactions to the con-

ditions of the international environment, which are in turn the products of their policies and actions.

Further, our discussion of the international order of power converges on its political-military aspect. Despite all the hortatory and hopeful rhetoric about "other kinds of power," "non-military solutions," and "creative diplomacy," the structural forms of the international system are expressions of the possession and use of forcible power.

Other kinds of pressure, and other sources of influence, do not become critical for the structure of the system until they impinge on the security of nations and demand a political-military response.

In stark outline, there are only a few distinct conditions of the international system, representing various degrees and types of order or disorder, that are more or less "available" to individual nations—at least to the important or "essential" actors in the system—as alternative foreign policy objectives that might be realized through the conduct of the individual nations themselves:

- Universal domination by a single state—either a unitary state or an empire.

- A universal governing agency. There might be a single world government, but in a confederal—perhaps "democratic"—configuration. Such an organization would practice collective security through the delegation of powers and the contribution of forces and resources by its members or political subdivisions. Or there might be an oligarchical "concert of powers," perhaps on the model of the Concert of Europe established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The limiting form would be the tacit condominium of two super-powers. This range demonstrates that the underlying concert of effective power—not any particular institutional form—is the necessary, and virtually the sufficient, condition for a regime of collective security. Such a regime would last as long as, and function to the extent that, its guarantors were unanimous.

- A bipolar distribution of power into permanent rival blocs.

- A true, or multipolar, balance of power: an equilibrium among important independent nations

which act competitively in pursuit of national goals, but implicitly support the structural stability of the system as a whole. This "system" implies that the powers might ally to promote national ambitions, but also to counter the ambitions of other powers or coalitions that threaten to destabilize the overall system. (It might or might not admit the establishment and recognition of "spheres of influence" by each major participant.) A balance of power system, therefore, postulates a high degree of congruence—indeed, an identity—between the foreign policies of states and the structure of international order.

- A pluralism of unaligned sovereign states. The foreign policies of these states might be coordinated, in the sense of being parallel and reasonably predictable, through a significant degree of adherence to common principles of international law. There might also be partial international agreements and organizations. Despite these schemes and agencies of coordination, this would be a system of quasi-anarchy, in which one state cannot reliably control or negotiate other states' behavior, and therefore must insulate and hedge unilaterally to the point where it is substantially neutral toward a wide range of external outcomes.

This spectrum of five types of international system indicates two broad alternative models of national orientation and action: *control* and *adjustment*. The first four types of system, though disparate, suggest the model of shaping or restructuring the external environment, imposing one's own objectives upon the international system through cooperation or coercion. The last system, on the other hand, is the only one that suggests the model of self-reliantly adjusting to the system, rather than intrusively influencing it; hedging and insulating against the effects of the system, rather than attempting to control it.

At the present time three possible forms of the international system, with their appropriate institutions and foreign policy styles, are encompassed in a new Administration-liberal consensus. One—an authoritative international organization, dispensing collective security—still attracts advocacy by liberals; but it

rests on premises of unanimity and cooperation that are impossible in the present international setting.

The second—which persists more than vestigially in international institutions—is the bipolar orientation of opposing military blocs corresponding roughly to ideological differences. Advocates of this system would try to stem its present decay and to nurture and supplement existing alliances. But it is hard to see how the progressive disintegration of alliance systems can be arrested. The dissolution is fundamental, and probably irreversible.

The third possible variant of the international system that is included in the spectrum of the new consensus is the balance of power. This system deserves close attention, since it is a vehicle of the Administration's program to remedy past excessive behavior, bring expectations into line with realistic possibilities, impose stability on a more variegated power situation, and cope more coolly with future crises. But the balance of power is flawed as a concept and a policy. In some ways it is the most defective way of organizing and managing the international order.

It may be, for example the balance of power system is least hospitable to efforts for direly needed international cooperation, precisely because its overall mechanism depends on the exploitation of antagonisms among nations and the mobilization of international tensions to maintain stability and equilibrium. Closely related to this defect is the likelihood that the statesmen-managers of a balance of power system, while highly sensitive to changes in the order of political-military power, will be more oblivious to real pressures in the order of ecology, and more contemptuous of potential progress in the order of international law.

Furthermore—more than the other interventionist systems or policies—a balance of power system entails the kind of risks and responsibilities that are peculiarly unsuited to the character of this country, and a balance of power policy promotes an amoral type of interventionism that will fail, when severely tested, to command the respect and allegiance of the American people.

These vices of the balance of power are faults that are peculiar to an amorally motivated policy. But in its most general features the balance of power is hardly worse than the major alternatives that have preceded it for the past 30 years: the brief reign of collective security, and the long siege of bipolar confrontation. All are prone to two classic contradictions:

- Whether *animated* by amoral or moralistic motives, all interventionist systems and policies have their appropriate exercises in violent control: their police actions (collective security), or their inter-bloc tests (bipolar confrontation), or

The question of intervention reduces to this: how much of the world is a nation to make the object of its foreign policy?

their stabilizing measures (balance of power). In their *effect*, they are all exemplars of the ironic slogan: "Kill for Peace!"

- Nations that entertain extensive and demanding external policy objectives, in the face of opposition and instability in the international system, are unlikely to have the resources of material and will to implement or defend those objectives.

The question of intervention reduces to this: how much of the world is a nation to make the object of its foreign policy?

I would like to suggest several propositions: (1) The contradictions embodied in all the interventionist positions are such that, in the present or future international context, they are now impossible (collective security), are already transient (bipolar confrontation), or will prove to be transitory (balance of power). (2) The future evolution of the international system will be toward disintegration, to the point of unmanageable diffusion of effective political-military power and autonomy of purpose and will. (3) A corollary of the latter proposition

is that efforts by apparent powers or presumptive super-powers to impose either their specific will or some general regulatory regime will be increasingly counter-productive. (4) All the foregoing propositions suggest that nations—even the great powers—should aim, in their foreign policies, at more insulation from the demands of the system and from the outcomes of conflicts of other nations, rather than more strenuous attempts to control the conduct of other nations. And (5) the United States might want to anticipate—and, as an essential actor in the international system, thereby precipitate—such a transformation of the system by its own orientation and behavior.

To find a solution that differs fundamentally from any of the interventionist positions, we will have to transcend the limits of "responsible" debate defined by the Administration and the liberals. We will have to examine a different kind of position—a policy of non-intervention consistent enough to merit the status of a major alternative.

It would attempt to adjust America's society and polity to a world that has drifted away from the possibility of our control—a world marked by willful and tenuously governed states, perpetual pairs of regional antagonists, restive allies, and opportunistic if not implacable adversaries.

It would substitute avoidance of conflict for the conflict orientations of the other policies.

It would pose as neither "liberal" nor "anti-liberal"—but would hope to bury that distinction in a "post-liberal" foreign policy coalition.

And it would allow the exercise of comprehensible moral behavior, emphasizing international law as a system of principled and prudent self-restraint.

I would call such a position "strategic disengagement." Some would call it "isolationism" or "neo-isolationism"—evocative epithets, but prejudicial evaluations and inaccurate descriptions. But, by any label, strategic disengagement should not be summarily dismissed or condemned. It should be properly considered and debated as a potentially constructive and appropriate foreign policy orientation for the United States. ■

Examining the origins and maintenance of white power in Southern Africa and South Africa's links to the outside world, including the rapid growth of American investment.

The following is an excerpt from "South Africa—Civilizations in Conflict," a book by Jim Hoagland published by Houghton Mifflin Company last winter. Hoagland, a Washington Post staff correspondent who won the Pulitzer Prize for a series of articles on South Africa in 1970, examines the origins and maintenance of white power in Southern Africa in the book and in Chapter 13 discusses South Africa's links to the outside world. The focus of the chapter is the rapid growth of American investment in South Africa over the past decade and the increasing debate in the United States over American involvement with the government that has made apartheid a world wide synonym for racial intolerance. Hoagland examines the call by anti-apartheid groups for "disengagement," that is, a withdrawal of American diplomatic recognition and investment from South Africa at a time when, according to the author, the Nixon administration has moved to establish closer relations with the white minority government through a policy of "communication," which is set out in the chapter. The excerpt is the concluding part of Chapter 13, in which Hoagland addresses himself to what can be done to shape a realistic policy on South Africa:

It is important to recognize that South Africans have shown themselves to be highly sensitive to selective pressures that do not threaten the existing power structure. Sports is the best example of this. Another revealing reaction is South Africa's continuing testiness about the American government's refusal in 1967 to allow an aircraft carrier to call at a South African port after Pretoria made it clear that black American sailors aboard these ships would be discriminated against. This subject is often brought up by South Africans when they meet visiting Americans and reportedly was a major

Copyright © 1972 by Jim Hoagland, all rights reserved. From Chapter 13, "The Dollar's Shadow," of "South Africa—Civilization in Conflict," published by Houghton Mifflin Company.



THE DOLLAR'S SHADOW

JIM HOAGLAND

concern of Information Minister Mulder when he visited Washington in 1971.

A campaign of selective economic pressures is likely to be more effective than general calls for withdrawal. Companies like Polaroid, which have room to maneuver in their business dealings with South Africa, are more likely to respond to boycott campaigns. Against the larger companies, which are not going to withdraw anyway, campaigns organized on specific themes, such as equal pay for equal work, recognition of African unions, and shared facilities where these are not specifically outlawed, have a greater potential for embarrassing and thus getting concessions than demands for complete withdrawal.

The greatest unused potential for

American pressure currently lies within the labor movement. Although the racial aspects of the South African situation cannot be expected to attract a great amount of support within the generally conservative American labor movement, the crushing restrictions of South African law on collective bargaining might—especially in view of American business involvement there. This is an area activists in the United States must increasingly focus on if they are to be effective in exerting pressures.

"Communication" is in itself not a bad policy, but it is currently being used by the American government to reinforce, not change, the existing system in South Africa. The results of communication over the past two years, in terms of strength-

ening white attitudes and confidence in the ability of the whites to dominate the black majority, have been worse than the results of breaking off all contact would have been, in my view. Our government hardly communicates its concern about majority rule by bending its arms embargo to allow the sale of aircraft that will clearly be used against the black population in the event of an uprising or by giving all-white official receptions. Current American policy toward South Africa as it is practiced is at best naive, at worst cynical.

What can America do about South Africa? Even if a new administration, more sympathetic to African aspirations than the Nixon regime, were to come to power in the United States in the near future, it would have a difficult time in implementing policies that would bring fundamental political advancement for the black majorities of Southern Africa. The post-Vietnam period is not likely to be one in which the United States will be prepared to embark on physical intervention in South Africa. (Indeed, such direct intervention would probably prove to be unwise from all viewpoints. With whatever material support they can gather from whatever sources willing to supply it, the Africans of Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia, and South Africa must accomplish their own liberation if it is to have any value.)

Short of an invasion, a selective mixture of communication and disengagement is perhaps the most effective policy. Americans in official and private life should establish and maintain communication with those South Africans who clearly show that their ideals are at least vaguely compatible with America's commitment to ending racial hatred and discrimination. The State Department's arrangement of a tour for Chief Buthelezi is one of the few positive actions taken by the Nixon administration on Southern Africa and should be repeated for those Africans willing to speak out. There are a number of South African clergymen, academics, journalists, opposition politicians, and others whose dissent should be encouraged from outside.

Potential steps in a limited disengagement policy have been listed by

a number of persons and organizations and are well known to policy-makers within the Nixon administration, who do not seem disposed toward them. They include ending the sugar quota, extending the technical investment curbs enacted against South West Africa to South Africa, and the assigning of black Americans as Foreign Service officers to South Africa and black scientists or administrators to the NASA tracking station. (South African officials have publicly stated that American blacks will not be allowed to work at the tracking station. As a number of persons have pointed out, either this insult to America's own stated policy on racism should be removed, or the tracking station should be.) The

To opt for the fiction of eventual multiracialism, and to base a policy on that, as the State Department says we should, is to choose to have no policy at all and very little influence on what is going to happen . . .

United States should stop training South African scientists. As long as we are dealing in what should be instead of what is likely to be, the idea of a special tax on American profits made in South Africa to fund projects to help minority groups in the United States (with a special point of including Indians) should be mentioned.

The most important task confronting official policy-makers is to make a much clearer analysis of the forces at work in Southern Africa today. That analysis must be more honest than anything that has yet been produced in the executive branch of the American government. The real choice that remains in Southern Africa is white power or black power, as I have already stated. To opt for the fiction of eventual multiracialism, and to base a policy on that, as the State Department says we should, is to choose to have no policy at all and very little influence on what is going to happen in Southern Africa. Hav-

ing a nonpolicy does strengthen white power, since the whites are the stronger force and benefit the most from nonintervention by outside powers. But it does so in a way that gains the US little influence with those we are actually backing and helps perpetuate the present situation, which we so eloquently abhor.

A coherent American policy toward South Africa can flow from the decision that white power will survive in South Africa over the next half-century at least and that American interests lie in saying so. An open statement of this premise would have more advantages than merely supplying a refreshing contrast in candor to the present hypocritical stance of trying to deny that we are not involved in South Africa on the side of the whites. It would also make it clear that the best the United States or any other country can hope to help achieve is a co-existence of the races based on what the whites feel they must give up. This implies backing the grand design of apartheid and the creation of independent institutions that may help compensate Africans for their inability to exert influence through a central, unified government. To be more specific, and to use Buthelezi as the example again, the Zulu chief's suggestion in early 1972 that he wanted foreign aid should have been immediately and publicly noted by the American government, without waiting for Pretoria to say whether it was all right for the Bantustans to ask for foreign aid. Buthelezi is badly in need of reinforcing pressure, and America's role under a white-power-indefinitely analysis should be to supply it where it will help separate the races. This policy also necessarily implies that America will seek ways to exert pressure on the land question, for peaceful coexistence will be possible only if there is something approaching equity in the division of land and resources and the Bantustans are given a chance to work economically. The question of conferring "foreign" citizenship on South Africa's Bantu, and the new rights that should evolve from this, is another area in which America should seek to press the whites.

Would such a policy constitute

Continued on page 27

Rethinking on nuclear weapons, strategic realities and political objectives by the author of an important forthcoming book

"How Much Conventional Force Do We Need?"

BERNARD BRODIE

IN the minds of the great majority of people, nuclear weapons are objects of unmitigated horror, and so they are—in use. We know, however, that the leaders of all the nations possessing nuclear weapons are and have long been most keenly aware of their terrible potentialities. It requires a very naive person to argue that the Chinese, for example, being both Communist and also overpopulated, would be relatively unconcerned with the destruction of millions of their people through nuclear attack, though one does hear that argument. One also hears the contrary idea expressed by some political scientists that nuclear weapons, being so obviously unfit for military use, have become effectively "decoupled" from diplomacy. They may be effectively decoupled from many kinds of problems that traditionally concern diplomatists, but hardly from problems concerning war and peace.

There is, however, one politically important group within each of the major powers that naturally finds large conventional war capabilities

attractive and congenial, and this also happens to be the group that is professionally conditioned to feel a minimum of horror of nuclear weapons. To its members both kinds of force are necessary and therefore good. There was indeed a time when Admiral Radford played the Navy's spokesman in branding as "immoral" the addition of the Air Force to nuclear bombing and in calling the B-36 a "billion-dollar blunder." The Army at that time wanted freedom to use the nuclear bomb, which it persisted in calling "just another weapon," but it was yet to discover the perplexity of finding a role for itself in a really major nuclear war. All that, as time is measured in these matters, was long ago. It was before the Korean War, when the annual defense budget was being pushed down to something like \$12 billion. Today one would never speak of a whole bomber system as being a "billion-dollar blunder." A billion dollars would not even buy the flying prototype.

Views have changed in all the services. Today a naval officer speaks of the ship-building needs imposed upon us as a result of the Soviet naval buildup quite as though we might someday have to fight great naval campaigns comparable to those

of both world wars. Drew Middleton, writing in late 1971, quotes as follows a "senior admiral" on our needs in the event of a Soviet-American confrontation over the crisis in the Near East: "It would take a thousand ships—escort vessels and merchantmen—to support our North Atlantic allies in Europe if the Russians moved. We haven't got them, escorts or merchantmen. The name of the game in anti-submarine warfare is numbers." In the same article Middleton quotes senior officers of the other services in very much the same vein. Numbers and fighting morale are what count. Are nuclear weapons being considered in their views—the simple existence of those weapons, let alone their possible use? Mr. Middleton apparently neglected to ask, and his officer respondents failed to say. One would be rash to try to guess what role nuclear weapons were playing in the minds of these officers when they were speaking thus. We know that they are men who usually pride themselves on being "hard-nosed" on such matters as nuclear weapons as opposed to most civilians who are weak, and that anyone who is a "senior admiral" is no doubt proud of the Navy's great fleet of nuclear-powered *Polaris* and *Poseidon* submarines. But what does Mr. Middleton's admiral have in mind about the role and especially the effect of these submarines? Is he expecting them to deter *only* a massive strategic thermonuclear attack? Or is he stating his conception of needs for submarine escorts on the assumption that nuclear weapons are *also* being used?

Over a decade ago, Herman Kahn in his "On Thermonuclear War" spoke of the "quaint ideas" then still current among the military, including "the claim that in a thermonuclear war it is important to keep the sea lanes open." He mentions comparable ideas characteristic of the other services, and asks: "Where do such ideas come from?" His answer: "They generally result, it can be assumed, from doctrinal lags or from position papers that primarily reflect a very narrow departmental interest or which are the result of log-rolling compromises between several partisan departments of the government." He adds, too optimistically as it has turned out, "We are

Excerpted by arrangement with Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. from "War and Politics" by Bernard Brodie. Copyright © 1973 by Bernard Brodie.

fortunate that on the whole these views are no longer taken seriously even by many of the decision makers who sign the papers."

It is possible that in the quoted statement Kahn was correctly interpreting a trend that was later reversed. That is, officers who were at one time ready, or on the threshold of being ready, to admit that the conditions of a thermonuclear war were incompatible with the notions they had previously been advancing, subsequently became accustomed to the fact that nuclear weapons were not in fact being used even when American forces were at war, as in Korea and Vietnam. It also is likely that they have been affected selectively by the ideas of the conventional war-buildup school, that is, that they have absorbed gratefully the views that the United States would need as many ships, tanks, guns, aircraft as of yore, without necessarily accepting the basic assumption behind those views. That basic assumption is that we can have a World War III on something like a World War II scale without thermonuclear weapons being used. This is the same as saying that existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons cannot reliably deter such a war, let alone a lesser war.

Some help to our conception of what is still going on in official thinking is perhaps offered by the posture statement of March 1971 offered by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, concerning which one may assume that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had a greater hand in its preparation or at least in approval of it than they were accustomed to having under Secretary McNamara. In this statement Secretary Laird presented a "spectrum of conflict" embracing four categories of warfare, each of which allegedly requires its own special kind of deterrence. These are:

1. "Strategic nuclear war," in deterring which "primary reliance will continue to be placed on US strategic deterrent forces."
2. "Theater nuclear war," in deterrence of which "the US also has primary responsibility, but certain of our allies are able to share this responsibility by virtue of their own nuclear capabilities" [de Gaulle thus receives posthu-

mous vindication].

3. "Theater conventional warfare—for example, a *major war in Europe*" [italics added in the latter phrase] for which deterrence responsibility will be shared by "US and allied forces," obviously conventional forces.
4. "Sub-theater or localized warfare." Here follows some "Nixon Doctrine" language.

Then on the next page, Secretary Laird adds the following:

US strategic forces relate primarily to the deterrence of a strategic nuclear attack. They also serve an important role, together with theater and tactical nuclear responsibility capabilities, in deterring conflict below the level of general nuclear war.

However, *as the last two decades have demonstrated* [italics added], reliance on a nuclear capability alone is by no means sufficient to inhibit or deter aggression. A sufficient nuclear capability must be coupled with a sufficient conventional capability in both our own forces and those of our allies. This conventional capability must be adequate to meet aggression in the sophisticated environment which would be expected in a conflict with the Warsaw Pact. If these NATO forces are to deter this type of aggression, they must be capable of confronting it with such capabilities as strong armor and anti-tank forces, appropriate air power for air superiority and ground combat support, strong naval forces to support NATO's flanks, and other combat support forces.

There we have it. There is really no significant difference here from the old McNamara doctrine, including the insistence that "the last two decades have demonstrated" that a "nuclear capability alone is by no means sufficient to inhibit or deter aggression." Not even to *inhibit* it, let alone deter it—and the insertion of that uncalled for word *alone*, as though we have *ever* been limited to nuclear forces alone. Then the litany continues in the style to which we have been long accustomed. What is

it that the last two decades have demonstrated? Simply that the United States can engage itself in a Korean and a Vietnam War and not use nuclear weapons, despite its own possession of them. What has it demonstrated about Soviet aggression against western Europe? Nothing, except that we certainly cannot charge that nuclear weapons have failed to be inhibiting! . . .

To return to Drew Middleton's "senior admiral": we do not know whether he is restating the old-fashioned needs for keeping the sea lanes open on the assumption that nuclear weapons not only will not be used but will also fail to deter a large-scale conventional war, or whether he feels they will be used but should nevertheless not reduce seriously the need for the naval functions he wishes to preserve. What we can say, however, is that in either case the chances are overwhelming that he is wrong. I am suggesting, in other words (for what I fear is not the first time during the last quarter century) that nuclear weapons do by their very existence in large numbers make obsolete the use of and hence need for conventional forces on anything like the scale of either world war.

But how can one prove it to the satisfaction of those who make the governing decisions? Devices like war gaming are of no use in determining what deters what—though they may be of some utility in determining what operations remain feasible and necessary under certain limited and specified uses of nuclear weapons. The arguments against the admiral depend mostly on a scrupulous interpretation of experience, but they are also partly intuitive—as *his* arguments are entirely—and superiority in intuition unfortunately bears no external markings. Many indeed believe that in these matters superiority in intuition does have conspicuous markings, namely, a military uniform, with appropriate badges of high rank. But history, especially very recent history, suggests otherwise.

The military officer's intuition on these matters might be more trustworthy if we could rely on him to be more objective as well as more imaginative. That the existence of vast nuclear capabilities, based both on land and sea, should greatly

qualify the need for the kind of capabilities that were essential in two world wars, in both of which we had, among other huge problems, that of protecting surface shipping from heavy submarine attack, would be easier for him to accept if his desires and hence emotions were less involved. He also hates to be outdistanced by the Russians in any category in which he has been accustomed to being superior, like surface naval ships. Because the case against the need for superiority in all these items cannot be finally proved, why not spend the money? One should on the other hand ask: If the Russians are making a mistake, and their record in this respect is no better than ours, why must we follow them in it?

With the senior Air Force officer we have a special consideration. To him ICBMs are not really exciting, even though they are controlled by his service. He likes craft that one must fly—very high performance aircraft requiring the special skills of the combat pilot. Thus he urges the need for a new bomber system, and he is tireless in adducing rationalizations for it. If he is right it will be by accident, for his arguments are stimulated primarily by emotion rather than reason. The opportunities in limited war to employ aircraft, thereby also getting a large “piece of the action,” have made him forget his former abhorrence of such techniques as close support of ground forces, in which he now uses (as in Vietnam) large bombers as well as small ones, naturally with conventional bombs. Formerly, he would have branded such practice a gross misuse of air power. He, too, wants to see two large and quite distinctive capabilities existing side by side, and in addition he wants to add high-performance bombers to ICBMs for strategic nuclear bombing. The Army in its turn has become very much limited-war oriented, though it has gone to some pains to prevent the Vietnam War from making too great an imprint upon its tactical habits. Korea was much more to its liking, but it wants to be freer in the future to use nuclear weapons tactically.

The main problem in having large dual forces appears to be money. We can even have a volunteer army and do away with conscription if we

pay our soldiers enough. So far as concerns our allies why *not* press them (and in 1972 our government was still doing it) to contribute more conventional forces? The money spent is (mostly) theirs, and we surely do not want them to build up nuclear forces. As the issue is usually posed: Why don't they do their share?

Well, for the United States the kinds of sums we are speaking of are very large, and we see many competing home demands for the money that we did not see before the Vietnam War. Also, everything has become enormously more expensive. If a large dual capability looked too costly to President Eisenhower, what will it look like to Pres-

One of the greatest costs of misreading the strategic realities . . . would be . . . that of failing to know which important diplomatic postures lie within our capabilities.

ident Nixon's successors? The GNP over time continues to rise, but nothing like so fast as does the price tag on each combat aircraft, or tank, or almost any other military implement. The F-14 combat plane, designed for use on aircraft carriers, was originally expected to cost \$12 or \$13 million each; the price tag in 1972 seemed to be coming towards the truly prohibitive sum of \$20 million each. It is not so long since an aircraft designed for the same function might have cost \$250,000!

We also have impressive reason for concluding that in the past we were too expansive in our security commitments abroad. Many slogans about the indivisibility of peace and the necessity for stamping out brush fires wherever they occur, especially if they are ignited by Communists, will be less acceptable in the future than they formerly were. This should have a considerable effect on stated military requirements. Where our allies are concerned, some of them

are perhaps oversensitive to the possibility that they are being used rather than protected—certainly a popular notion in Japan—but in any case they have shown a distaste for being pushed in directions that they consider unnecessary and even foolish. After hearing the relevant American arguments for more than a decade, those in Europe simply cannot accept the idea of a large nonnuclear war on that continent. Also, with a sharper sense than ourselves of what two world wars in the old style did to Europe, the idea of a third possessing the same period-style strikes them as having no particular advantage over anything. They are, therefore, and always have been since the nuclear age began, all-out for deterrence. Moreover, they see no reason why it should not work. The Russians are not, or at least have not been for a long time, particularly bellicose or unreasonable (the matter of Czechoslovakia in 1968 they undoubtedly looked upon as an internal affair); they understand very well the potential penalties to them if they should become so.

One of the greatest costs of misreading the strategic realities of the day would be, as it always has been, that of failing to know which important diplomatic postures lie within our capabilities and which do not. In the cited article by Drew Middleton, we should recall that he was asking senior officers whether the United States could “effectively support Israel in the event of a joint Soviet-Egyptian attack.” Besides the reply from the “senior admiral” that we have already noticed, there was also one from an “Air Force general,” who said simply: “Forget it. With the Soviet Air Force in Egypt and the Soviet naval squadron in the Mediterranean, we couldn't get close.” Now, whether or not the United States *should* take major risks with the Soviet Union over the security of Israel I shall not attempt to explore here, except to point out that there has been no conspicuous Soviet propensity to accept grave risks over the issues involved in that area, and it would be difficult to understand why they should want to. In any case it is obvious that both senior officers were giving Middleton bad advice, and would no doubt do the same for their government.

With respect to the chances of getting into a conflict with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, like the United States, is always looking past local forces. It may be that a local or even an overall superiority in ships, aircraft, and other arms may be necessary to give the President of the United States backbone to face up to crises. By the same token, it could get him into trouble he might otherwise avoid. In any case, the United States surface fleet or air force is scarcely to be regarded as of pitifully small size. . .

Herman Kahn, in the book that first made his name a byword, set out to prove that, *provided* certain precautions were taken of a kind that he and a research team under his direction had thoroughly explored, the United States could survive a strategic thermonuclear war. By that he meant that the fatalities and other casualties, though very large, could be kept within limits that he considered tolerable, and that within a term of years that others might consider astonishingly short, say five to ten years, the country could be back to the GNP that it had enjoyed before the war. The special condition to which he attached such supreme importance was the provision in good time of adequate fallout shelters and other forms of civil defense (though he had abandoned blast shelters as unfeasible), and also the storage in caves or man-made shelters of certain well-selected machine tools, the preservation of which would greatly assist in the reconstruction.

As Kahn himself said in one of his footnotes, "It is the hallmark of the expert professional that he doesn't care where he is going as long as he proceeds competently." He added that that seemed to be a reasonable charge against his book. This writer fully agrees, especially concerning the competence. Unlike most other writers in the field of strategy, including myself, Kahn had the courage to explore as thoroughly as his exceptional ability and knowledge permitted the character of a "general war" with thermonuclear weapons. However, having expressed this tribute, I must take part of it back by declaring that while Kahn cared well enough where he was going, he was helped along by an optimism that has in some critical

respects turned out to be unwarranted.

For one thing, the precautions that Kahn deemed absolutely essential before his somewhat roseate conclusions could be warranted have not been taken and it is now abundantly clear that they will not be. For reasons that were again psychological rather than logical, the American public in 1961-1962 reacted violently against the fallout shelter program studied and proposed by Kahn and accepted by the Kennedy Administration. That program seemed for a time to be faring well in Congress, but in the face of the furious negative attitude of a highly vocal part of the population, it collapsed and was never thereafter revived. It presently appears unrevivable, and no one seems any longer interested. Second, as Kahn

One hears them say that the purpose of our whole military establishment, "is to deter war if possible but to prevail if deterrence fails."

himself admitted frequently to his friends, his premises assumed a situation in nuclear weapons that was fast changing for the worse. His arguments, he conceded, would no longer be valid a decade hence unless there were significant and far-reaching international agreements for nuclear disarmament. That decade has passed, and with MIRV and other developments, we know he was right to be concerned by the great increase in the sheer quantity of destructiveness that would be available to both sides. As could be predicted since they began, the outcome of the SALT negotiations was not enough to matter in this respect.

Third, being neither by training nor temperament sensitive to the vast psychological and emotional damage that a society like ours would suffer along with the physical devastation of a thermonuclear war, Kahn undoubtedly underestimated the problems of recovery even from a war taking place under the premises he postulated. Psychologically trained people have worked on the problem, but it is difficult to do

so when one cannot find any real parallels in history. Past wars and other disasters have proved the human being and his societal structure remarkably resilient, but there are limits—especially in the absence of outside help of the kind that the United States after two world wars could give to others. One thing we may intuit with some assurance, and that is that democracy as we know it could hardly survive.

Fourth and most important, although Kahn could see reasons why this unspeakable sum of destruction might nevertheless have to be accepted rather than yield one's position on an important political dispute—the main reason being that a disposition to yield would be visible and hence tempting to the opponent—this writer can imagine no such issue that is at all likely to arise. On the simple Clausewitzian premise that a war must have a reasonable political objective with which the military operations must be reasonably consonant—we have to work back from the assumption that "general war" with thermonuclear weapons must never be permitted to begin, however much we find it necessary to make physical preparations as though it might begin. Working back from that premise is far from easy, and as I have indicated before, the idea of large-scale conventional war is simply no solution. There are requirements for a new diplomacy, the beginnings of which are in fact appearing. . . .

According to former President Lyndon B. Johnson, the foremost thought in his mind as he watched his successor being sworn into office on January 20, 1969 was "... that I would not have to face the decision any more of taking any step, in the Middle East or elsewhere, that might lead to world conflagration—the nightmare of my having to be the man who pressed the button to start World War III was passing."

Recollections about such matters are, even for the best intentioned, usually unreliable, but it is unimportant whether or not these thoughts were actually coursing through his mind at that very moment. What matters is that by the time he came to write the memoirs of his Presidency, Lyndon Johnson thought that it was appropriate and therefore

probable that such a thought was uppermost in his mind at that dramatic time. There could be no doubt also that by "World War III" he meant thermonuclear war, not large-scale conventional war. One tell-tale phrase confirming that fact is the one about "pressing the button." A certain few phrases, of which "pressing the button" is perhaps the most common, have long been current throughout the defense community as signifying the release of all restraints to thermonuclear war.

What we see additionally in Johnson's remark is an enormous reluctance and horror in fantasizing himself taking the crucial step, and at the same time the persuasion that under some circumstances he could find himself doing it. There is something schizoid about this, which is alarming and yet hopeful, at least so long as we keep our attention on the horror and reluctance. It has certainly not been historically unusual to find an American President expressing profound distaste or hatred for war even while taking steps towards it, but a special element is present in Johnson's remark that has not been known before. Nor should we assume that it was peculiar to this one man, who was neither the most pacific nor the most bellicose of our Presidents. His successor, Richard M. Nixon, who was far from betraying deeply pacific instincts in his behavior, several times expressed confidence that once the Vietnam War was liquidated, the United States would not know war again. Undoubtedly he had nuclear deterrence in mind.

There are, naturally, those who think differently. American military officers are conditioned by all their training and their associations to believe and feel otherwise, and they can be counted upon to think of a range of evils to which a choice for thermonuclear war would clearly be preferable, and again the chief evil is the possibility of being obliged to yield in *any* confrontation. However, even they in their relevant slogans have deliberately dropped the word *win* in speaking of such a war. One hears them say, for example, that the purpose of our whole military establishment, and especially the strategic retaliatory part of it, is "to deter war if possible but to prevail if deterrence fails." The distinction

between "winning" and merely "prevailing" is not elucidated, but one must be grateful even for small changes if they be in the right direction.

Still, one hears them say horrendous things. General Earle G. Wheeler, for example, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, remarked to a congressional committee that we should "insure that the United States and its allies emerge [from any nuclear war] with relative advantage irrespective of the circumstances of initiation, response, and termination." We may assume that General Wheeler, who had a reputation in the services for being a highly intelligent officer, had weighed his words well. He had had many opportunities to do so in honing down his slogan to such a neat package. But inasmuch as "relative advantage" can also mean a small advantage, and in any case whatever distinction there may be is outweighed by the terrible words "irrespective of the circumstances . . . of termination," we may conclude that General Wheeler is willing to pay a gigantic price for an "advantage," which if meaningful at all could be really quite trivial.

To be sure, it is not only the military who speak thus. The late Senator Richard Russell, then Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, was a highly respected member of the Senate and no doubt deserved to be remembered for other things than that exclamation, while urging the construction of ballistic missile defenses, that "if we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, then I want them to be Americans and not Russians—and I want them on this continent and not in Europe." Alas, poor Richard! Being from Georgia and an acknowledged white supremacist, he undoubtedly meant white rather than black Americans, but how could only two persons *be* Americans if there were no others left to distinguish them from? And just what moral or aesthetic superiority does the land mass of North America, or even the people on it, have to that of Europe? Or any other continent? Well, on Russell's part it was an intemperate ejaculation of an old man impatient with his colleagues, of whom he complained to some reporters that as a group they were much more reluc-

tant to approve arms purchases than any he had known before.

There is also former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who told South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Khanh in May 1964 that the United States "would never again get involved in a land war in Asia limited to conventional forces. Our population was 190,000,000. Mainland China had at least 700,000,000. We would not allow ourselves to be bled white fighting them with conventional weapons. This meant that if escalation brought about Chinese attack, it would also involve use of nuclear weapons." Here was the Secretary of State appointed by that President who was eager to "put the nuclear genie back into the bottle" speaking like John Foster Dulles. At that time, to be sure, the Chinese had no nuclear stockpile; the first Chinese nuclear detonation was to occur later that year.

Also, if we go back to the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, we find that on both sides there was no lack of clarity that if any military action began and subsequently escalated, they would at once be on the threshold of nuclear war. In his first letter to Chairman Khrushchev during that crisis, President Kennedy included the words: ". . . I have not assumed that you or any other sane man would, in this nuclear age, deliberately plunge the world into war which it is crystal clear no country could win and which could only result in catastrophic consequences to the whole world, including the aggressor." In his reply Khrushchev charged the United States with pushing mankind "to the abyss of a world missile-nuclear war." Robert Kennedy, in describing the situation, adds concerning the first days, "The feeling grew that this cup was not going to pass and that a direct military confrontation between the two great nuclear powers was inevitable." Despite all the talk that had taken place within this President's own Administration about separating nuclear from conventional military operations—talk that had quite possibly encouraged him to face up to the issue in the first place—the prevailing consideration in the White House *during* the crisis was that a full-scale war *could* develop from

Continued on page 26

Diagnosing the American Mind

STATE OF THE NATION, edited by William Watts and Lloyd A. Free. A Potomac Associates Book, paperback, \$3.95.

If you have seen one of the many reviews of the book "State of the Nation" that have appeared in newspapers and magazines, and if you have concluded that most of the interesting data that it contains have already been highlighted by such reviews—read on.

Some very interesting data have been highlighted—for instance, that despite their profound dissatisfaction with many aspects of American life, most Americans perceive their *personal* progress and prospects quite positively; that this applies even more to blacks than to whites; and that in fact the progress of blacks in recent years has been faster than that of whites. It has also been pointed out, for instance, that when it comes to the allocation of national resources, out of 26 priorities "Providing military aid to foreign countries" came out 26th, and "Providing economic and development loans to foreign countries" next to last.

The main purpose of this essay is to inform readers in the Foreign Service that "State of the Nation" contains much, much more *useful* information for the professional abroad who wishes to re-familiarize himself with trends in the United States—and trends not only in public opinion. No review can do justice to the wealth of data and insights about America contained in this little paperback.

It is, in fact, an almost indispensable book for anyone at home or abroad who wishes to obtain an overview of what has been happening in recent years in the United States in such fields as social attitudes (the young, the old, women), urban affairs, minority groups, crime and justice, the environment, health, economic affairs—and, of course, foreign affairs.

This is so, first of all, because "State of the Nation" is not just a book on American public opinion. Each of its chapters is divided in two sections—the first giving a *description* of the situation in the par-

ticular field, the other then setting out and interpreting the public opinion data which were, for the most part, especially obtained for this project by the Gallup organization. The whole is bigger than the sum of the parts: The reader obtains a much deeper understanding of the current American scene than he could either from sociological descriptions (or analyses) alone or from public opinion studies alone.

Naturally, we are most interested in what the book tells us about American attitudes in foreign policy matters—and the press has properly noted the extraordinary shift that is documented here in the attitudes of the American people toward problems in our foreign relations. Are we on the way to becoming the foreign service of an isolationist nation?

The matter is not so simple. On the one hand, the polling data show conclusively how (a) the rapprochements with China and Russia have led a large majority to believe that we are doing all right in foreign affairs—and (b) how these rapprochements (and the perceptions of domestic priorities) have also led to a massive drop in concern over remaining problems in foreign affairs, including national defense (the only exception being concern over Vietnam).

Yet the polling data also show that when faced with the proposition "In deciding on its foreign policies, the US should take into account the views of its major allies" no less than 80 percent agree and only 12 percent disagree; and when the proposition is "The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations," still 63 percent agree and only 28 percent disagree. While majorities favor coming to the aid of our major European allies and Japan if they are attacked, those majorities are smaller than in previous years.

On one hand, if extreme or tentatious propositions are tested, such as "The US should maintain its dominant position as the world's most powerful nation at all costs, even going to the very brink of war if necessary," 39 percent agree and 50 percent disagree. On the other hand, when responses to several questions are taken together to con-

struct indices of internationalism vs. isolationism, those who are "completely internationalist" (13%) and those "predominantly internationalist" (41%) still constitute a majority—and those predominantly or completely isolationist aggregate only 13 percent.

The trend is clearly toward less concern for international affairs, but one is tempted to conclude that popular support for particular programs and positions in foreign affairs will depend to a considerable extent, now even more than in the past, on the factor of national leadership.

—M. F. H.

The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet

ONLY ONE EARTH, by Barbara Ward and Renee Dubos. W. W. Norton Co.

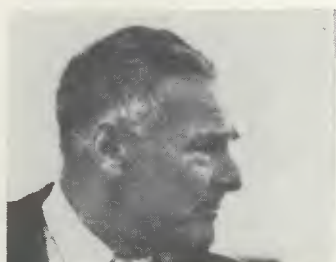
THIS book-length report was commissioned by Secretary General Maurice Strong to be ready for the UN's highly successful Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment last June. It served its purpose well as a vademecum for participants in the 112 nation parley.

The introduction was distilled from about 400 pages of correspondence originating from 40 different countries. The book itself was prepared with the aid of a 152 member committee of corresponding consultants from 58 countries. You may be wondering whether anything cohesive is ever created by committee: This is an exception, because the actual writing was done by the talented twosome—Ward and Dubos.

Its compendious contents concisely pack in all the conventional wisdom (plus many new insights) of today's concern for ecological health, under the theme: "each man has two countries: his own and the planet Earth."

Barbara Ward is an economist and Renee Dubos a microbiologist and their scholarship gleams in every paragraph. With amazing thoroughness for such a short text, they ferret out of socio-economic and scientific rationale from historical times to future generations why man must provide more sensible stewardship for his threatened biosphere. Global planning they call for, to stop interdependent man's global despoliation.

HENRY CABOT LODGE



THE STORM HAS MANY EYES

A Personal Narrative

The remarkable story of a notable public figure—Senator, soldier, diplomat, Presidential adviser—is told with insight, warmth and humor. It is both vivid history and behind-the-scenes entertainment.

With photographs.
At all bookstores, \$7.50



Norton

55 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10003

Liquor Discounts

FOREIGN SERVICE MEMBERS

10% OFF

on estate bottling wines

5% OFF

on our regular low prices
on liquor

"Try Us, You'll Like Us"

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 40th Year

We loan glasses for parties

NO CHARGE

The most unique chapter is "Energy and Matter." Everyone should ponder its fantastic implications. In five pages it describes with vivid clarity Einstein's concept that all matter is energy.

Understandably, as the authors warn against drawing power from irreplaceable fossil fuels, they point to nuclear plants as the ecologically soundest alternative in the present energy shortage. But they fail to point out that man has not yet learned how to safely dispose of radioactive wastes from such plants.

Relating environmental depredations by industrialized nations to less developed nations (LDCs), their future growth and ultimate environmental pollution, Ward and Dubos stress that rich men and rich nations should pay for pollution they cause in acquiring wealth; and second, that urbanization, industrialization and population growth are occurring at a much faster rate in today's LDC's than during the 19th century, and, therefore, today's crisis is just that much more acute.

In sum, "Only One Earth" bursts with valuable knowledge and insights into problems of our natural system. But don't expect to fly through the compact, often flowery, sometimes convoluted prose, which would stymie even fresh graduates of a speed reading school from moving faster than a walk. It has already been printed in nine other languages. Perhaps the translators have produced an easier tract than the English version.

In any form, however, "Only One Earth" does give the layman a broad diagnosis of earth's ecological sickness and a rough Rx for the cure—in only one volume.

—FITZHUGH GREEN

The Route to Peking

STILWELL AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CHINA, 1911-45, by Barbara W. Tuchman. Macmillan, \$10.00.

BARBARA TUCHMAN's book is a study of American political and military involvement in China from the early years of this century. It is therefore, incidentally, a study of China and of Asia. This is a big order, but Barbara Tuchman, who first became acquainted with China as a foreign correspondent in the 1930s, is fully equal to it. She ful-

fills it with all the solid learning, perception and gusto of "The Guns of August."

This wise, penetrating analysis comes at a fortunate time for reading by the citizens of a country reeling from what is generally considered its first military and political defeat in Asia, but first only if one overlooks our relations with the Chiang Kai-shek government during World War II. As we disentangle ourselves from our Vietnam blunder and essay a new role through a route to Peking, it would be well if we read carefully Barbara Tuchman's incisive, dispassionate study and took stock of the lessons of our experience to date. It makes a good companion piece to Jonathan Spence's "To Change Asia: Western Advisers to China, 1620-1960."

For Foreign Service officers the book is of particular interest for it invites a comparison between military and diplomatic officers—how they are educated and trained (or not trained), the strengths and weaknesses of preparation for their tasks (now much commingled) through-

INVESTMENT ADVISER

**ESTABLISHED TEN YEARS AGO
TO ADVISE ONE FAMILY**

**CAN NOW ACCEPT LIMITED
ADDITIONAL CLIENTS**

Former Investment Officer Large
International Financial Institution

Former Bank Officer

Sub-Cabinet Government Experience
in Economic Area

Reasonably Conservative in Seeking
Capital Gains and Income Appreciation
Over Time

Personal Approach to Client's Objectives
Emphasized

Services Include Complete Family
Financial Planning

Bank Custody of Securities, Tax
Advice and Preparation

WRITE:

INVESTOR

Suite 510
1156 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20005

out their careers, the extent of their travels when serving as language officers, embassy attachés and the like, the degree to which and ways by which their respective bureaucracies encourage and respond to resourcefulness (or fail to), and so on almost *ad infinitum*. To those who only know the "Vinegar Joes" of the military as tart men of often vulgar language rather than as competent linguists, indefatigable travelers of hinterlands and observers of all manner of men and cultures, Barbara Tuchman's book will come as an eye-opener. It is one of those few books which seem to me a "must" for Foreign Service officers.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Land of Cho-Cho-san

THE JAPANESE by Jack Seward. William Morrow, \$6.95.

JACK SEWARD has lived in Japan since 1946; he speaks Japanese; he is married to a Japanese. He has now tried to relate his experience and impressions of Japan to his American countrymen. He does this with wit, insight and compassion but with objectivity.

Almost every American with long experience in Japan has an itch to get across to a larger American public some idea of how and why the Japanese behave as they do. Rarely do two FSO language officers in Japan get together than the conversation gets into one or the other's latest theory about Japanese women, city life, business and so forth. Rarely is it done with Mr. Seward's skill, but almost always it ends with a head-shaking not dissimilar to Mr. Seward's conclusion: "If [American-Japanese] misunderstandings persist, the Japanese could withdraw neurotically into one of those unsettling periods of national self-reflection which have often preceded their fish-quick, yet fundamental shifts in national policy"—a sobering thought expressed with a striking simile.

For those whose view of Japan is colored by Lieutenant Pinkerton and Cho-Cho-san, Mr. Seward reports that 53 percent of those committing indecent sexual acts on the crowded trains of the National Railways in a recent period were women.

—J. K. HOLLOWAY, JR.

ASSIGNMENT WASHINGTON!

Let us welcome you. Hundreds of new homes, resale and recreational community homes available. 10 offices to serve you.

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

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
5034 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
3300 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.

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

SHANNON & LUCHS

REALTORS

ESTABLISHED 1906

NISSAN
FORD
AUDI
SAB
CAMPERS
VW
TRIUMPH
MG
MERCEDES
JAGUAR

Beat Stateside prices!

All leading foreign cars, U.S. Fords, campers, cycles 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.

Name _____

Social Security # _____

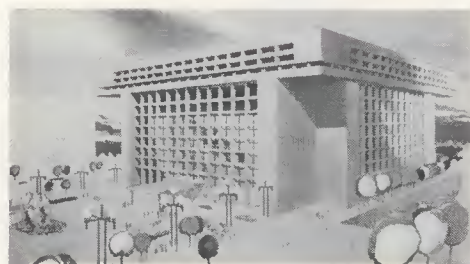
Address _____

Place of Delivery _____

Date of Rotation _____



NEMET AUTO INTERNATIONAL, FSJ 4-3
153-03 Hillside Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432
Tel: (212) 523-5858



A new hotel opens its doors to Washington, the nation and the world.

Inaugurating a new style of elegance in the nation's capital. Spacious rooms and suites with all the civilized luxuries and amenities. Dazzling restaurants and cocktail lounges. Resplendent settings for the most exclusive business meetings and diplomatic functions. Ideally situated in the L'Enfant Plaza complex, the capital's magnificent, new cosmopolitan center, appropriately named for Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who designed the master plan of Washington, D.C.

Opening May 31st

LOEWS
L'Enfant
PLAZA

480 L'Enfant Plaza East, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024 • Tel: (202) 484-1000

LOEWS HOTELS

One good stay deserves another

For reservations, see your travel agent or call Loews Reservations in your area toll-free.

CONVENTIONAL FORCE

from page 22

their insistent demands, and that if such a war came it would be nuclear. After it was over Secretary McNamara exclaimed, in response to a question put to him in hearings before a congressional committee: "Khrushchev knew without any question whatsoever that he faced the full military power of the United States, including its nuclear weapons . . . and that is the reason, and the only reason, why he withdrew those weapons." Whether McNamara was right or wrong, this is what the great advocate of conventional capabilities felt in his heart about the crisis just past.

What we have to conclude from these instances, and the many similar ones that could be marshalled, is that strategic thermonuclear war is indeed possible. Men who know or think they know the consequences of such war have sometimes taken steps in the direction of confrontation because they thought the latter necessary. At any rate, they could see no alternative. Perhaps the com-

pulsions that have moved them in that direction are due to outworn habits of thinking and of action, but for the time being and at least for the generation that now holds power, they exist. That is why so many people have despaired of avoiding general thermonuclear war except through remedies that this writer, among many others, regard as utterly unavailable, like world government or complete nuclear disarmament, or ineffective for the purpose intended, like building up conventional armaments as a means of sealing off or at least critically reducing the probability of resort to nuclear weapons.

Yet, as time goes on people seem to live in less rather than more fear of what would otherwise seem to be an increasing menace. The specialists become aroused about the threats to retaliatory forces arising from the increasing accuracy of long-range missiles, and they try to communicate their alarm to others in order to get certain things done—like building an ABM—but they have to contend with a certain calm

resistance that is new, and which is reflected in such matters as the Senate votes on the ABM. It is an interesting phenomenon, some no doubt would argue a dangerous one, and it requires some explanation. Most important, one wants to know whether it reflects a reality or an illusion about the direction in which events are leading us.

The most hopeful part of the answer is that diplomacy seems clearly to be moving in a direction that indicates a common recognition, among those powers possessing substantial nuclear capabilities, that thermonuclear war between them is simply forbidden, and thus also lesser wars that might too easily lead up to the large-scale thermonuclear variety. This trend shows itself in various far-reaching and significant ways. No doubt it is not moving fast enough for our comfort, and yet, it would even now take a very great deal to start a World War III—just as it took so much more to start World War II than it took to start World War I. . . . ■

Answers

1. (c) Khrushchev. *Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Report of the Central Committee, October 17, 1962.*
2. (b) Lerner. *Ten year predictions made in 1965.*
3. (a) Von Brahm, 1959.
4. (d) Morgenthau, May 16, 1965.
5. (c) Huxley, "Brave New World Revisited."
6. (c) Wallace, then Secretary of Commerce, 1946 speech in Madison Square Garden which resulted in his dismissal by President Truman.
7. (d) Dulles, 1952.
8. (b) Nixon, 1967.
9. (d) Kahn, 1958 study for the Rand Corporation.
10. (b) Stimson, October 1947.

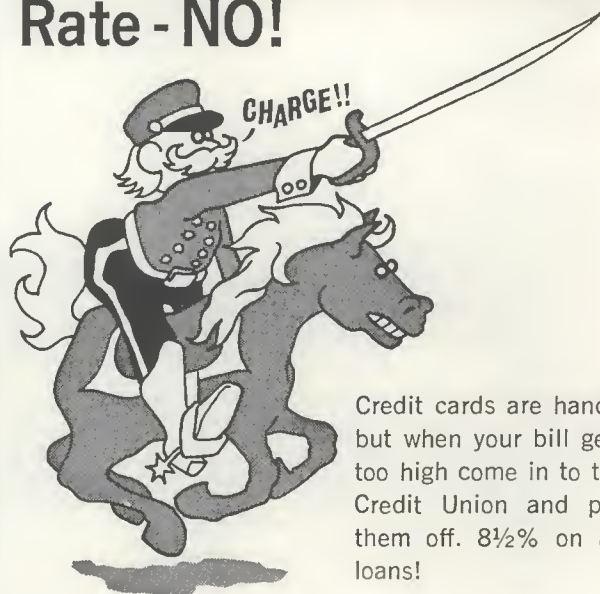
Association of American Foreign Service Women
Box 4931, Washington, D. C. 20008

HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND ORIENTATION
Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573

LANGUAGE AND WRITERS GROUPS
MONTHLY MEETINGS
NEWSLETTER
BOOK FAIR
COMMUNITY SERVICE

Open to women in the Foreign Service of a U.S. Government Agency, to the wife or widow of Foreign Service employee. Annual dues \$10 when income exceeds \$15,000; \$5 for others. Send dues to Membership Chairman.

Credit Cards - YES 18% Annual Percentage Rate - NO!



Credit cards are handy, but when your bill gets too high come in to the Credit Union and pay them off. 8½% on all loans!

SDFCU

**YOUR STATE DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**

THE DOLLAR'S SHADOW

from page 17

unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of South Africa? Perhaps. But the United States is already interfering massively in South Africa. I am suggesting that we change our stated goals and choose methods more suited to bring those goals about. Only those comfortable with hypocrisy can really support continuing our present policies. Beyond that, if the peaceful actions I have suggested do interfere with South Africa, I do not think them unwarranted. Are we to reject being a "pitiful helpless giant" in other parts of the world and to accept it in Southern Africa? Is the question of trying to prevent a racial war that could seriously worsen race relations in America and endanger \$1 billion worth of American investment really one we want to ignore? Finally, do we believe that men are in fact created equal and that we have some obligation to act on that belief? Admittedly, there are a number of places in the world where men are not treated equally, according to different political, religious,

economic, and social criteria. The most obvious instance of inequality enforced by law happens today to be in South Africa. If we are not to begin there, it is clear that we will never become involved in any real attempt in any part of the world to foster significant social change based on the equality of man. We will be saying that this must be done by others, if it is to be done at all. The implications of that view on America's role in world affairs in the future should be sobering enough to make it easy to answer whether what happens in South Africa matters to our interests.

A key to the success of this policy would be convincing the Soviet Union that its interests also lie in identifying with this view, as the Russians become increasingly conservative and a white power. A more unified approach toward Southern Africa by the United States and the Soviet Union should be one of the first aims of American policy-makers in attempts to arrange a lasting détente. Southern Africa is an area where Soviet and American foreign policy aims have not in the

past been in great conflict; if a more unified approach toward seeking peaceful concessions from the white minority there cannot be agreed upon, is there any real hope that American and Soviet aims can be reconciled in any part of the world?

The policy analysis that African nationalism will regain its strength and complete the move to self-determination on the African continent provides easier policy choices. Simply, we should then support the guerrilla movements in Southern Africa, and in Portuguese Guinea, at least to the extent that they do represent genuine nationalist aspirations within their own countries. Certainly PAIGC already qualifies on that criterion, and MPLA and Frelimo are capable of doing so. The Rhodesian and South African situations are more complex, and at the moment the real voices of African nationalism, at least as they can be heard by outsiders, are inside the country, still working in essentially peaceful ways for change or already locked up in prison. For the time being at least, the United States could attempt to strengthen



Georgetown Dutch Inn

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 • 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 202-337-0900

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

BEGG, INC. Realtors

SALES • RENTALS • MANAGEMENT
INSURANCE

WASHINGTON • MARYLAND • VIRGINIA



*Specializing in the
Finest in
Residential Properties
and Assisting
Foreign Service
Personnel
for the Past 22 Years*

7720 Wisconsin Ave.
Bethesda, Md. 20014
OL 4-9333

Cable—BEGG WASH
Telex 440036

1714 CONN. AVE. N.W., WASH. D.C. 20009 - DU 7-2480

financially organizations that might provide bases for African national sentiment. In Rhodesia, African trade unions would be an ideal channel. They should also be encouraged in South Africa. Two points are important, however. The help will probably have to be provided covertly, in view of the likely reaction of the white governments; we should have the ability to do this. Secondly, it would be self-defeating to attempt to do this for the purpose of co-opting the groups. This mistake has already been made elsewhere in Africa, largely by CIA outlets. In any event, we should begin preparing for the time when effective nationalist groups do develop in Southern Africa. The fact that this will be a lengthy process should not be viewed with despair. As white South Africans say repeatedly, the African majority is not yet unified enough to run the complex South African country. A protracted struggle would help solve that problem. We could begin our support immediately, however, by dropping the present policy assertion that violence will not solve the

problems of Southern Africa. Why should Southern Africa be different from the rest of the world? If violence does not solve problems, there should have been no American Revolution, no point in going to war against Hitler, no birth of Bangladesh. And why are we in Vietnam? Violence in each of these cases did solve problems. They also created new ones, as an uprising in South Africa would do.

I am not suggesting that it should be American policy to encourage such uprisings; they will undoubtedly be costly to the Africans and only they can decide if the price in blood they will have to pay is to be worth the likely outcome. I am suggesting that we immediately abandon the presumptuous stance of advising blacks that the price cannot be worth it. Where and when the genuine frustrations and aspirations of the people have brought into being organizations that do represent the desire for change, we support them with money, weapons, and military training—if, to repeat, it is the American analysis that black power is the probable out-

come in Southern Africa. Again, establishing an understanding with the Soviet Union would be essential, so that the ideological competition between nationalist groups can be minimized. Identifying with the non-white groups on this issue could also open up the possibility of seeking cooperation with China in Southern Africa. It is, in fact, the only course of action in Africa that would further the opportunities for a triangular superpower détente.

Since this book is essentially descriptive instead of prescriptive, I will not argue which of the two alternatives should be chosen, but will only argue the necessity for the choice's being made now. The reader who has surmised that intellectually I see the white-power option as the only realistic one for South Africa, while emotionally feeling that we should do whatever we can to help bring about a chance for the black majority to gain control over itself—by violence if that is the only way in which that objective can be achieved—is correct. It is an agonizing ambivalence for I do not apologize. ■

STUART & MAURY, Inc. REALTORS

Sales • Rentals • Insurance

Specializing in Residential Properties

Northwest Washington

Montgomery County, 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

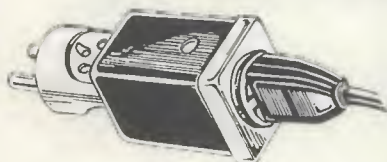
Free comprehensive information kit containing local tax and salary scales, a financing guide, school, recreation and health facilities, history and everything else you need to know about living or buying in Northern Virginia, county by county. Also, what to do in Washington D.C., moving hints and details 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
309 Maple Ave., W., Vienna, Va.	938-5800

1000 WATT TRANSFORMER



A new solution to an old travel problem. This amazing newly patented Converter - Adapter weighs only 3 ounces and handles up to 1000 watts. Take along your own coffee brewer, portable hair dryer, curlers and hot combs, electric toothbrush, power tools any and all heating or steam, and most motorized appliances. These are only a few of its 1000 uses. Almost anywhere in the world, the Converter-Adapter will transform foreign electric power from 220/240 volts down to 110/120 volts AC, 50-60 cycles. This mighty midget fits into pocket or purse. Send only \$10.95 each or 3 for \$29.95 plus 75¢ each for postage and handling or write for further information.

able hair dryer, curlers and hot combs, electric toothbrush, power tools any and all heating or steam, and most motorized appliances. These are only a few of its 1000 uses. Almost anywhere in the world, the Converter-Adapter will transform foreign electric power from 220/240 volts down to 110/120 volts AC, 50-60 cycles. This mighty midget fits into pocket or purse. Send only \$10.95 each or 3 for \$29.95 plus 75¢ each for postage and handling or write for further information.

KENGEM, INC., P.O. Box 12425-K
Capitol Station • Austin, Texas 78711

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 to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. **SEND NO MONEY—pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.**



Western Pharmacy
1/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

COMMUNICATION RE:

THE CONE SYSTEM

THE JOURNAL has recently published letters from FSOs which raised fundamental questions about the cone system; specifically, they discussed promotion rates in the various cones and what should constitute a "merit" system of promotion for the Foreign Service. We believe that the views expressed in these letters, by Andrew L. Steigman (June 1972) and James F.

Dobbins (November 1972), reveal a serious misunderstanding of the personnel management problems which confront our Service today.

"Favored Treatment of Administrative Officers": A major argument in both letters is that the cone system favors promotion of administrative officers at the expense of others. Regrettably these letters reflect an ap-

parent role-bias shared by many FSOs; they have failed to consider the impact on *total* Foreign Service promotion rates of FSSOs, FSRs, and FSRUs against whom many FSOs must compete directly for both assignment and promotion. In discussing "high" or "low" promotion rates of various cones, exclusion of officers in these other pay plans is unrealistic if one is inter-

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

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

REAL ESTATE

Specialists in

TOWN HOUSES

CAPITOL HILL • GEORGETOWN
FOGGY BOTTOM • MT. PLEASANT

202-546-2676

RHEA RADIN, Inc.

REALTOR

220 SEVENTH ST., S.E.

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

ested in the Foreign Service as an organic whole. Let us consider this issue by looking at a more appropriate Foreign Service population. To initiate such discussion we offer Table A. This table of the mid-grades, which should be compared with the April 1972 NEWSLETTER

Special Supplement analysis of FSO promotions, restates class size, cone size, and promotion rates by including all FSOs and all FSSOs in administrative officer, B&F, GSO, PER, and consular categories who are eligible for world-wide duty. Not included are FSRs and FSRUs, and

we suggest that their inclusion would not much alter these figures. As can be seen, there are no "high" promotion rates for administrative cone personnel. At the O-5 level, the promotion rates for political, E/C, Consular, and administrative personnel are 12.9%, 23.3%, 14.9% and 14.0% respectively; 7.4%, 9.5%, 10.1% and 10.6% respectively at the O-4 level.

"Cone System Created by Administrators": DG/PER officials created and nurtured the cone system. During the past decade most key positions in DG/PER were held by offi-

TABLE A
1972 FSO Promotions By Function (1971 Boards)
Classes 2 Through 5

Class and Function	Number Reviewed	% of Class Reviewed	Nominated for Promotion	Nominations As a % of	
				Number Reviewed	Total Nominated
4 to 3					
POL	337	42.9	24	7.4	34.8
ECON	199	25.3	19	9.5	27.5
CON	89	11.3	9	10.1	13.0
ADM	161	20.4	17	10.6	24.6
SPT*	....	....	....	....	....
TOTAL	786	100.0	69	8.8	100.0
5 to 4					
POL	349	49.0	45	12.9	41.3
ECON	146	20.5	33	23.3	30.3
CON	67	9.4	10	14.9	9.2
ADM	150	21.1	21	14.0	19.3
SPT*	....	....	....	....	....
TOTAL	712	100.0	109	15.3	100.0

* Special, professional and technical.

TABLE B
FSO Promotion Rates*

	O-5 to O-4	O-4 to O-3
1969	30.2	17.5
1970	23.0	13.9
1971	18.6	8.6
1972	17.1	9.1

* The authors were unable to secure adequate data to restate the promotion rates including FSSOs. Inclusion of FSSOs should not affect the overall significant downward trend.

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



RENTAL HOUSES

Chevy Chase-Bethesda
Massachusetts Avenue Extended

A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.

An Accredited Management Organization
4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20016 — 686-0203
6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 229-5750
Washington Real Estate Since 1907

The Nicest Small Hotel In Washington

Francis Scott Key Hotel

600 - 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • 628-5425
Mrs. G. L. Warner, Manager

Why Foreign Service Personnel Prefer the Francis Scott Key Hotel

- It is only two blocks from the State Department
- Offers family accommodations • One room, kitchen, dinette and bath
- Completely furnished efficiency suites • Completely air-conditioned
- Restaurant with excellent food at moderate prices

ROOMS

One Person \$12.00—Two Persons \$15.00
Efficiency Suites—Double Beds or Twin Beds
One Person \$13.00 & Up—Two Persons \$16.00 & Up
Additional Persons \$1.50 each
10% discount for weekly occupancy

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 Songmore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016
Phone 229-4000 Phone 229-4016

cers of the political specialty. Rather than being the product of a self-serving cabal of administrative officers, the cone system has grown out of efforts by concerned FSOs of varied professional backgrounds to correct the serious imbalance between the functional skills in the Foreign Service and the demand for these skills. The cone system has not caused this imbalance; rather it is a mirror which has served to highlight the imbalance which has always existed in our Service. This imbalance has been and, unless redressed by the cone system or a similar mechanism, will increasingly be exacerbated by the growing complexity of foreign affairs. The imbalance will also be intensified by the preferences of many officers who, because of their specialized educational background or the higher perceived status of some functions over others, or both, have become very reluctant to accept assignments outside the area of their specific professional interest. The real problem is not the cone system but rather the gap between the expectations of many officers in

the Service and the actual work to be done.

"Merit System Deformed by Functional Promotions": Mr. Steigman states that the cone system has deformed if not destroyed the "merit" promotion system. Others argue that the real deformation of the merit system began with the opening up of Part II of the Officer Evaluation Report (OER) which, since, has led to inflated performance appraisals in which most officers are depicted as "water-walkers." We believe the two points of view reflected above again miss the real problems. The literature of organizational behavior describes many of the serious deficiencies of our evaluation process. A good summary of some of these deficiencies was presented in Warwick's "Performance Appraisal and Promotions in the Foreign Service" (July 1970 FSJ). It has been heartening to see, during the past year, the Service's movement toward some of Warwick's recommendations. Behavioral scientists have shown that a single uniform performance ap-

praisal system in an organization with a multiplicity of tasks is dysfunctional for an objective appraisal of "merit." Some tasks simply are not comparable and, after all, it is the accomplishment of task objectives which should be the measurement of "merit" rather than possession of ill-defined personal qualities which may or may not lead to accomplishment of task objectives. Accordingly, some have wondered how, in a Service which prides itself on its objectivity, so fundamentally subjective a document as the OER, which depends heavily on the rating officer's imagination and drafting skill, and which still largely measures personal qualities as opposed to objective performance standards, can be any basis for a genuine "merit" promotion system.

"Impact of Functional Recruitment and Promotion": For those who believe that such personal qualities as educational achievement ought to be paramount factors in a Foreign Service merit system, we should like to point out that the educational levels

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. Ideal for enrichment. 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

BOX F4-3, Tuscany Rd.



School

Baltimore, Md. 21210

Parent's name
Address
City State Zip
Child's Age Grade

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

DIPLOMATIC & CONSULAR OFFICERS, RETIRED (DACOR) WELCOMES NEW MEMBERS

Active FSOs, FSROs, FSIOs, and FSSOs, as well as retired officers. Dues \$10.00 annually. Bulletin. Group insurance. May stay DACOR HOUSE while on leave or consultation. May apply for club membership in DACOR HOUSE: resident initiation \$50.00, annual dues \$50.00; non-resident dues \$12.00 (no initiation). Reasonable rates, excellent meals. Air conditioned throughout. Club rooms for entertaining.

DACOR, Inc.
1718 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
Please send further information and application form to:

NAME
ADDRESS

BEAUTIFUL FLORIDA BEACH



CIRCLE SANDS . . .
ON THE GULF
SEASCAPE APARTMENTS

Clean, air conditioned apartments on the Gulf. All water and sun activities. May through Dec. rates from \$225. to \$410. per month, everything furnished. Also weekly rates.

MINI-MOTOR HOME, 19',
COMPLETELY SELF CONTAINED
Sleeps four adults. Rates from \$155. per week.

Write or call:

Circle Sands
440 North Beach Road
Englewood, Florida 33533
Tel: (813) 474-4712

of entering junior officers (since the cone system has been in full force) are strikingly similar for all cones. In other words, possession of a graduate degree(s) is no longer any clue as to a junior officer's functional specialization. One need only point out that of the 1972 FSO administrative promotees from O-5 to O-4, recruited since the mid-60s, all possessed master's degrees or higher levels of educational achievement. Using the Biographic Register to compare middle and higher ranking political and administrative officers one notes a dramatic difference in graduate educational levels. Clearly the implementation of functional recruitment and promotion has brought about markedly higher educational levels in the lower ranks of the administrative cone. As the years pass and functional promotions occur, it is but a matter of time until the members of all functional specialties possess similar educational achievements.

Another facet of the personal-qualities-as-merit issue which should be considered in evaluating the cone

system is the role the Foreign Service oral examination plays in maintaining uniform standards in this regard. BEX examining panels are made up of a functional "mix" representative of the entire Foreign Service. Studies by Kenneth Clark and others have shown that panel members tend to select candidates with the personal qualities the more traditional-minded in the Foreign Service tend to value; thus the recruitment process tends to perpetuate these qualities irrespective of functional specialty. One would presume then that "personal qualities" are relatively constant in the FSO corps. It would seem therefore that these qualities should be considered in a performance evaluation only when they clearly have a negative impact on an officer's performance, if then.

Conclusion: Despite some of the inflexibilities and imperfections of the cone system, the functional recruitment and promotion system of the last few years has stimulated recruitment of well-qualified person-

nel in administrative, consular, and economic categories. In the past, jobs in these categories were all too frequently filled by fallout from competition in the political function. We agree that the cone system should be periodically reexamined. Certainly, such a reexamination should be made when and if balance is achieved between skills (officers) and requirements (jobs) of the various functional specialties. We believe that the present system has greatly enhanced the professionalization of the Foreign Service, particularly those phases of its work that have lacked it in the past. This professionalization is clearly in the interest of every member of the Service who recognizes the requirements of a greatly expanded "Diplomacy for the '70s."

CAROLYN ALLEN (CON)
RICHARD J. DOLS (POL)
STEPHEN J. HAYDEN (ADM)
ARMA JANE KARAER (CON)
GARY S. POSZ (ADM)
BRUCE C. ROGERS (POL)
EUGENE SCHREIBER (E/C)
JAMES R. TARRANT (E/C)

RETIRING?
Think About La Jolla, Calif.

*We have assisted many
Foreign Service Officers*

BUY NOW! We manage your
property 'til you occupy!
Write Miss Allen, Realtor

ALCOVE REAL ESTATE
7614 Herschel
La Jolla
Calif. 92037

SPECIAL RATES
For Home Leave &
Duty in Washington, D. C.

**ai AMERICAN
INTERNATIONAL
RENT-A-CAR**

Reservations For
All U.S. Cities: 2804 Jefferson Davis Hwy.
Arlington, Va. 22202
Tel. (703) 684-4087

**Volkswagens
American Cars
Station Wagons**

BOSS AND PHELPS, INC.

REALTORS FOUNDED IN 1907

CAN HELP YOU:
BUY SELL RENT
A HOUSE

NORTHWEST WASHINGTON—BETHESDA—
CHEVY CHASE—POTOMAC

We MANAGE your properties when you are overseas.

3830 VEAZEY ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016 362-9300



Members of the American Foreign Service
can depend upon this firm promptly to
fill orders for Engraved cards, Invitations,
Stationery, etc.

BREWOD
ENGRAVERS

to Washington's Most Distinguished Residents
Reasonable Prices

1217 G STREET : WASHINGTON, D. C.



STATE NEWS

State Negotiations

A special AFSA red-top bulletin is being prepared on our State Department Negotiations. Your AFSA Representative will be distributing it shortly.

An AFSA bulletin was issued on March 26 listing the Members' Interests proposals which the Association has put forward to State management. The Association appreciates the helpful comments and suggestions which have been submitted by its Chapters and members to our earlier draft Members' Interests Agenda. Additional thoughts and ideas are needed. Please write to: Members' Interests Committee, AFSA, State Department Mailroom.

Jobs Downgraded

The Department's proposed reclassification of Foreign Service jobs is nearing its conclusion. The Association has repeatedly requested an opportunity to consult with the Department on the job reclassification procedures and criteria, and on providing appropriate arrangements for employees adversely affected by the impact of the job downgrading.

AFSA understands that changes in the following magnitudes are being considered:

Class-1—20% of jobs downgraded;
Class-2—25% of jobs downgraded;
Class-3— 7% of jobs downgraded;
Class-4— 7% of jobs upgraded;
Class-5— 5% of jobs upgraded;
Class-6—17% of jobs upgraded;
Class-7—10% of jobs upgraded;
Class-8—14% of jobs downgraded.

The heaviest impact of the downgrading occurs in the administrative cone and the political cone.

For example, nearly half of Class-1 positions in these cones are proposed for downgrading.

The Department plans to announce the entire reclassification in an upcoming issue of the **News-letter**. Clearly, a downgrading of this scale will have a substantial negative impact on promotion rates. Administrative management has told AFSA that it is thinking of spreading out the effects on promotions over a three-year period. AFSA is requesting consultation on this entire program. The Department has stated that job classification is not a subject for consultation under the Executive Order.

In the Civil Service, the downgrading of a job is an adverse action to impartial third party review. For this reason, it is not necessary to include the reclassification of jobs within the scope of collective bargaining. However, in the Foreign Service, when a job is downgraded, it does not affect the rank of the person holding the job, **but** it does affect the promotion opportunities of the entire Service. It is clear that the Foreign Service no longer enjoys the rank-in-man system in which promo-

tions are made on a merit basis. Promotions today are made on the number of vacancies at the next highest level, and the number of vacancies in turn depends on job classification. At the present time, the only mechanism to review the reclassification of jobs is through consultations.

AID NEWS

Aid Ballot Count Postponed

AID management, on February 22, requested the Employee Management Relations Commission (EMRC) to extend the AID election deadline beyond March 13 because of extraordinary circumstances which precluded delivery and completion of ballots by AID employees in Nigeria.

The EMRC decided to close balloting for all posts on March 13, as scheduled; but to extend the election period for AID personnel situated in Nigeria to March 27. The ballot counting will begin on March 28th.

AID Performance Evaluation Study

The AID Study Group completed its work and submitted a report to management on March 6, 1973. It's a significant report and in some respects quite revolutionary. Among the most substantial changes and reforms advocated are a new relationship between employee and supervisor including employee participation in the preparation of PERs; new and separate PER forms for FSS and FSR employees; a new and greater role for Mission or Bureau Review Panels including the review of PERs for validity and recommendations for promotion and separa-

FLASH

AFSA WINS IN AID 7-to-1

On March 28 the AID ballots for exclusive representation were counted. The results, with 2,600 of the eligible employees voting, were as follows:

AFSA	2,091
AFGE	347
Neither	165

There were 21 void ballots and 13 challenged ballots.

tion; a new Mission or Bureau Appeal Board to permit employees to appeal PERs; semi-automatic promotions made at the Mission or Bureau level for lower grade FSS and FSR employees; a modified time in grade feature obviating AID/W Evaluation Panel review of some PERs at certain times; continuation of selection-out procedures based on performance criteria but without any arbitrary percentage cut-off feature; continuation of "limited" status for new FSS and FSR employees but restricted to 30 months; greater use of FSS classes 1, 2 and 3 together with greater opportunities for training and a formal process for transferring FSS employees to FSR categories; a greater role for the Personnel Office and a more professional role for Personnel Officers; and a change in the rating cycle for the period from May 1 to April 30.

While there are facets of the Study Group's work and report which AFSA has supported (e.g., employee input in the PER process) or which seem efficacious (e.g., questionnaires to determine employee beliefs and reactions), there are others which appear questionable (e.g., the modified time in grade feature). In any case, the AFSA Board believes that it would be highly inappropriate for the Agency to implement **any** of the Study Group's recommendations prior to consultation with the exclusive employee representative. The Board believes that AID's Foreign Service exclusive employee representative should have the opportunity to study and comment on these recommendations elected under Executive Order 11636. Accordingly, on February 12 the AFSA Board requested AID management to hold in abeyance any recommendations emanating from the Study Group pending certification. Unfortunately, we have received a negative response to this request. Nevertheless, if AFSA is elected exclusive representative we will consult with all AID foreign service employees and reopen any pertinent part of the changed regulations which the membership disagrees with. Under the Executive

Order no personnel procedures can be devised or revised solely by management. AFSA seeks a positive, constructive and collaborative relationship with management based on good faith and mutual trust. The AFSA Board believes that it would be most unfortunate if action were taken to revise the Agency's personnel system just days before an employee representative is being elected.

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Training

In January, the Staff Corps Advisory Committee (SCAC) wrote Under Secretary Macomber pointing out the failure of the Department to implement Management Reform Bulletin No. 30 "Increased Training Opportunities for Staff Support Personnel." The SCAC pointed out that prior to MRB 30—one out of five Staff members received language training, while since MRB 30 was issued in late 1971 only one out of 15 Staff members received language training. Similar negative results were pointed out in providing training for staff in Area Studies, Supervisory Training, Consular and Administrative Courses.

Under Secretary Macomber recently replied, indicating that he shared AFSA's concerns about Staff training. Mr. Macomber pointed out that it is now practically impossible to detail secretaries for available Area Studies, due to the shortage of secretaries which has resulted from the employment freeze. Mr. Macomber stated, "When normal employment of secretaries resumes, it will be possible to provide language training for additional employees." Mr. Macomber pointed out that CA-852 of January 30, 1973, called on all posts to make **special efforts** to provide Staff support employees, whenever possible, with opportunities for language training and such area orientation as posts may offer.

AFSA will continue to pressure the Department to provide increased training opportunities for Staff personnel. It is important that AFSA Chapters at each post push for increased training oppor-

tunities for Staff personnel with post management.

College Degree Needed for SY Work: The SCAC has made several protests regarding SY's policy of requiring their officers to have college degrees. The Association has referred to Director General Hall's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the lessons learned in life were as valuable to the Foreign Service as those learned in the classrooms, especially in specialized jobs. The Association agrees. What is important for the Foreign Service is the ability of a person to do his or her job well without regard to whether the necessary skills were acquired in a classroom or through experience. The Association has urged the Department of State to have a unified policy regarding officer qualifications. In a service where several prominent career Ambassadors do not hold college degrees, it makes no sense to require that our security officers do. Clearly, what is required in all cases is a college degree or demonstrated equivalent experience.

Staff Listings in Biographic Register: The Staff Corps Advisory Committee has raised with management in State/AID/USIA the listing of all Foreign Service Staff and Staff Officers in the Biographic Register. Presently, only Staff Officers of Class 3 and above are listed. The initial reaction in all three agencies has been positive, pending evaluation of the costs. The Association believes that the Register would be a much more useful document if it contained the biographic sketches of all Foreign Service employees, not just those of certain officers.

FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS

The AFSA Board of Directors has unanimously supported Secretary Rogers' intention to designate Deputy Secretary Rush as Chairman of the Board of the Foreign Service. Under Executive Order 11636 the Board of the Foreign Service is the final appeal body for disputes between Agency management and the elected employee representative.

USIA NEWS

Election Outcome Still Pending

The EMRC still has the outcome of the USIA representation election "under active consideration." At issue is whether the ballots of 82 USIA employees whom AFGE claims are wrongfully employed under the Foreign Service Act should be counted. The Commission asked all parties to the election to show cause why the Commission should not open the ballots challenged by AFGE in order to determine the outcome of the election. The AFGE response was so general that the Commission issued an Order to Furnish Particulars directed at AFGE. AFGE again replied in general terms and the EMRC continues its deliberations.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS

\$ \$ \$

Devaluation of the Dollar

We hope that by the time this issue of the *Journal* is in the hands of AFSA members, that overseas allowances will have been increased appropriately at all locations where the value of the dollar was devalued in comparison with the local currencies as a result of USG actions taken on February 13, 1973. In the context of our role as exclusive representative for State Foreign Service employees, AFSA put on the table a negotiating proposal in February for the immediate increase of overseas allowances wherever the US dollar had decreased in value. The same day, a circular telegram went to all posts worldwide requesting complete data on the changed value of the dollar (State telegram 28567). AFSA began working immediately with the announcement of dollar devaluation to protect the purchasing power of employees overseas. We are confident that overseas allowances will be raised, and that the effective date will be close to the first day of the devaluation.

Allowance increases can be made automatically (as soon as funding is assured) for quarters,

temporary lodging, per diem, as well as cost of living allowances that are already being paid. Where there may be some problem, however, is where a post was not eligible for a cost-of-living allowance prior to the devaluation because its price index was below that of Washington. If the devaluation threw the price index above that of Washington, this change will have to be shown by means of a price survey. If your post is likely to be in this category, make sure that a price survey is made very quickly if it has not already been accomplished so that the right to a cost of living allowance can be established.

IRS Information

The IRS publication, "Tax Information for US Government Civilian Employees Stationed Abroad," contains a misstatement regarding the deduction of home leave expenses. On page 4 IRS states: "Foreign Service Officers may not deduct expenses incurred while on 'home leave,' since such expenses are personal."

Litigation regarding the deductibility of expenses for home leave, which is legally required by the Foreign Service Act, took place last year in the case of **Stratton vs. IRS**. The Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit (West Coast) decided that deductions for home leave expenses **should be** allowed. However, the Internal Revenue Service has not acquiesced in other areas of the country to the 9th Circuit Court's decision, indicating that its policy would change only if there were another decision against the IRS on this issue. However, persons who file on the West Coast will be allowed this deduction. People filing for this deduction in other areas **may** have their deductions challenged. AFSA has started a Legal Fund to support a second test case. **Contributions are needed from all members of the Foreign Service.**

Tax Deductions for TDY Expenses

The December, 1972 issue of *AFSA News* provided a roundup of special tax information for foreign affairs personnel. In the section on training expense deductions, we neglected to include

newly employed AID personnel who are assigned initially on TDY to Washington for training enroute to a post abroad. Their families are authorized transportation only from the place of entry into the service to the overseas post. There is no per diem for families during the TDY training period in Washington. It would appear legitimate to claim a deduction for family expenses if the entire family is together in Washington during the training period. In most cases, newly hired employees are unable to leave their families at the place from which they entered the Service, and such a TDY assignment is the equivalent of an assignment to FSI between two overseas posts.

Kindergarten Allowance

In the February *AFSA News*, we reported an AFSA request to the GAO to rule that State, AID and USIA were unlawfully refusing to pay education allowances for children attending kindergarten at overseas locations. The GAO response was negative. The GAO essentially referred to its 1966 ruling on the same subject which declared that the language "elementary and secondary school services" utilized in the 1960 legislation could only have meant "first through twelfth grades in the common dictionary meaning of the term" at the time the law was enacted. In other words, new legislation is needed to authorize a kindergarten allowance.

The GAO's response to AFSA's request failed to address the anomaly of DOD civilians overseas benefiting from a kindergarten allowance when the legislation authorizing their education allowances is the same as for foreign Service employees. Research revealed what the problem is. In the mid-1960s, statistics showed that more than 50 percent of the public school districts in the United States were providing free kindergarten services. The time had come, therefore, to extend this benefit overseas. State, which administers the education allowance for all three foreign affairs agencies, asked the GAO if a kindergarten allowance would be legal under legislation existing

in 1966. The GAO said no. DOD on the other hand, went right to the appropriations committees of Congress and asked the required extra money to start free kindergarten. Congress appropriated the necessary funds in 1968, and DOD dependents have kindergarten allowances while we do not.

State submitted proposed legislation to the OMB in 1971 which would authorize a kindergarten allowance, along with other needed items. OMB has been sitting on this package ever since, pending an OMB review of overseas benefits government wide. The GAO has also undertaken a comprehensive review of overseas benefits and allowances at the direction of Senator Proxmire. When AFSA met with the GAO study group that is doing the review, we mentioned the kindergarten anomaly between Foreign Service and DOD civilians. They agreed to take another look at the problem, but the possibility of the Comptroller General reversing himself on this issue is remote. In our first go around with management as exclusive representative for State Foreign Service employees, AFSA suggested a joint effort to spring loose the blocked kindergarten allowance legislation in time for the 1973-74 academic year. These negotiations are continuing. AFSA will also go directly to Congress on this issue as soon as the 1973 hearings begin, regardless of what management and the OMB decide to do.

Expanded Transfer Allowance Takes Effect: The long awaited expanded foreign transfer allowance became effective October 25, 1972. Full details were sent to all diplomatic and consular posts on November 9, 1972 in Department of State Airgram A-11040 entitled "ALLOWANCES: Expanded Foreign Transfer Allowance and Home Service Transfer Allowance Regulations." All employees should familiarize themselves with these new regulations prior to the beginning of travel related to a transfer in the foreign service.

AFSA is happy that the expanded benefit is now operable, but is disappointed with several features

of the new regulations. First, the effective date should have been July 1, 1972 rather than October 25. Management has saved a considerable portion of the extra funds allocated to this expanded allowance by the late start up date, and AFSA will try to see to it that this money is channelled into another expanded benefit. Secondly, there is no increase in the allowances for extraordinary clothing costs due to climatic zone changes. The Task Forces recommended this, and Secretary Rogers approved the recommendations. In addition, the clothing allowance falls within the overall dollar maximum on this allowance imposed by legislative history (\$468 for a single employee and \$937 for a family), so it would have been relatively easy to increase this portion of the allowance at no additional cost. AFSA will negotiate this higher after the employee elections. Third, there is no provision for a temporary lodging allowance prior to departure from the United States for an overseas location. AFSA sees nothing in the legislative language which would prohibit this, and is now leaning on management to amend the regulation accordingly.

Tax Deductions for Transfer Expenses. AFSA members have been asking about the method of certifying that unreimbursed transfer expenses are job related and therefore deductible for federal income tax purposes. If your administrative officer claims no knowledge of his authority to issue such certificates, have him dig out State cable 47716 of March 22, 1971 sent to all diplomatic and consular posts and entitled "Guidance on Tax Deductions for Foreign Service Employees." We suggest you burn a copy for your use during the next tax season.

Containerized Cargo

An AFSA member transferring from Brussels to Washington had his household effects packed in a steel container for transportation on a modern container ship. All transatlantic cargo is now shipped in containers. The Government Bill of Lading, as is customary, specified stowage in the hold of

the ship. When the ship arrived in Baltimore, it was discovered that the container had been stowed on deck, that the container door had become unlatched, and that during the ocean crossing the entire contents of the container had dropped overboard. In short, the employee suffered a total loss. He is now suing the shipping line (U.S. Lines) for negligence in having stowed the container on deck against the order stated in the bill of lading.

Complicating matters is a decision handed down by the U.S. District Court of New York on September 29, 1972 declaring that a shipping line cannot be considered guilty of a "deviation" (negligence) if it stows a container on deck instead of below decks in defiance of a bill of lading. The court said that container ships are constructed in a special way designed to have significant numbers of containers carried above decks. Such above-deck stowage is therefore normal for container ships and cannot be considered a deviation. Where the shipping company is immune from the possibility of being guilty of a deviation, its maximum liability for a container shipment is \$500 per package within the container. If guilty of a deviation, the company would be liable for the full value of the contents of the container.

Management now has to determine how to protect employees from future total losses in view of the fact that below-deck stowage is no longer enforceable on container ships. While management wrestles with this problem, employees whose effects will be shipped by container should make sure that the bills of lading state the number of packages inside the container so that the shipping company's liability will at least be \$500 per package. A bill of lading that states "steel container with household effects" will let the company get away with a maximum liability of \$500 for the entire shipment. More helpful is a bill of lading that describes the contents as "42 packages each containing household and personal effects." This type of language will give you a fighting chance to recover some losses.

BIRTH

Myers. A son, Christopher Edward, born to FSO and Mrs. Robert P. Myers, Jr., on February 28 in Bangkok.

DEATHS

Aguirre. Stephen E. Aguirre, FSO-retired, died in November in El Paso. Mr. Aguirre served in the Foreign Service for 33 years, entirely in posts in Mexico. He retired from Ciudad Juarez as Consul General in 1952. He is survived by his daughter, Mrs. Herman F. Wyman, 77 Northwind Dr., El Paso, Tex.

Boehringer. Carl H. Boehringer, FSO-retired, died on December 18 in Hong Kong. Mr. Boehringer served with the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce before joining the Foreign Service in 1929. He served at Tokyo, Osaka, Chungking, Nanking, Bonn and Manila before his retirement in 1961. Following retirement he served for six years as Executive Director of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan before accepting a similar appointment to Hong Kong in 1970. He is survived by his wife, Kate, who may be reached c/o George M. Raines, 4760 Wagon Trail, Littleton, Colo. and two daughters.

Fraleigh. Arnold Fraleigh, FSO-retired, died on February 13 in Virginia. Mr. Fraleigh joined the State Department in 1946 and entered the Foreign Service in 1956. He served at Tokyo before his retirement in 1964. He later taught international law and international organization at George Washington University. He is survived by his wife, Ruth, of 1309 Tracy Place, Falls Church, Va., a son and two daughters.

Frank. Laurence C. Frank, FSO-retired, died on January 12. Mr. Frank entered on duty with the Department of State in 1923 and joined the Foreign Service in 1945. He served at Vienna, Winnipeg and Tehran before his retirement in 1954. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, of Longfellow Road, Jamestown, R.I.

Green. Henrietta Hall Green, wife of FSO-retired James F. Green, died on February 15 in Washington. Mrs. Green accompanied her husband to assignments in Paris, Belgian Congo, Ghana and Morocco. In addition to her husband, 3803 Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md., she is survived by her mother and three daughters.

Keeler. Erwin P. Keeler, FSO-retired, died on February 15, in Enterprise, Alabama. Mr. Keeler served first with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture and joined the Foreign Service in 1939, serving at Rio de Janeiro, Tel Aviv and Lagos before his retirement in 1955. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. John D. Bond of Montgomery, Ala. and Mrs. Jean-Claude Porson, Box 169, Rte. 5, Annapolis, Md. Mrs. Porson is an interpreter at the Department of State.

Moore. G. Curtis Moore, DCM, Khartoum, was killed on March 2 by terrorists. Mr. Moore entered the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Frankfurt, Munich, Cairo, Beirut, Asmara, Benghazi, and Tripoli before going to Khartoum in 1969. He is survived by his wife, Sarah, c/o Alan H. Bergstrom, 3127 38th St. N.W., Washington, and two daughters. (See Editorials, this issue.)

Noel. Cleo A. Noel, Jr., Ambassador to the Sudan, was killed on March 2 by terrorists. Ambassador Noel entered the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Genoa, Dhahran, Marseille, Jidda and for two previous tours in Khartoum before his assignment there as Ambassador. He is survived by his wife, Lucille, c/o Francis McHenry, 4201 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington; a son and a daughter. (See Editorials, this issue.)

Stewart. Charles Allan Stewart, retired Ambassador, died on February 22, in Caracas. Ambassador Stewart joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Habana, Santiago, San Jose and as counselor at Caracas before his appointment as Ambassador there in 1962. He retired in 1966. Ambassador Stewart is survived by his wife of Res. Las Lauras, Ave. Las Lauras, San Rafael de la Florida, Caracas.

Noel and Moore Memorial Funds

Friends of the late Cleo Allen Noel, Jr., have announced the establishment of an educational fund at Moberly Junior College, Moberly, Missouri, in memory of Ambassador Noel, who was killed on March 2, 1973. Ambassador Noel's obituary appears elsewhere in this issue. Contributions payable to the Ambassador Cleo A. Noel, Jr., Memorial Fund may be sent to Mr. Will Ben Sims, Moberly City Bank & Trust Company, Moberly, Missouri, 65270.

Establishment of the George Curtis Moore memorial scholarship in international relations at the University of Southern California was announced Tuesday (March 6).

Chi Phi social fraternity, of which Moore was a member at USC, originated the plan for the scholarship which was accepted immediately by Dr. Ross N. Berkes, director of USC's School of International Relations from which Moore was an honor graduate in 1949 and 1951.

Roger Williams, a Beverly Hills insurance executive, a fraternity brother of Mr. Moore, is asking all Chi Phi members, other USC alumni and friends of USC to send contributions to the School of International Relations, USC, University Park, Los Angeles, Calif.

International Resort Established

Sam President, Chairman, Foreign Service Club Committee, has been appointed by the Board of Directors to represent AFSA as a delegate on the Board of Managerial Advisors of the Mayo International Center, a diplomatic recreation beach resort for the international community in the Washington, D.C. area.

The JAYCEE International Brotherhood Foundation, owners of the resort, invited AFSA to participate in this project for the 10,000 diplomatic families representing 120 countries, who presently live and work in the Washington metropolitan area. The Mayo International Center, located 30 miles due east of Washington, D.C., will officially open in May. Membership dues will be \$60.00 per family. AFSA plans to publicize this International Center.

Asian Experts

■ Just now, when the Foreign Service suffers grievously from "desuetude," as Stewart Alsop rather mildly put it, it is a pity that George R. Packard flawed his useful article "A Crisis in Understanding" in the January FSJ with a misstatement of fact about our Service's long suffering Asian experts. He asserted that we "never had even an Assistant Secretary of State who was an expert in Asian affairs, much less an Undersecretary."

John Allison was a Japanese language officer and Walter McConaughy a Chinese language officer. Both served as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs after long experience in the area as is true also of other Service incumbents of that office, including the present one. And why forget others, Alexis Johnson, three times Deputy Under Secretary and lately Undersecretary, or, for that matter, the late John Carter Vincent, who for a time was the equivalent of an Assistant Secretary? He is, happily, well remembered today.

Also, by any standard other than Mr. Packard's, Ambassador Grew belongs among the foremost Asian experts, both when Ambassador to Japan and when Under Secretary during the debate over the postwar fate of the Emperor. That was the beginning of the policy of reconciliation which always aimed at ultimate cooperation for mutual advantage as sovereign equals. With some aberrations and crudities, of which Mr. Packard rightly complains, that policy has been followed with notable success up to the present time when it is threatened by a potential defiance on both sides of the fact of interdependence of all advanced industrial nations today.

Recognition of our Asian experts' past role is not, however, my main reason for writing. At present, as Mr. Packard suggests, we need more professionals in Asian affairs, elsewhere too. In my opinion, the leadership of AFSA is not wholly without blame for the present situation of the Service. It would help, perhaps, if AFSA pondered the "desuetude" of the Service more and petty self interests less. Dedication—there are examples above—is as perish-

able as it is necessary for diplomacy, and it is not promoted by pursuit of a hopelessly arbitrary division between "management" and "employees" in the career service.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS

Some Consulates Are . . .

■ I have read with great interest Mr. Charles S. Kennedy's "Open Letter to New Appointees to the Consular Cone" in the February, JOURNAL. This is a subject on which I feel qualified to comment in view of the fact that I served as Consul General at two of what are generally regarded as among our most important Consulates General, Calcutta and Jerusalem, and that in the first five years of my service I did consular work exclusively. I think that Mr. Kennedy has appraised the appeals and rewards of consular work in a most eloquent manner and I entirely agree with his appraisal. I have often employed the same arguments as he advances in talking to junior officers about the various aspects of the work of the Foreign Service. I believe that he is under a misapprehension, however, with respect to his analysis of the officers in charge of the 68 Consulates General which our Government maintained abroad as of October, 1972. He concludes that of these 68 posts, 40 were headed by officers who (in his words) had a primarily political background, and only six by officers with a primarily consular background, whom he calls professional consular officers. Mr. Kennedy seems to think that there is something wrong about this.

I would submit, on the other hand, based on my experience at Calcutta and Jerusalem and my knowledge of a number of similar posts, namely Hong Kong, São Paulo, Bombay, or Madras—and I can think of many others—that there is nothing abnormal about this situation. The posts in question are essentially small diplomatic missions, and indeed both of those which I headed are larger than a number of our embassies. The work of posts of this sort is primarily representational and political, and like any embassy they are divided into political, economic, administrative, consular and USIS sections. Although I had had five straight years' experi-

ence of consular work, I am quite sure that this fact had no bearing whatsoever on my assignment to either Calcutta or Jerusalem, nor did I ever presume to call upon this experience, many years and many changes in the regulations afterwards, to interject myself personally into the day-to-day consular work of the post. (I hope that the lady chairman of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who herself did such yeoman service for us in Jerusalem right after the Six Day War in 1967, will agree.)

I realize that what I am saying implies that officers who have come up through the consular channel should not be assigned as consuls general at any of the posts I have mentioned, and that I am thus not being responsive to the very real problem of giving adequate recognition to such officers. That is a problem which I would hope is engaging the close attention of our administrative and personnel planners, and I salute Mr. Kennedy for raising it in his article. I would repeat, however, that the particular assignments I have mentioned should not be regarded as consular assignments, and that in this sense Mr. Kennedy's statistical table is misleading.

EVAN M. WILSON

Washington

No More Cheap Shots

■ Several times since my retirement from the Foreign Service I have been in large conferences with business men and government officials, both US and foreign, during which such government officials have stated they were not diplomats and therefore could be frank. These statements have been accepted as a matter of course.

I do not for a minute believe such government officials were any more open and frank than Foreign Service officials would have been. I resent such government officials taking cheap shots at Foreign Service officers in an attempt to curry favors with businessmen. I am worried that the businessmen seem to accept these statements without question. I am even more concerned that Foreign Service officers have a reputation that causes businessmen to accept such statements without question, and believe Foreign Service



JOIN US NOW

Glendale Yearound opens April 14 with beautiful lots still available. Values constantly rising on these vacation home sites. A beautiful wooded lot high in the Allegheny mountains can be yours.

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.



Glendale Yearound and Prince Gallitzin State Park
 Flinton 53
 Ashville 36
 Altoona 30
 PA. TPKE. 20 MILES
 Breezewood
 Washington

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."



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

Glendale Yearound is owned and managed by members of the United States Foreign Affairs Agencies

Glendale Yearound
 Flinton, Penna. 16640

Please send literature about Glendale Yearound your purchase by mail plan.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____



officers should continually be on guard so that their attitude will lead to their having a more favorable reputation on this point.

HOYT PRICE

Allison Park, Penna.

AMA Wants You

■ The AFSA representative at post recently circulated the letter of January 10, 1973 from Mr. Bushnell, Executive Director of AFSA to all representatives, urging that they bring the availability of Associate Membership in AFSA to the attention of businessmen. This is an excellent idea.

Contacts are also encouraged in the other direction by the American Management Association, which offers reduced membership fees to officials of the United States Government. I discovered this when applying for membership last year, and have found the numerous publications and books they have sent on personnel and management techniques, foreign trade and business economics, well worthwhile. The AMA also offers a series of seminars on various aspects of export expansion, export credit, accounting and management at their headquarters in New York, in major US cities, San Juan and Montreal. The AMA is also affiliated with the International Management Association with centers in Brussels, London, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, São Paulo and Caracas. An AMA membership would seem to provide good opportunities for FSOs to expand their business knowledge and contacts.

I would like to know whether a substantial number of FSOs have taken advantage of the discount on AMA membership and found it useful; also whether attendance at the AMA seminars and workshops is possible under the Department training programs.

WILLIAM VANB. ROBERTSON
Abidjan

Coffee for One?

■ Good to find that the JOURNAL has the space, time and money to print out Ellis Briggs.

There are some who say: "Fewer Ambassadors, more Couriers, better operations."

I offer three ideas:

- (1) He may take back his slurs;
- (2) He may join me for a martini

lunch at which I will straighten him out, or lay him out!

(3) Name his seconds. The choice of weapons is his.

Grab them vibes?

RODGER C. ABRAHAM

President, Diplomatic
Courier Association

"Professional Among Professionals"

■ I have read Ambassador Briggs' comments (January and February 1973) re State Department management and the role of AFSA, and have this to say:

I feel the Ambassador overlooks the fact that the Foreign Service is made up of many breeds of professional diplomats . . . professional secretaries . . . professional administrators . . . professional communicators.

I resent the fact that the Ambassador would, for instance, probably have his secretary, and those of his fellow diplomats, work out of sheer love two hours after COB for the chance to further the aims of the professional diplomat which sometimes appear to be little more than self-serving. Then there is the communicator (which I am proud to be and consider myself equally professional at my job as the diplomat is at his), whose dinner is getting rapidly cold, hanging in there to transmit that product of professional diplomacy.

AFSA has at least (and at last)

confirmed the fact that I (and the secretary and the duty officer and whoever else) will be compensated for that late afternoon/early evening "pearl of wisdom" which "must go."

As a professional in a Foreign Service of professionals, I can only hope that the Ambassador Briggses of the Service come to realize that the Service can ill afford to view themselves, i.e., the diplomats, as the ELITE. We cannot live without the Ambassador Briggses; and they cannot survive without the remainder of the Service.

It is the feeling of elitism that generated the Grievance System, the seeking of just compensation for just work, etcetera, and I, for one, am truly sorry that the Ambassador Briggses of the Service are not in the forefront of the fight for an equitable Foreign Service with "liberty and justice" for ALL.

The name of the game when it is all said and done is diplomacy; but diplomacy is a many-faceted jewel. A Foreign Service with mutual respect among all of us is surely a far better Service than one that is elitist. I do not claim to be a diplomat, but I do serve diplomats and, I hope, well, I am a technician, not a cipher. It would be a fine thing if the Ambassador Briggses of the Service would come to recognize this fact, because that is what diplomacy for the '70's is all about.

GEORGE J. HILLEY

Lahore

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



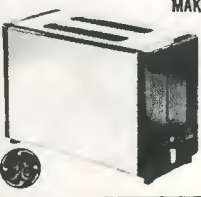
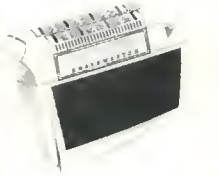
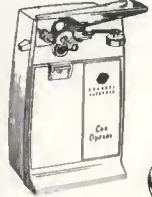
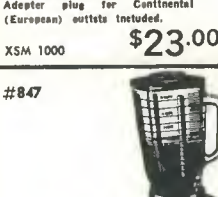
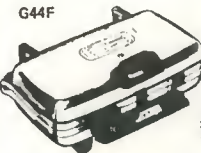
"We of the Threshold Panel recommend that you transfer to the administrative cone."

Complete line of General Electric appliances for overseas

**MAJOR
APPLIANCES
ALSO FOR
IMMEDIATE DELIVERY**



**AVAILABLE FOR
220 VOLTS AND
50 OR 60 CYCLE
OPERATION**

 DELUXE SPRAY, STEAM, AND DRY TRAVEL IRON F-49 MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! Works on 120 volts A.C. or D.C. and 230 volts A.C. \$14.50	 AUTOMATIC GRIDDLE WITH DOUBLE NON-STICK COATING EG-17 MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! Fry eggs, bacon or pancakes at one time—no need to wait \$27.30	 DELUXE Sunbeam MIXMASTER MIXER World's finest—in a gleaming chrome Bakelite Mix-Finder dial with 12 speeds. Full 200 watt motor. Full power at all speeds. Large beaters shaped to fit bowl. Mixer removable from stand. Tilt away motor. Two stainless steel mixing bowls. Recipe book. \$52.00	 HAIR DRYER HD2-D Large bouffant with convenient reach-in top fits easily over the largest rollers Convenient "spot curl" attachment for quick touch-up curling Beige color dryer operates in or out of its richly designed carry and storage case Waist or shoulder strap allows freedom of movement 3 heat selections plus cool \$18.25
 AUTOMATIC TOOTHBRUSH TB9 Proved to provide cleaner teeth than ordinary hand brushing Four personal snap-in brushes Cordless, contoured power handle with convenient push button switch Convenient charger base—may be wall mounted \$17.25	 AUTOMATIC TOASTER T-17 MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! Has extra high toast lift—no more burned fingers \$13.90	 INTERNATIONAL ELECTRIC SHAVER #847 [Wherever you travel in the world], the Sunbeam Multi-Volt Shave-master shaver will give you fine, smooth, comfortable shave. Adapts to all electrical supply and outlets. Designed with double action stainless steel shaving head that features etched precision honed surgical steel blades. Works on voltages from 110-220 AC only. Adapter plug for Continental (European) outlets included. \$23.00	 PORTABLE MIXER M 21-G MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! Weighs only 3 lbs.—but mixes heaviest of batters, as well as lightest of sauces \$12.35
 BUFFET SKILLET SK27AVT GE double non-stick coated cooking surface provides non-stick cooking and easy care. Snap-Away leg end handle sections for easier cleaning, plus "Tip-Tot" ability with Tilt Leg feature for draining cooking oil, grease and for basting. Also has easy to remove push button ejector on temperature control. \$24.75	 CUSTOM ELECTRIC CAN OPENER EC-24 Featuring "Easy-Clean" removable cutter and pierce lever assembly. \$11.80	 ALL PURPOSE STAND MIXER M45 Versatile may be used as a stand mixer or as a portable mixer. Feature 12 selective mixing speeds or any speed in between plus 2 mixing bowls—1½ and 3 quart sizes. \$26.80	 AUTOMATIC IMMERSIBLE COFFEEMAKER P-15D MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! It's completely immersible—percolator gets cleaner, coffee tastes better \$17.70
 DELUXE TOAST-R-OVEN T-93F 2 appliances in one—it's an automatic toaster, it's an oven. When toasting, it pops open automatically when done. Slide out crumb tray for easy cleaning. \$28.50	 10-SPEED "CYCLE BLEND" OSTERIZER BLENDER #847 7 versatile push-button speeds. Three additional cycle speeds, grate, chop or grind. 5-cup glass container. 960 watts. \$39.60	 STEAM AND DRY IRON F76F MAKES A GREAT GIFT, TOO! New Perm-Press temperature setting for best ironing results \$12.50	 AUTOMATIC GRILL & WAFFLE BAKER G44F It grills cheese and tomato sandwiches, fries bacon and eggs, and bakes waffles \$20.00

GENERAL ELECTRONICS, INC.

Authorized Exporter For  Appliances--Large & Small

4513 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W. (OPPOSITE SEARS), WASHINGTON, D.C.

All orders destined New York A.P.O. and F.P.O. add \$3.00 for first item and \$2.00 each additional item for Parcel Post, Insurance and Handling. San Francisco A.P.O. and F.P.O. please write for Proforma Invoice.



In eighteen years or so, this child may be competing with hundreds of others for the same job.

By the time this child is grown, our nation's work force should total 106 million persons. A net increase of 27 million jobs by 1990.

How will they be created?

Foreign trade in the 1960's generated from 600,000 to 900,000 new U.S. jobs.

One way is through further expansion abroad. The more a company expands abroad the greater its growth in domestic employment.

In the 1960's, U.S. multinational companies increased domestic employment at a higher rate (31.3%) than the national average (12.3%).

Another way to create more jobs here is to increase exports.

Foreign trade generated from 600,000 to 900,000 new jobs for Americans during the 1960's, when U.S. multinational companies in-

creased exports by 180% while the national average went up 53.5%.

Thousands of patents are held by U.S. multinational companies. Many, as in our case, originated abroad and are used here to develop new business.

Conversely, many are used abroad—with a portion of the profits from new sales remaining there. This helps create new jobs, new purchasing power, new taxes, new technologies and increased exports.

Restrictions on foreign expansion and repeal of tax credits could inhibit future growth of U.S. economy.

Some of the profits, of course, accrue here as an important contribution to the U.S. balance of payments.

Restrictions on foreign expansion, the transfer of technology,

and the repeal of tax credits for payment of foreign income taxes could seriously inhibit multinational companies' contributions to U.S. economic growth.

This could reduce earnings, especially those funds for research and development and domestic expansion—from which spring new products and new jobs. Not to mention increased exports.

So if our nation takes the position that growing companies like ours are today, in effect, exporting jobs—something we would never condone—there may one day be a lot more 18-year-olds than there are jobs for them.

International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

ITT

SERVING PEOPLE AND NATIONS EVERYWHERE