China-Burma-India
by John K. Emmerson

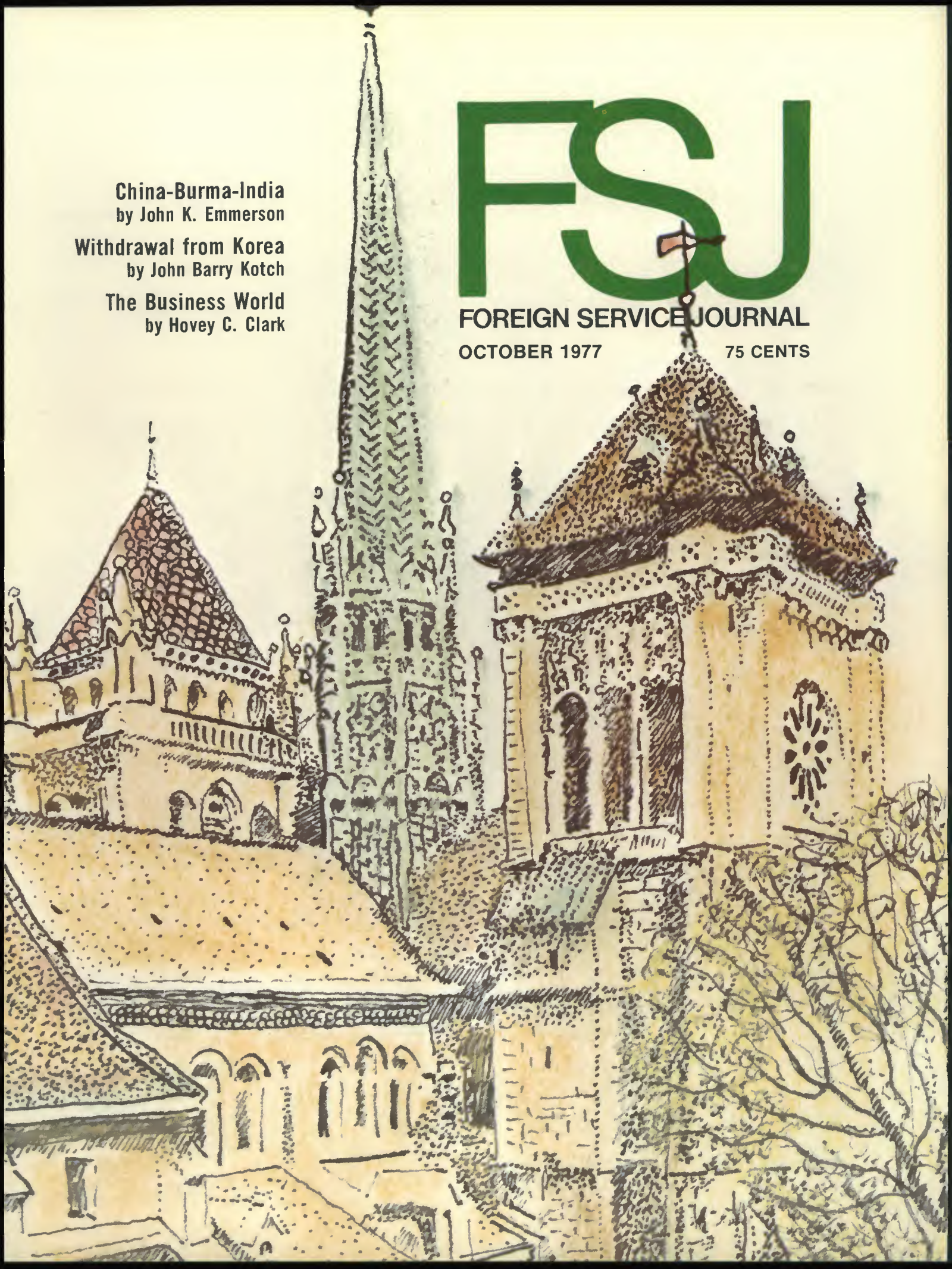
Withdrawal from Korea
by John Barry Kotch

The Business World
by Hovey C. Clark

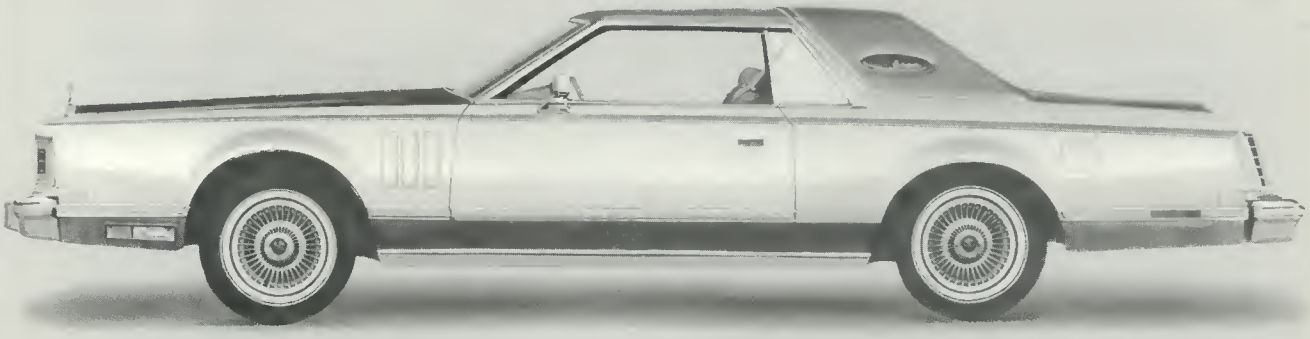
FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1977 75 CENTS



Ford celebrates its 75th anniversary with new better ideas... including diplomatic discounts.



'78 MARK V DIAMOND JUBILEE EDITION
The most expensive production car made in America. The Mark V Diamond Jubilee Edition. Available in Jubilee Gold or Blue, this Mark V is for those who notice the small things which make a car great. Personalized by such touches as a leather-bound toolkit and owner's manual, and even an umbrella.

'78 FORD LTD
Delivers superior full-size benefits of room, comfort and ride for the same price as its smaller competitors. Has a surprisingly efficient engine and a deep-well trunk.

'78 FORD FAIRMONT
The Ford in your future. Fairmont's a new generation of car from Ford. With 95% of the interior space of some full-size cars, it has the fuel efficiency of a compact. A maintenance schedule of 12 months or 10,000 miles for oil changes and 20,000 miles between tune-ups can drastically reduce maintenance costs.

Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new_____.

WRITE TO:
DIPLOMATIC SALES: FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006/Tel: (202) 785-6047

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____STATE_____

COUNTRY_____ZIP_____

Ford 75TH ANNIVERSARY
FORD EXPORT CORPORATION

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1977: Volume 54, No. 10

Cover: Calvin's Church, Geneva, by Virginia Knepper

American Foreign Service Association

Officers and Members of the Governing Board

LARS HYDLE, *President*
PAUL von WARD, *Vice President*
THOMAS O'CONNOR, *Second Vice President*
FRANK CUMMINS, *Secretary*
JULIEANN MCGRATH, *Treasurer*
NANCY J. FOX, *AID Representative*
JOSEPH N. McBRIDE, KENNETH N. ROGERS, JAMES R. VANDIVIER, *State Representatives*
JANET RUBEN, *USIA Representative*
EUGENE M. BRADERMAN & ROBERT G. CLEVELAND, *Retired Representatives*

Journal Editorial Board

JOEL M. WOLDMAN, *Chairman*
JAMES F. O'CONNOR
HARRIET P. CULLEY
WESLEY N. PEDERSEN
ARNOLD P. SCHIFFERDECKER
GEORGE F. SHERMAN, JR.
RALPH STUART SMITH

Staff

ALLEN B. MORELAND, *Executive Director*
WILBUR P. CHASE, *Counselor*
CATHERINE WAELDER, *Counselor*
CECIL B. SANNER, *Membership and Circulation*
CHRISTINA MARY LANTZ, *Executive Secretary*

Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center

BERNICE MUNSEY, *Director/Counselor*

AFSA Scholarship Programs

PATRICIA C. SQUIRE

Journal

SHIRLEY R. NEWHALL, *Editor*
McIVER ART & PUBLICATIONS, INC., *Art Direction*

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES, 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 683-3421
ALBERT D. SHONK CO., 681 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105 (415) 392-7144
JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD., 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Sq., London SW1 01-834-8023/9. International Representatives.

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.

While the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL is responsible for its general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under Executive Order 11636 on the editorial page and in the AFSA News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

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); $7.50; two years, $12.00. 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.

©American Foreign Service Association, 1977. 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. and at additional post office.

LETTERS TO FSJ

Those Great FS Juniors

Thank you for printing the photographs and biographies of the AFSA Merit Award winners and the very moving article by Corinne Mull in the August issue of the *Journal*.

These are going up on the bulletin board of the Workshop for Foreign Service Families as the best evidence possible that Foreign Service life can be a successful and happy experience for young people.

We are so often focused on problems that we forget the positive aspects of Foreign Service life for families. Thanks for the welcome dose of up-beat news!

JOAN WILSON
Workshop for
Foreign Service Families
Foreign Service Institute

Orchid for Prexy Pat

Pat Woodring having relinquished the presidency of our Association (the first woman to hold the position) and having declined to run for the office because of a prospective overseas assignment before the term would expire, one cannot refrain from expressing a deep appreciation for her constructive and graceful contribution to our Association and profession.

Steadfastly holding to her Governing Board membership during a turbulent period in which an unusual degree of persistence and calm in the performance of duty were required and assuming the presidency at a very low point indeed in the Association's fortunes, she brought to that position a restorative common sense, an intelligent grasp of problems and issues and a poise which helped promptly to coalesce its energies and focus them once again upon the urgent objectives which had been obscured by her predecessor. She brought a selfless dedication, intelligence and activism which contributed much to restoring the Association to unified and effective action in the Department, in the Executive Branch and on Capitol Hill and did so with a healing dignity, grace and charm.

In so performing on the Board she also restored dignity to our profession, exhibiting that balance of calm and enthusiasm, patience and energy, prudence and initiative, as well as truthfulness, precision and clarity of thought and expression, good temper and all-around effectiveness which are the qualities of the superior diplomatic officer.

In saluting this performance I suggest that we should express our feelings in some tangible way. I would like to propose the establishment of some suitable fund bearing her name. We seem to have no permanent scholarship in the name of a lady Foreign Service officer. Consideration should be given to creating one in Pat's. Alternatively, a general fund could be established in her name whose income could be used for helping to meet Association emergencies. She certainly helped to meet one of ours and I for one would gladly contribute to whatever is decided to be most appropriate.

SMITH SIMPSON
Annandale

Retiree Report

It's later than you think.

Lark Creek Inn, Larkspur, California is a good place to have a birthday celebration.

Especially if you've got all the people from Kuwait, Tampa, Visalia, Laguna Hills, San Anselmo, Petaluma and Greenbrae together.

Also good is to have Hanns Kornell champagne from St. Helens, Napa Valley.

Just to reassure the old crocks.

AVERY F. PETERSON
Boise, Idaho

Mandatory Retirement—Pro

I agree that the ruling of the District of Columbia Circuit Court raising the mandatory Foreign Service retirement age should be appealed, even though I have no hope that an appeals court will reverse what seems to be a national trend.

Even the proponents of a higher retirement age do not ask us to believe that most individuals over the age of 60 are as mentally, physically, and emotionally capable as they were ten or 20 years earlier. Instead they argue that an individual should be judged on his own merits regardless of age. While I would probably be called un-American were I to argue against reward on the basis of individual merit, as an operating precept for the Foreign Service, I find the idea of little value in separating senior career officers. Can we seriously imagine an FSO-1 with 30 years service being separated because he was no longer competent to perform his assigned duties? Of course not. He would be given a comfortable office with few responsibilities and permitted to remain until he reached the mandatory retirement age. The Foreign Service personnel system never has operated, and probably never will operate in a manner that is detrimental to the interests of those in the highest ranks of the Service, merited or not.

Rather than prompting critical determinations of individual competence, the court decision further entrenches those who already possess the most power, the highest salaries, and other perquisites of the established order. It penalizes, by slower promotion or less new recruitment, those of equal or more merit who would aspire to those positions.

GILBERT M. JOHNSON
FSO-5

Mandatory Retirement—Con

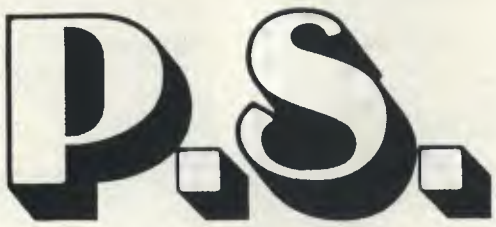
I would like to offer some comments regarding the question of mandatory retirement at age 60.

First I should make clear that I am staff corps and 58 years of age. To this I will add that I feel a very young 58, vigorous physically and mentally, that my Foreign Service career has been my life and that I would not willingly cut it short because of calendar statistics. If mandatory retirement was effective at age 60, I would continue to work, essentially to feel as a contributor and participant in today's world. At the same time, I feel my experience and training is and will continue to be valuable to the Foreign Service. Further, I strongly feel that not all people who reach age 60 should be relegated to a "has been" heap, and firmly feel that there are many much younger people, both in government and in private industry who are older in conduct and capacity than some of their seniors.

It might be provident to require the over-60s to meet newly estab-

Continued on page 35

THERE'S AN IMPORTANT



AVAILABLE THROUGH YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

Putting it down in black and white is a big help in finding out where you stand in terms of financial security. Take a few minutes to think about your own P.S.—your Protection/Security ratio—then consider this Protection Supplement.

Group Life Insurance

basic $17,500 amount
increasing as determined by dividends

PLUS

$17,500
Accidental Death & Dismemberment Insurance

PLUS

Group Life Insurance for Dependents

$3,000 for spouse with amounts for unmarried children ranging from $300 to $3,000 depending on age.

PLUS

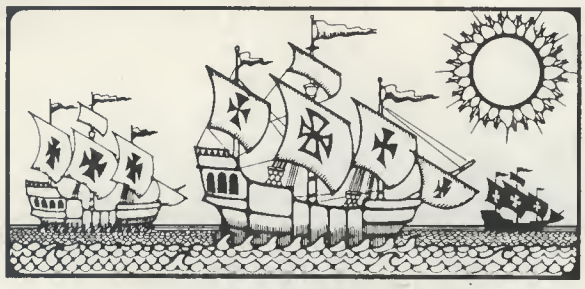
the option of enrolling for $20,000 Additional Group Life and $20,000 Additional Accidental Death & Dismemberment insurance for small additional premium.

For information on eligibility and costs, write:

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520
or
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 1305, Washington, D.C. 20006
or
Telephone: 393-4220

SHIPPING LOSSES OF ALL KINDS • PET LIABILITY • LIGHTNING DAMAGE • TRANSIT/WAR RISKS • SPORTS LIABILITY • FLOOD • STORM • WINDS • RAIL • MARINE • PILFERAGE • LOSSES BY AIR • STOLEN LUGGAGE • FIRE DAMAGE • BODILY INJURY LIABILITY • BREAKING AND ENTERING



ALL THE WAY...
with
travel-pak

Going abroad for awhile? Setting up housekeeping on foreign shores? When you're ready to make your move, protecting your possessions—personal and household—can be done on one TRAVEL-PAK policy. From here—to there—while there (including storage if requested)—and back again TRAVEL-PAK covers . . .

TRAVEL-PAK also includes comprehensive personal liability coverage, should you or your family become involved in a situation for which you may become legally liable.

True—you CAN go all the way with TRAVEL-PAK

When you return to the Washington area call us—we'll be happy to help you set-up a sound, economical insurance program covering your home, auto and life!

travel-pak
WHEN YOU'RE GOING TO LIVE ABROAD!

James W. Barrett Company, Inc.
Insurance Brokers
1140 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: 202-296-6440
A REED SHAW STENHOUSE COMPANY

Gentlemen: 13B
Tell me all about Travel-Pak.
Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

One of the last bridges in Paris en route to the Yonne River and then to the Canal de Bourgogne.

THE BURGUNDY CANAL BY SMALL BOAT

JANIS BENSON

Life in the Foreign Service is not all striped pants and caviar. Sometimes it's blue jeans and a can of Beefaroni. At least, that's the way it was for us during our 13 years in Europe while my husband was serving as Cultural Attaché in Stockholm, Paris and the Hague.

Instead of smoke-filled rooms, a quiet harbor. Rather than cocktail party chatter, the lapping of water and sound of wind in the rigging. Not the heady scent of French perfume, but the pungent odor of fish and diesel oil, delicately seasoned with a touch of sea salt. These are cherished memories of our years abroad.

While serving in Paris we owned a 32-foot long, 10-foot beam motor sailer, ketch rig, built for us in Bergen, Norway. The stories *Tina* could tell would—and do—fill several log books. I'd like to lift a few pages from those logs and tell you about the trip my husband and I took through the province of Burgundy en route from Paris to Arles, France, with a vacation on the Mediterranean Sea as our goal.

The Burgundy Canal is 155 miles long. Constructed in 1836, it is like a narrow country lane with poplar trees lining the quiet water like toy soldiers in a row. Sometimes the canal is straight as a ruler, but often it curves gently, offering surprises at every turn: a buttercup-filled meadow, an ancient chateau, a picture-book village. You might spend the night in the lee of a curve tying a couple of lines to trees and putting out your anchor. You're at rest, undisturbed by anything more than an occasional gust of wind which the tall trees catch and toss back across the water. You may wake in the morning to find half a dozen sheep baa-ing at you through the porthole!

TheWhiteHouseNeeds YourViewsOnEnergy

PRESIDENT CARTER has proposed a national energy plan as an essential step toward resolving the energy problem.

A national energy policy will work, however, only if it is sound and only if it has the full support of the people.

The White House, therefore, wants to know what you, as a member of the business and professional community, think of the proposed energy policy.

Are you for it? Against it? Do you have any thoughts or ideas of your own as to how it might be made more practical and hence more acceptable to industry and the general public? Are you aware of the consequences of inaction?

The Goals for 1985

The President's goals for 1985 are these:

1. Reduce the annual growth of total energy demand to below two percent.
2. Reduce gasoline consumption ten percent below the present level.
3. Reduce oil imports from a potential of 16 million barrels a day to six million barrels—roughly one-eighth of our total energy consumption.
4. Establish a Strategic Petroleum Reserve of one billion barrels.
5. Increase coal production by two-thirds—to more than a billion tons a year.
6. Bring 90 percent of all existing homes, and all new buildings, up to minimum energy-efficiency standards.
7. Use solar energy in more than two-and-a-half million homes.

Make Your Reaction Known

Your association joins with the American Society of Association Executives in urging you to write or wire the White House today and let the Administration know your reaction to the proposed energy policy.

Express your opinion. Let the Administration know the extent of your support of the proposed policy. This is vitally important to a successful solution of the energy problem. The address is:

ENERGY
Office of Public Liaison
Business and Trade Division
Room 100, Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20500

Or, if you're so inclined, you might collect the makings of a gourmet dinner while loosening mooring lines, because this is big, fat snail country.

The Burgundy Canal rises steeply to its summit at Puilly and offers an athletic challenge to negotiate since it boasts 190 hand-operated locks which YOU help to operate! Each lock is tended by a lock-keeper or *éclusier* who is often a disabled veteran of the Second World War, who has been given a small cottage, a plot of garden and the fruit trees on each side of the canal in exchange for tending the lock. Traffic is not very heavy for the most part. An occasional pleasure boat and a dozen or so barges a day.

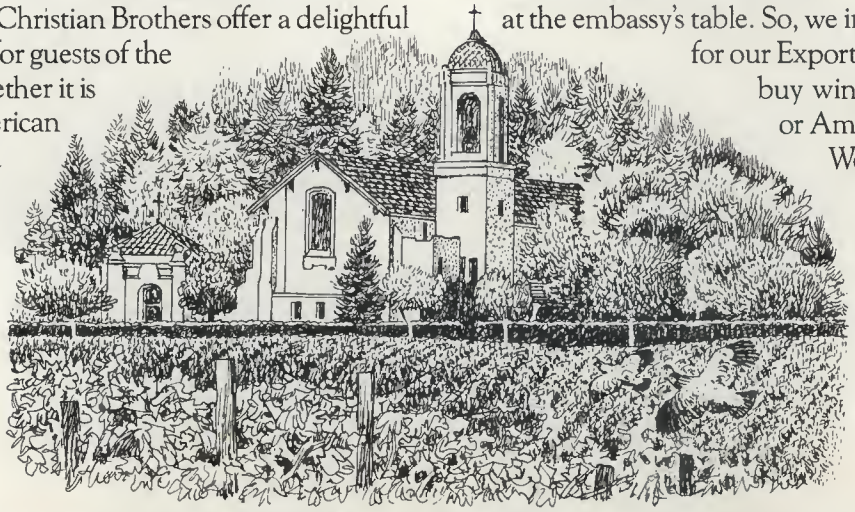
The locks are small, only about 18 feet wide and seven feet deep, often with slanting sides. As you approach the first gate you sound your horn and "tread water" until someone shuffles out. Slowly he, or she most likely, will begin to turn the crank and slowly the gate will creak open. You move carefully in and the captain or mate will climb the slippery iron ladder in order to fix a line to a bollard. Once up there you lend a hand with the other cranks and pulleys that permit the water to seep in and rise. You chat with the *éclusier* about the weather—usually *mauvais*—politics and food. The year we took our trip, de Gaulle was up for reelection. Every lock-keeper was concerned about one thing: would "le Grand" appropriate money to repair his locks or not? You might buy a couple of duck eggs or a loaf of bread. You casually offer a cigarette which is indifferently accepted but always expected. You have become aware of several pairs of eyes regarding you from behind lace-curtained windows and cautiously the children come out of the house and solemnly take the gum or Lifesavers you hold out to them. A scrawny cat slithers guiltily across the slimy lock gate. Chickens are cackling in the yard behind the house.

Once, as we waited in the lock for the water to rise, the *éclusier's* wife brought a pitchfork to the water's edge and speared a dead fish. She tossed it into the chicken yard and an unholy holler went up. "I didn't know chickens liked fish," my husband said. "Ah, no, Monsieur," she shrugged, "but it helps them pass the time!" Another time the lady of the lock told us of a recent suicide. The body of a local youth was found floating in the lock. When we asked why he might have drowned himself she looked at us incredulously. "For love!" she said. To her the surprising thing was not the suicide but the fact that this French Romeo had jumped in fully clothed—with even his slippers on! Ah, the French. It is often the women who will operate the lock, the man being perhaps lame. One memorable rainy morning the beautiful daughter of the house, clad only in slippers and a pale blue negligée, pumped us through.

One Sunday, a red-letter day since we did 49 locks, we approached, sounded our horn and waited. We saw a large group of people seated around a long table outside the cottage, drinking wine and enjoying lunch—all dressed to the nth degree. A small girl in white dress and veil was obviously the reason for the celebration and you could almost hear hearts sink when the men realized they'd have to work. But did they work fast! Four men leaped up from the table and had the gates open and starting to close even as we glided in. They pumped the water in like Niagara Falls and *Tina* literally sprang up! Quickly my husband took his camera to shoot a picture of the festivities only to discover that one of the women was

Let our premium wines introduce your guests to the famous Napa Valley.

The Napa Valley in Northern California is famous for its viniculture, and the premium wines of The Christian Brothers offer a delightful introduction for guests of the embassy. Whether it is the truly American Zinfandel or a Chardonnay distinctively Californian we are certain that the premium wines of The Christian Brothers will gain favor at the embassy's table. So, we invite you to write for our Export Guide if you buy wine for Embassies or American delegations. We offer complete service anywhere in the world.



From The Christian Brothers of California.

WRITE: CHARLES J. CANDIANO, DEPT. F.S., FROMM AND SICHEL, INC., 655 BEACH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109, U.S.A.
Worldwide Distributors: Fromm and Sichel, Inc., San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

Because of low, fixed bridges on the canals, one must unstep the masts before heading south.

taking a picture of us! They didn't see very many foreigners around the canal. Almost before the water had fully risen, the gate was opened and three of the men had already rushed back to the table, laughing and eager for more wine and good food. We putted off, waving to the group, all of us in high spirits.

Just before you reach the summit of the canal you round a bend and are greeted by one of the loveliest sights you can imagine. The meadow, where buff-colored cows stand knee-deep in buttercups, rises steeply to become a high green hill. Atop the hill is beautiful Chateauneuf, which dates from the 14th century. Its pale stone and tiled roofs glisten in the gentle rain and you can just imagine the barons of the castle surveying the countryside, alert to approaching danger.

Upon reaching the summit at 1300 feet above sea-level we had to pass through the Puilly tunnel which is 1 and ¾ miles long and unlit. I had been dreading this part of the trip but it proved to be exciting and fairly easy. By training our searchlight on the overhead electrical wires we could steer a true course in spite of the fact that there were only a couple of feet to spare on each side. There is an occasional fresh-air hole in the top and I had the feeling as we motored past each hole that I was looking up from the bottom of a well. In the distance we could see the pinprick of light which grew larger and larger until at last it became our exit into fresh air and sunshine.

There are 76 more locks after Puilly but this time water is emptied out rather than let in. The canal becomes wider until it joins the lazy Saône River whose greasy surface seems barely to move. What a contrast to the treacherous, ever-shifting Rhône which can be safely conquered only with a pilot on board.

I look back on that two-week journey from Paris to Arles and remember the good times and the fascinating experiences. I forget that we had rain almost every day, that locks were often hard to work and barges sometimes bullied our small boat and made us cower. We sailed through some of the smallest locks in the world and went through the second deepest in the world at Bollène which falls 80 feet in just a little over six minutes. I hope we were good ambassadors for the United States as we met "ordinary" Frenchmen in our blue jeans and slickers..

Did you know that?

• Prior to 1960, when FSO's enjoyed a freedom of choice of contractor, Security and the Federal Storage Company (which merged in 1963) performed 80% of all packing and storage of household effects for State, AID and USIA?

• Since 1964, Security has not submitted a proposal in response to the Department's Invitation to Bid on a contract for such work?

• Security's packing and storage volume is greater than it was fifteen years ago? Our Cadillac-type service is deservedly popular.

• In addition, hundreds of your colleagues are using our insurance department through its Annual Government Service Floater, and have been doing so for decades.

• While Security does not solicit the export packing of FSO's household effects, many still come for that and, just as important, storage of their left-behind treasures in one of five beautiful depositories? They feel that peace of mind is worth the extra cost.

• Telephone 234-5600, Roland Showalter or Conrad Posey, and find out. It may be less than you think!

• In packing and storage, as always, the best is the cheapest!

Security Storage Company of Washington

MAIN OFFICE: 1701 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 • PHONE: (202) 234-5600
MARYLAND: Bethesda-Chevy Chase, Marlow Heights, White Oak/VIRGINIA: Alexandria, McLean

Vinegar Joe, Merrill's Marauders,
Chennault's Flying Tigers and heroic *nisei,* along the Ledo Road in

CHINA-BURMA-INDIA

JOHN K. EMMERSON

The establishment of the China-Burma-India Theater of War dates back to December 1941. At their meeting in Washington two weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed on a "Europe first" priority for the war. At the same time, they decided to set up a China Theater of Operations under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Roosevelt believed firmly that China must be treated as a Great Power and this principle, fiction though it was, guided American policy throughout the war and into the postwar period. Warfare in the area of China had two purposes: to establish a base for operations against Japan and to keep China in the war. An American commander was necessary, to serve as chief of staff to the Generalissimo and to run the American show. General George Marshall, then Army Chief of Staff, sounded out General Joseph W. Stilwell, an experienced "China hand" who spoke fluent Chinese. Stilwell wrote in his diary at the time: "So I said, 'What's the job?' and he gave me the paper. Coordinate and smooth out and run the road, and get the various factions together and grab command and in general give 'em the works. Money no object."

Stilwell arrived in India on February 25, 1942. The Japanese were rapidly taking over Southeast Asia; they would capture Rangoon in ten days. By March 11 the British and Chinese in Burma were being encircled and driven north. Stilwell led the final band of 100, which included, in his words, "HQ group, Seagraves surgical unit and strays," on a 140-mile march through the jungles and out to India to escape the victory-bent enemy. At New Delhi on May 25, "Uncle Joe" uttered the words which were to adorn his niche in history. "I claim we got a hell of a beating. We got run out of Burma and it is humiliating as hell. I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it."

Retaking Burma proved more difficult than Stilwell anticipated. Since this British colony in enemy hands blocked land access to China, it had to be recaptured if China was to play a role in the war. This meant clearing the Japanese out of North Burma, securing air fields so that supplies could be flown to China, hacking out a land route to connect with the British-built southern end of the Burma Road, and laying pipelines to speed the flow of gasoline to thirsty flying machines waiting on the other side. These were staggering enough problems but they were exacerbated by the human and political intrigues, contradictions, and animosities within the CBI.

You either hated or you worshipped Joe Stilwell. There was no middle ground. His immediate associates were intensely loyal. They understood the fanaticism of his concept of the soldier's duty. If he had been Japanese, he would have been a samurai or a *kamikaze* pilot. As it was, he spent most of his time in the Burma jungles, away from his numerous headquarters in New Delhi, Chungking, and Ceylon, his battered campaign hat shading his eyes, his carbine in hand, egging on the Chinese and leading a platoon. Scrawny, wiry, half-blind, consumed by gut energy and determination, "Vinegar Joe" felt only contempt for those who did not, in

---

John K. Emmerson began his Foreign Service career (1935) in Japan and his last post was Tokyo, 1962-66. In between he served in Lima, China-Burma-India war theater, occupied Japan, Moscow, Karachi, Beirut, Paris, Lagos and Salisbury.

This is a chapter from his book, The Japanese Thread: Thirty Years of Foreign Service, *which will be published in 1978 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.*

his opinion, share his single-minded dedication to fighting and killing Japanese. Most of the little admiration he had to spare went to the infantryman slogging it out in the mud, the hero, he believed, of all wars. He poured out in the little pocket-sized notebooks he kept in his campaign shirt his contempt for those in the seats of power. He could be venomous; he called his handicapped commander-in-chief, President Roosevelt, "Old Rubberlegs." Chiang Kai-shek, for whom he reserved the fury of his frustration, was always "Peanut." The British, the "Limeys" in his diary's language, were imperialists out to restore their Empire, while Churchill gave lip service to the Atlantic Charter. Stalin, with his hard-as-nails toughness, impressed Stilwell, who wrote: "It was like a blood transfusion to see Stalin put backbone in our gas bags. Churchill wanted to poop around the periphery and take Rhodes. Bah. Stalin said 'No' and that was that." In Stilwell's mind, "Peanut" was ready to sit out the rest of the war once the United States had come in: "Coast, boys, the Americans and the British will finish it up." The "Limeys" had no interest in China; Churchill was said to be "quite willing to see China collapse."

Although assigned to the CBI for fourteen months, I met Stilwell only two or three times. He was always considerate, read my reports, and was glad to listen to me tell of my conversations with Japanese prisoners of war and of my ideas on psychological indoctrination. He usually greeted me with, "How is your Sunday School for the Japs coming along?" As John Davies has written, Stilwell believed "that the only way to beat the enemy was to kill him and that psychological and economic warriors had to prove their worth in body counts." He could be gracious, however. When I congratulated him on his fourth star in August 1944, he wrote in reply, "If, as you say, you are basking in the reflected glory of four stars I am sure there is no fear that you will suffer from sunburn."

Simply put, Stilwell's mission was to get through to China. One way was "The Road." By the end of 1943 what later was christened the Stilwell Road stretched 103 miles across the muddy mountains from the starting point at Ledo, Assam, to a spot in Burma called Shingbwiyang, at the head of the Hukawng valley. Colonel Lewis Andrew Pike told his men when he took over the construction job: "The Ledo Road is going to be built—mud, rain, and malaria be damned." And built it was, doubtless one of the most fantastic engineering accomplishments in history. Jeeping the Road, I often came across huddles of black GIs forming impromptu choirs to sing spirituals and popular songs at lunch or rest breaks. The music took on an eerie, vibrant, unreal, echo-like quality, an unworldly interlude out of the perpetual rhythm of the background sounds of the Road: beat of motors, screeches of metal against rock, male profanity, and avalanches of earth.

> "When Jim suggested the name 'Merrill's Marauders,' the General snorted and took us over another rump-thumping bump. The name stuck. The mystery was how I, unaggressive by nature, had got myself mixed up with this wild bunch of marauding warriors."

Another link in the line to China was the Bengal and Assam Railway, running the 800 miles from Calcutta to Ledo. By March of 1944, GI locomotive engineers were driving rundown equipment at breakneck speeds over less than robust tracks, strewing upturned cars along the way, in Charlton Ogburn's words, "like dead giant voles with their paws in the air." Mathematical calculations on the length of the war concluded that equipment, although sacrificed to speed, would still last long enough.

Animal power was not forgotten. Elephants were mobilized to tote logs and railway ties. Mules from Missouri, horses from Australia, 700 of them, served Merrill's Marauders to pack equipment on jungle trails.

The direct, rapid path to China was the airway, the Hump trail, from airfields in Assam across the Himalayas to Kunming in Yunnan. In December 1943 a record 13,000 tons of supplies went over the Hump. The trip was an experience; you concentrated on your parachute and you wondered what would be "down there" if you had to jump.

While all this activity was going on, Stilwell and his American-trained and provisioned Chinese divisions were trying to clear the country ahead of the Road. Stilwell had his problems. Not only was he constantly irate at the "Peanut" and the "Limeys" but he had quarrels with the White House, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the War Department, and with Captain Milton E. "Mary" Miles and his OSS dirty tricksters in their secret Chinese Happy Valley, and with Major General Claire Chennault and his eager "Flying Tigers" in Kunming. Only General Marshall's firm support kept Stilwell in command and even that failed in October 1944. Lauchlin Currie, Chennault, Lord Louis Mountbatten, and Vice President Henry Wallace all tried to get Stilwell fired. Chiang Kai-shek succeeded on his second try.

Chennault's extraordinary message of October 8, 1942, delivered to the President by Wendell Willkie, boasted preposterously that he, Chennault, if made American military commander in China, could with 147 combat planes "not only bring about the downfall of Japan" but could "make the Chinese lasting friends with the United States." According to Chennault, his difference with Stilwell was whether the war should be fought in Burma or in China. The leader of the Fighting Tigers ridiculed Stilwell's obsession with ground warfare. Writing of the Quadrant conference held in Quebec in May 1943, Chennault commented, "Never once in his presentation did I hear Stilwell mention the word airplane. . . .He was content to fight a strictly ground war with his 'beloved men in the trenches.' " Chennault was not the only one skeptical about fighting a war in Burma. Churchill wrote in his memoirs, "I disliked

intensely the prospect of a large-scale campaign in Northern Burma. One could not choose a worse place for fighting the Japanese."

My story had begun in early 1942 in Washington where I met John Paton Davies, Jr., a Foreign Service officer born in China, brilliant, ingenious, imaginative, a synthesizer, a doer. John was to be political adviser to General Stilwell and shortly after our meeting left for India to take up his assignment. I went to Lima, Peru. Almost a year and a half later, in late May of 1943, Davies proposed that four additional Foreign Service officers be assigned to the China-Burma-India theater to engage in political and economic intelligence and psychological warfare operations. The General agreed, as did the State Department. Of the four selected, two, John Stewart Service and Raymond Ludden, both Chinese-speaking, were already in China. The third was dropped because of ill health. The fourth was to be a Japan specialist and Davies thought of me. During the summer I received in Lima a letter from a friend in the State Department inquiring whether I would accept an assignment to a theater of war operations, the CBI, where I would be a political adviser to General Stilwell. The job might involve travel in combat areas and I would be separated from my family for at least a year or more. The excitement of direct involvement in the war appealed to my imagination and I accepted, although reluctant to leave my wife and two childen and our comfortable diplomatic life in Peru. Before my departure for Washington in the fall of the year, my wife and I decided to take a brief holiday in Bolivia. While we were with friends in La Paz, the news came that John Davies, Eric Sevareid, and the other passengers and crew of a doomed C-46 had parachuted into the Burma jungle. Scenes of fighting my way out of dark, tropical forests infested with enemies and wild animals crowded into my head; I tried to spare Dorothy the worry by not telling her what had happened to John. Fortunately, all walked out safely. As the delay continued and John heard that I was concertizing for Lima's elite, he was reported to have made caustic remarks about my nonchalant piano playing while Burma burned.

It was December 17 before I was at least in the hands of the ATC (Air Transport Command) and on my way to India. The route took us to Brazil, to Ascension Island where as the GIs stationed there described it: "The first ten months you talk to the rocks; the second ten months the rocks talk to you," across Africa, to Aden for Christmas, to Karachi, and to New Delhi, our final destination.

I met John Davies and found the Office of the Political Advisers in the CBI Headquarters building where Peggy Durdin, wife of Tilman Durdin, the New York *Times* correspondent in the theater, was acting as secretary and general adviser to the advisers. Peggy possessed wit, intuition, judgment, and common sense so cheerfully calming in the charged, confused, and crazy atmosphere which characterized the CBI. John's conversation was like a series of lightning flashes, of ideas bounding over each other as he spoke. He had just come from the Cairo conference, where, with Stilwell, he had seen leading actors in the war at first hand: Churchill, Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins, and of course, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek who were not strangers to him. At dinner on my first night in New Delhi I was plunged into the heady aura of crackling talk by John Davies and his friends, who were British and American officers in the Headquarters and our diplomatic mission. I listened and said nothing. It might be the same war but it was a long way, and not in distance alone, from the simplicity of the situation in Peru to the mixed-up goings on in this three-country combination which was slated to be the springboard for the defeat of Japan.

Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill, who had been a fellow lan-

---

Conversation Piece

Is the Gateway to India at Bombay
Really as beautiful as they say?
Don't rightly know, Ma'am,. Did my part
Breakin' point in the jungle's heart;
Blasted the boulders, felled the trees
With red muck oozin' around our knees,
Carved the guts from the Patkai's side,
Dozed our trace, made it clean and wide,
Metalled and graded, dug and filled:
We had the Ledo Road to build.

Well, surely you saw a burning ghat,
Fakirs, rope-tricks, and all of that.
Reckon I didn't. But way up ahead
I tended the wounded, buried the dead.
For I was a Medic, and little we knew
But the smell of sickness all day through,
Mosquitoes, leeches, and thick dark mud
Where the Chinese spilled their blood
After the enemy guns were stilled:
We had the Ledo Road to build.

Of course you found the Taj Mahal
The loveliest building of them all.
Can't really say, lady. I was stuck
Far beyond Shing with a QM truck.
Monsoon was rugged there, hot and wet,
Nothing to do but work and sweat.
And dry was the dust upon my mouth
As steadily big "cats" roared on south
Over the ground where Japs lay killed:
We had the Ledo Road to build.

You've been gone two years this spring.
Didn't you see a single thing?
Never saw much but the moon shine on
A Burmese temple around Maingkwan,
And silver transports high in the sky,
Thursday River and the swift Tanai,
And Hukawng Valley coming all green—
Those are the only sights I've seen.
Did our job, though, like God willed:
We had the Ledo Road to build.

—*Sergeant Smith Dawless*

Copyright 1945 Army Times Publishing Company

---

guage officer in prewar Tokyo, walked into the Office of the Political Advisers in New Delhi on January 6, 1944. We started to reminisce. He joked with me about my impersonations of Japanese *kabuki* performances which I had done at social gatherings in Tokyo. Suddenly we were singing together the first lines of the Japanese Patriotic March, the *Nihon Aikoku Koshinkyoku,* which everyone who had lived in Tokyo in 1940 and 1941 heard unceasingly from the radio, stage, movies, and at every "victory" lantern parade throughout the China war: "Miyo! Tokai no sera akete. ." (Look! Dawn breaks over the eastern sea. . .). We stopped suddenly and Merrill turned to me: "Come along! I'm leaving for a secret camp in Central India. This will be a special operation into the Burma jungle. You'll be great—to talk to the Japanese!"

In a few days I found myself in the middle of India at Merrill's training camp at Deogarh on the Betwa river, the boundary between Gwalior state and the Central Provinces, decked out in green fatigues, jungle boots, campaign hat, hair cropped short (Merrill's orders), and issued GI shoes, mosquito net, leggings, olive drab underwear, and an M-1 rifle. Later on I acquired a machete for hacking away at the jungle.

The first day I met a Lieutenant Colonel who was puzzled at my lack of insignia. I explained that I was with the State Department. "The State Department!" he guffawed with incredulity. "What will the State Department do in the Burma jungle? Are you going to make a treaty with the natives?" My lack of military rank and thus a proper niche in the established hierarchy continually perplexed my Army companions. The result was usually a simulated rank, in my case "field officer"—Major or Lieutenant Colonel—which regulated billeting, PX, mess hall, and all the other privileges of segregated Army life.

One day General Merrill said to Jim Shepley, a *Time-Life* journalist, and me: "How about doing a little cross-country reconnaissance to watch a river-crossing exercise?" Jim and I and two officers piled into the jeep with Merrill at the wheel. I never figured out whether he was proving the versatility of a jeep, exhibiting his combined cavalry and tank training, or trying to scare us to death. We struck out, Jim and I and Johnny Jones, the outfit's public relations officer, hanging on for dear life in the back seat. Without bothering about roads or even trails, and using all gears in rapid succession, Frank took us up embankments, in and out of ditches, swerving around trees, rocks, and through little village streets, scattering the villagers, splitting the wind. Sometime during this hair-raising ride Jim Shepley suggested that the first American combat infantry troops on the mainland of Asia ought to be called something other than their official designation, the impossible, forgettable "5307th Composite Unit (Provisional." The Army's code word for the outfit was "Galahad" but that hardly fit these tough characters who had emerged from jungle training or combat experience in Panama and the Southwest Pacific and who had volunteered for a short, secret, hazardous mission. When Jim suggested the name "Merrill's Marauders," the General snorted and took us over another rump-thumping bump. The name stuck. The mystery was how I, unaggressive by nature, had got myself mixed up with this wild bunch of marauding warriors. I was as surprised as the Lieutenant Colonel who expected me to make a treaty.

> "With grim and steely determination these Japanese-American boys had volunteered to fight against the country of their ancestors and for a country which had not only interned their families, but had reclassified them as 'aliens not subject to military service.' "

By the time of my entry on the CBI scene, January of 1944, Stilwell's Chinese were about to start down the Hukawng valley—"death valley" as the Japanese were to call it; the Marauders were getting ready to enter the jungle; the Ledo Road, the Bengal and Assam railway, and the Hump airlift, were all in violent motion; the British, the Generalissimo, Stilwell, and Major General Claire Chennault, the 14th Air Force commander, were all feuding. The Combined Chiefs of Staff had approved the use of B-29s to bomb Japan from Chinese bases and had decided on a major naval advance toward Japan through the islands of the Central Pacific. Stilwell had got his long wanted American ground troops, but only Merrill's 3,000 Marauders; and after all the summit conferences: (Symbol at Casablanca, Trident at Washington, Quadrant at Quebec, and Sextant at Cairo), he was still, in General Marshall's words, "out at the end of the thinnest supply line of all."

It took only a short time to perceive the confusion which pervaded the CBI. The Chinese, the British, and the Americans, not to speak of the Indians, Gurkhas, Australians, Africans, and other allied and colonial troops, were fighting to drive the Japanese off the mainland of Asia. Yet their quarrels with each other seemed to supersede their determination to beat Japan. Stilwell was caught in this impossible maelstrom in which only a political genius with superior unconventional military skill could succeed. I joined the Stilwell worshippers because I admired his single-minded devotion to a cause and, under a rough exterior, his human sympathy and respect for the common fighting man. His character was illuminated for me when he so often went out of his way to speak words of encouragement to wounded and dying Chinese soldiers in their native language. But as an administrator, Stilwell was hopeless. Time spent at his headquarters in New Delhi, or in Chungking, where he could seldom be found, quickly revealed the lack of direction, cohesion, and efficiency. And as for the Japanese, Stilwell, like many Americans who had served in China, found nothing but evil in them.

Few responsible Americans in the CBI were worrying about how all of this was going to come out. Following Stilwell's cue, only body counts mattered; those on the other

side were Nips, Japs, Gooks, subhuman creatures one never saw. Yet the curiosity about the enemy we were fighting was deep among the troops. Since I had lived in Japan before the war, I was frequently invited to talk to units up and down the Road on a subject I called "What Makes the Japanese Tick." My GI audiences listened with rapt attention. They knew little, if anything, of the pre-Pearl Harbor diplomatic history or of the issues involved in our war with Japan.

At that time it was still a military secret that Japanese-Americans were fighting in Asia. As a result they never received the recognition they deserved, even after the war. In contrast, the 442nd *nisei* regiment sent to Italy became the most decorated and publicized unit in the armed forces. At the camp in Central India I met the team of 14 *nisei* who had volunteered for combat and were now part of the Marauders. Half from Hawaii and half from the mainland, they had come out of the special Japanese language training school which had been established at Camp Savage in Minnesota. With grim and steely determination these Japanese-American boys had volunteered to fight against the country of their ancestors and for a country which had not only interned their families, but immediately after Pearl Harbor, had reclassified them as "aliens not subject to military service." They were Americans, not aliens. Yet in the paranoiac mood of the times, the General who had recommended and carried out the evacuation would tell a congressional committee in 1943: "A Jap's a Jap. . . .It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen. . . .You can't change him by giving him a piece of paper."

The same Army which distrusted *nisei* recruits was searching for *nisei* who could read Japanese documents and interrogate prisoners of war. Unfortunately for this purpose, most of these second-generation boys were *too* Americanized; few understood or spoke much Japanese. Interviewers found that only three percent of the first 3,700 questioned could meet even a minimum standard of Japanese language. And the best ones were the *kibei,* those who had lived in Japan and were for that reason tainted with suspicion. Among those chosen, the urge to excel was paramount—these boys had to prove themselves—and they crammed from dawn to dark, with combat training thrown in.

The Marauders' *nisei* were not destined to live their war in rear echelon headquarters, translating captured documents and talking to POWs brought in from the front. When they were given the chance to volunteer for a "dangerous mission," they were asked the blunt question, "Would you be willing to fight Japanese?" They fought Japanese, in five major and 32 minor battles in the course of the Marauders' march through the Burmese wilderness. One *nisei* Sergeant described his first contact with the enemy,"I had a terrible feeling when the first Jap I shot collapsed and expired with a heartbreaking 'Banzai!' on his lips, but my second shot came easy, the third even easier." At first dubious about these GIs with Oriental faces, their comrades in combat became their staunchest defenders. One Caucasian soldier, incensed by the reports of discrimination in the United States, wrote his hometown paper: "We of the Merrill's Marauders wish to boast of the Japanese Americans fighting in our outfit and the swell job that they put up. . . .Many of the boys and myself especially, never knew a Japanese American or what one was like—now we know and the Marauders want you to know that they are backing the *nisei* one hundred percent. It makes the boys and myself raging mad to read about movements against Japanese Americans by those 4-F'ers back home. We would dare them to say things like they have in front of us. . . ."

One of the Marauders, Henry Gosho, was to become a lifelong friend, "Hank," a *kibei,* was born in Seattle. Sent by his parents to Japan in 1933, he went to high school and college at *Kansai Gakuin,* a Christian institution near Kobe. Gosho remembers seeing an article in the *Osaka Mainichi* about my Chikamatsu studies and talking to me once at the Consulate General in Osaka when I apparently advised him to go home. By August of 1941 he sensed that things were getting "too hot" and luckily managed to get on a ship to return to the United States, If he had missed that boat, he would certainly have had to fight the war for the Japanese, as did many of his compatriots.

Sergeant Gosho first distinguished himself when his platoon was surrounded by a Japanese patrol when the Marauders first clashed with the enemy. So close were they that Hank heard the Japanese orders to make a rear flank attack; he translated them instantaneously and his buddies took the necessary action. Once when Gosho shouted, "Cease firing!" in military Japanese, the dumfounded imperial troops obeyed. Later his outnumbered unit had to flee from their position and for a while the boys were living on bamboo sprouts and rain water. They went to the rescue of another beleaguered unit and were under fire of 13 days. Gosho came out of this leveling experience with the nickname "Horizontal Hank" and the Bronze Star for bravery. Malaria and dysentery hit him and for a while he was able to continue the march only by hanging on to the tail of a mule.

Once during the campaign Stilwell met Sergeant Gosho and, uninformed as to his identity, asked: "Are you Chinese?" "No, sir." "Are you Korean?" "No, sir." "Are you Filipino?" "No, sir." "Don't tell me you're ————!" "Yes, sir." The General, solicitous of Hank's welfare, turned to an officer with him, "Transfer that man to division headquarters and keep him there!" The General's command was ignored and Hank remained in action. His immediate superiors would in no circumstances let him go; he was too valuable to lose to the rear echelon! The same GI who wrote to his hometown paper had this to say about Hank: "One of our platoons owes their lives to Sergeant Henry Gosho. . . .Hank guided the machine-gun fire on our side which killed every Jap on that side. The boys who fought alongside of Hank agree that they have never seen a more calm, cool, and collected man under fire. He was always so eager to be where he could be of the most use and effectiveness and that was most always the hot spot."

My service with the Marauders

Continued on page 32

"From the standpoint of military security, the United States has little strategic interest in maintaining the present troops and bases in Korea."

Withdrawal from Korea: Are We Again Risking War?

JOHN BARRY KOTCH

June 1980. The few remaining American ground forces in Korea are on maximum alert. Ever since early spring, the North Koreans have accelerated probing actions along the 151-mile Korea truce line now manned entirely (except for a single brigade) by Republic of Korea troops.

Seoul, a city of almost eight million, is jittery with the onset of summer marking the 30th anniversary of North Korea's invasion of South Korea. Over the past three years, the phased withdrawal of American forces has been two-thirds completed. This time, if invasion comes, the ROK forces will have to shoulder the major burden themselves.

It is not unlikely that a scenario much like the above motivated the third-ranking American General in Korea, Major General John Singlaub, to throw down the gauntlet and publicly challenge President Carter's policy of embarking on a carefully phased withdrawal of American forces from Korea in consultation with that government and Japan, a policy put into motion last month with the dispatch of Under Secretary of State Philip Habib and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs George Brown to Seoul for the beginning of consultations.

This is not the first time, as the historical record makes clear, that withdrawal from Korea has posed major problems for American policymakers and it is unlikely to be the last. Ironically, withdrawal from Korea is not, as widely believed, a new policy objective but is as old as the Korean problem itself—and as controversial.

In September 1947, after a frustrating two-year joint military occupation (with the Soviet Union), high-level US policy-makers enunciated the goal of withdrawal rather than the pursuit of a seemingly hopeless quest for a unified Korea. Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, relying on a JCS memorandum that "from the standpoint of military security, the United States has little strategic interest in maintaining the present troops and bases in Korea," endorsed the goal of withdrawal.

However Forrestal was careful to leave himself a loophole. Heavily influenced by General Wedemeyer who had just completed a fact-finding trip to the Far East for President Truman and had found Korea on the edge of political and economic chaos, Forrestal cautioned against "a precipitous withdrawal [which] would lower the military prestige of the United States."

The Wedemeyer Report, which was to become a landmark document in the evolution of US postwar policy in Asia, similarly held that "a withdrawal of all American assistance [and military forces] would cost the United States an immense loss in moral prestige among the peoples of Asia [and] would probably have serious repercussions in Japan." However, this view was not unanimous. The United States Far Eastern Commander Douglas MacArthur, unlike Wedemeyer, considered Korea "a military liability" outside his offshore defense perimeter keyed on Japan. While conscious that an American withdrawal would inevitably produce "a loss of prestige," MacArthur believed that it would be recuperable rather than fatal to fundamental American interests in Asia. In his view, long-term American commitments of aid and military forces should be avoided.

On September 29, 1947, perhaps the most important single meeting on Korea (apart from the decision to intervene in June 1950) took place in Secretary of State Marshall's office with "the best and the brightest" of that generation of American foreign policy-makers —Dean Rusk, George Kennan, Walton Butterworth and John Allison—in attendance. Its purpose was to steer a middle course between the desire to withdraw and the need to do so without undue haste. The picture drawn was bleak and the recommendation reached was grim:*

(a) Ultimately the US position in Korea is untenable even with the expenditure of considerable US money and effort; (b) The US, however, cannot "scuttle" and run from Korea without considerable loss of prestige; (c) It should be the effort of the Government through all proper means to effect a settlement of the Korean problem which would enable the US to withdraw from Korea with a *minimum of bad effect*.

It was a course of action which Dean Rusk later termed—for reasons all too familiar—"cosmetic

---

Mr. Kotch is the author of the forthcoming book Our Korean Commitment—The Unfinished Legacy. *He served as Coordinator of the Carter Foreign Policy and Defense Task Force during the recent presidential campaign.*

**Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, Vol. VI, p. 820; Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs to the Under Secretary of State.*

abandonment." It resulted in an American withdrawal with a *maximum* of bad effect.

Circumstances in Korea are vastly different today and the policy debate in 1977 will not be a rerun of its predecessor in 1947. For example, it is clear today that any program of US withdrawal involves stakes which transcend Korea alone and have regional security implications. This was not adequately perceived by policy-makers in 1947 who focused almost entirely on the need to withdraw and mistakenly downgraded Korea's importance in terms of Japan's security and regional stability.

Further, while the policy-makers of 1947 asked the right questions about Korea (how important was it in terms of US security interests in Asia and the then developing US-Soviet global confrontations), when the time came to act they failed to set the proper conditions for withdrawal and make it clear upon which foundation (the US or the UN) Korea's security ultimately rested. And this remained unclear right up to June 25, 1950.

But how likely is history to repeat itself? What has changed since 1950 and what has remained the same with respect to the ability of South Korea to fend off another invasion, the probability of such an invasion and the position of the United States in responding to another invasion?

In June 1950, the North attacked an impoverished, lightly-armed and ill-equipped adversary which, at the time of attack, appeared to be without a clear commitment from the United States. Today, the South boasts one of the world's fastest growing economies, a GNP reaching toward the $500 per capita level and a well-equipped army of some 600,000 which outnumbers the North by three to two. Apart from a deficiency in air vis-à-vis the North (which a continued American air element will compensate for), a rough military balance in the hardware of war exists. And it can be reasonably assumed that any deficiency of a serious magnitude in a particular category of weapons (such as tanks) will be corrected as part of the ambitious South Korean Force Improvement Program (FIP) to be financed in part by the United States.

Second, unlike 1950, the South can be sure of the position of the United States. As President Carter has made clear, despite the gradual withdrawal of American ground forces, an American security commitment rooted in the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty between the two countries and which has enjoyed the full backing of five previous American Administrations remains in force and is given tangible and concrete meaning by a continued American military presence built around an air element and naval forces on patrol off the coast of Korea.

Third, unlike 1950, North Korea does not enjoy a Soviet carte blanche for attack or a Chinese willingness to sacrifice improved relations with the United States for renewed warfare in Korea. On balance, despite severely strained relations between the two Communist giants and a common border war with North Korea, both are pursuing a policy of restraint vis-à-vis North Korea and have endorsed the goal of peaceful reunification (albeit under North Korean auspices).

The only aspect of the Korean problem which remains unchanged since 1950 is the continued unwillingness of North Korea to even admit the legality of the South Korean government (despite the July 1972 communique setting forth the principles to guide the process of peaceful reunification transcending the ideological divisions between the two Koreas) in combination with an implacable determination by North Korea forcibly to reunify the Korean peninsula under the communist banner. There is virtually unanimous agreement by scholars of North Korea that its whole purpose and raison d'être is bound up with undermining the stability and security of the south.

In short, there can be little real doubt either in Washington or Seoul that South Korea, as viewed by the men in Pyongyang, represents a "target of opportunity" to be set upon as political or military conditions might permit. The potential for war between the two Koreas continues to be the overriding characteristic of relations between them.

Putting the above considerations in perspective, the question of whether a policy of phased withdrawal of American ground forces from Korea is prudent or reckless seems to come down to whether the replacement of the 2nd Division (which sits in a reserve position astride the two potential invasion corridors between Seoul and the DMZ—the most strategic terrain in all of South Korea) by an equivalent South Korean division significantly increases the probability of war? What would be the likely effect of this replacement on both North and South Korea?

From the point of view of the defense of South Korea, if a replacement Korean division is provided equivalent firepower and mobility (as I assume it will be), it should make little, if any, real difference and the defense capability around Seoul should remain undiminished. After all, who could seriously take issue with the ability of the ROK Army, after its demonstrated combat effectiveness in Vietnam, to defend its own capital adequately?

But what of North Korea? Is it more likely that the North would attempt to overrun Seoul without American forces in the breach and, if so, how much more likely? This is probably the greatest unknown of the new American policy since there is no way to know the extent to which North Korea is deterred by the so-called "American tripwire" north of Seoul (which presumably would trigger a full American retaliatory response in the event of war) compared with the presence of seasoned South Korean forces and the crux of whatever increase in risk might exist. Logically, the North Koreans could be expected to reason that they had more to fear from the United States—as a larger and more powerful potential opponent—than South Korea and therefore would, all other things being equal, be inclined to be more adventuresome against a South Korean adversary standing alone. And the probability of increased North Korean probing following the departure of the last American soldier is likely to increase (assuming the military confrontation between the two Koreas remains undiminished). Yet, given the South Korean capacity to defend their capital from attack (again assuming that the partially American-financed modernization of Korean armed forces is properly carried out), the probability of North

Korean success should not increase by any significant degree.

It is, of course, always possible that the South Korean army might break and run in a repetition of 1950 but this is highly unlikely. And, ironically, were it to occur, the likelihood of a second larger American expeditionary force to stem the tide is virtually nil anyhow.

Unfortunately, informed discussion of this issue has been limited, with critics and supporters largely arguing past each other. This tendency is reflected in a recent symposium sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in which Senator George McGovern (arguing for withdrawal) and General Richard Stilwell, former UN Commander in Korea (arguing contra) clashed principally over the issues of military balance, deterrence and the nature of the American commitment to Korea.*

Regarding the first, while it is difficult to know precisely where the military balance between the two Koreas actually lies, few would dispute that, in combination with the American military presence, it lies within a range of rough equivalence. On the ground, a lone American division stands alongside more than eighteen combat-honed Korean divisions. Factoring out small variations for individual pieces of military hardware, a rough balance presently exists between the two Koreas.**

Yet, McGovern argues that the military balance—largely owing to a numerical advantage in manpower—is now in South Korea's favor (a highly dubious proposition) while Stilwell argues that the balance in North Korea's favor (equally dubious) compels us to stay. Neither position is an accurate reflection of the actual state of affairs or constitutes a convincing rationale for a policy of withdrawal or continued troop presence. Nor does it really matter since it may be reasonably assumed that any major deficiencies will be corrected through the partially American-financed Force Improvement Program. Additionally, both overlook the more basic consideration that our military presence in Korea was never designed to be an indefinite one but to evolve with the political-military environment on the Korean peninsula and the ability of the Republic of Korea to assume a larger share of the defense burden.

"After Vietnam and recent ill-considered attempts by the South Korean government to intervene in the American policy-making process, neither Congress nor the American people would again be likely to support a large American expeditionary force on the mainland of Asia."

Regarding deterrence, Stilwell describes the continued deployment of the 2nd Division just above Seoul as "the leading edge of the US military establishment" and as "laying our commitment on the line as no South Korean ground presence could do." However to be credible, our deterrent need not necessarily be based on a ground "trip wire" rather than an air/naval "rip cord." Moreover, South Korean forces must be considered a deterrent factor although of the "brother against brother" variety. There is no reason to conclude that they cannot be as effective a deterrent on the ground as the United States has been over the past quarter century.

Lastly, deterrence and our commitment to Korea should not be confused. Our commitment to Korean security has not changed as a result of the withdrawal decision and our international obligations as co-guarantor of the armistice arrangement through the United Nations Command is not at issue. Nor is the factor of automatic involvement in the event of a future North Korean attack although Senator McGovern, citing this danger and the need to avoid involvement in another "unwinnable Asian war" has made it (mistakenly in my view) a major part of his argument for withdrawal. Reduced to its essentials, it boils down to the following bit of misplaced logic: since involvement is bad and our commitment no longer necessary, let's withdraw.

What has changed is the manner through which our commitment is to be discharged, namely through air and naval instrumentalities following a five-year drawdown of American forces rather than the continuation of the commitment.

While President Carter has made clear that the American commitment to the Republic of Korea will remain firm notwithstanding the process of ground troop withdrawal, it is now a qualitatively different commitment. It is not so much a question of its potency having been diminished as its parameters narrowed. After the withdrawal process, the reintroduction of large scale American ground forces will have been foregone as a potential resource in a renewed Korea conflict provided any future conflict remained localized between the two Koreas.

In short, a historic transformation has occurred in Korean-American security relations of an irreversible character. However, this is less a new policy than the logical culmination of a policy objective dating from the end of the Korean war—the progressive assumption by the Koreans themselves of the responsibility for their own defense. In corresponding fashion, the US role will progressively become more of a reserve than a forward buffer between the two Koreas.

For the South Koreans, this is understandably a painful transformation since there is something inherently more reassuring about ground forces when compared to planes or ships which could, under some future President, head off in a different direction.

But there are advantages as well, the most obvious of which is a sense of security and confidence deriving from the ability to better defend oneself.

For the US, our commitment to Korea is more secure, less ambiguous and less subject to the twists and turns of events when it rests on politically realistic footing. After Vietnam and recent ill-considered attempts by the South Korean government to intervene in the Ameri-

AEI Defense Review, Number Two, May 1977

**See Ralph Clough, Korea: Deterrence and Defense, *Brookings, 1976.*

can policy-making process, neither Congress nor the American people would again be likely to support a large American expeditionary force on the mainland of Asia. Now, the South Koreans have a clearer sense of what they can expect from the US and from themselves and what is expected in return.

But perhaps the greatest potential benefit is in opening the way for meaningful diplomatic movement on the Korean question by providing impetus to a resumption of the long-stalled North-South reunification talks, the negotiation of alternative armistice arrangements between the US, China and the two Koreas along the lines proposed by Secretary Kissinger at the United Nations in 1975 and, eventually, reciprocal recognition between the United States and North Korea and the Soviet Union, China and South Korea.

What we cannot again afford in this delicate flashpoint of conflict with its potential for rapid escalation and Great Power military confrontation is to permit uncertainty to arise regarding our commitment to Korean security. Withdrawal of ground forces must be carefully mapped out, monitored to reflect the interests and concerns of all the parties, and implemented in such a way that political and military stability on the peninsula is enhanced rather than endangered. It cannot be simply a numerical withdrawal which, along with lowering the number of US forces also lowers the confidence of the Korean government in our security commitment. Neither can it be the kind of "cosmetic abandonment" begun in 1947 which led to a tragic conflict three years later.

Nor can we afford the legacy of the Nixon-Ford years—of a sham attempt at withdrawal which the Koreans came to fear and resent. Initiated in August 1971 by then Vice President Spiro Agnew, it was denounced by President Park despite an offsetting five year $1.5 billion modernization package for the Korean armed forces. During a stopover in Seoul, the Korean President lashed out at Agnew's impetuosity in pressing for an American military withdrawal at the high-water mark of Korean involvement (a two division commitment) in the common struggle in Vietnam. Ultimately, the US withdrew 20,000 of a 62,000 man contingent (including one of two combat divisions) from Korea but owing to budgetary pressures and political uncertainties in the aftermath of Vietnam, fell behind on the completion of the ambitious modernization program which had been put forward as "quid" for a partial American pullout. The result was to leave both Korean security and the American commitment in a more precarious state.

Moreover, we need to take fully into account the basic security dilemma facing South Korea—a condition of permanent political asymmetry vis-à-vis North Korea which allows the North the relative luxury of playing off her principal alliance partners (the Soviet Union and China) against each other while the South's only dependable ally, the United States, is geographically remote and generally preoccupied with larger foreign policy concerns. Security to the Republic of Korea has always meant (and for the foreseeable future will continue to mean) a close link to her Great Power patron notwithstanding a built-in population advantage, great economic strength and formidable military prowess vis-à-vis the North.* As long as North Korea remains hostile toward South Korea, self-sufficiency in military hardware alone cannot be expected to offset a lack of confidence in the crucial psychological dimension of security if suspicions develop regarding the credibility of the American commitment.

Nor should it be forgotten that the US has a basic moral responsibility in the survival and security of the Republic of Korea since it played a crucial role in its creation in 1948, arranged for a UN stamp of approval and has been the major sponsor over the last 30 years. This is very different from Vietnam where the US inherited a post-colonial morass.

There is also a danger in overly emphasizing the question of withdrawal in framing US policy toward Korea. Intra-Korean politics is primarily a political struggle between two ideologically-hostile rivals which is reflected in military confrontation between them. It is not enough just to cap the confrontation. Ultimately, our Korean policy must adopt a dual focus—North as well as South. We can no longer hide behind outdated shibboleths that to have any form of contact with the North Koreans would be anathema and traumatic for the South Koreans without their participation—and the removal of travel restrictions for US citizens desiring to visit North Korea is a positive step in this direction.

For the North Koreans are the wild-cards; the affected bystanders to the withdrawal process. Ideally, this process should involve the pursuit of alternative armistice arrangements which force the two Koreas to deal constructively with each other and should attempt to assuage the struggle through conventional arms control measures. These measures need to be vigorously pursued and should form the core of a revitalized US policy on the Korean peninsula.

In conclusion, the issue is not whether South Korea can defend itself. It probably can, even now, without American ground forces. Nor is it one of "automatic involvement" of the United States in the event of future conflict in Korea since US involvement is built into the fabric of existing armistice arrangements which the US is pledged to uphold. Indeed, any future American initiative for withdrawal based on the fear of automatic involvement would run counter to the effective functioning of the armistice accords.

The real issue is whether the withdrawal of American ground forces would mean an effective end to the American commitment. If it did or were to come to have such a meaning, then we would be embarking on a policy which would be likely to result in the very objective we are trying to avoid—instability on the Korean peninsula.

However, the President's policy is decidedly not of such a character. The withdrawal of American ground forces from Korea is a major step in the evolution of the American security commitment rather than its erosion.

The population and GNP ratios are greater than 2 to 1 in favor of the South (55 million versus 15 million and $15 billion GNP versus $6 billion). South Korea also enjoys a three to two manpower edge in armed force strength and at least parity in most categories of military hardware (except air where an infusion of late-model US aircraft and the continued presence of US Air Force units has offset the NK advantage).

In the spring a livelier iris changes on the burnished dove;
In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love.
—Alfred, Lord Tennyson

SABBATH SHIRT AND MOURNING DOVES

SALMAN HILMY

If only he could be whatever he wanted at will. He should be able to transform himself by simply saying, *Fine. Now I'm not going to care any more. No more worrying about how father or his wife feels toward me. No matter how wide the gap between us, I will gladly accept the distance. Even enjoy the pain, their stupidity, their constant nagging, the torture of not being understood or respected.*

If only he had that simple magic power of metamorphosis. Then everything would be changed so quickly and he would become a new person whenever he wished. At least for the summer.

Summer was always a special torture for Seleem. And it wasn't just the heat and the dust and the stench. These would be tolerable if they didn't seem to be such cruel emissaries of invisible oppression. Depressive demons somewhere. The whole thing just insidious.

Winter was easier, so much easier, because it meant school and school meant he had to spend less time, much less time, at home. When school was open he hardly saw his father and stepmother except at mealtime and evenings. Even his homework was usually done under the giant eucalyptus trees and datepalms of Sa'doon Park.

In summer he could not wake up early in the morning to grab his books and a piece of bread and cheese, and flee the house. He could not spend much time at the Park on the pretext of doing his homework. There wasn't enough time to think things out. Worst of all, though, was the time he had to waste every day helping father at his retail textile business in the Cloth Market.

If only I could make myself stop wanting to be happy—that's probably the source of all my misery: wanting to be happy, to have things happen to me that are pleasing to my taste and satisfying to my urges. To stop wanting to have things happen to me the way I want them. I should make myself, force myself to learn to enjoy what is unpleasant. Why not? If stepmother wants father to reduce my allowance to only twenty fils *a week, maybe I should not resist. Should accept with a smile. That would surely stun them, throw them off balance. If father wants me to stop going to school altogether and start helping him full-time in his business, maybe I should forget my distaste for business and taste for dreaming and reading. Should just go on suffering with pleasure. Why not? If only I could imitate people like Schopenhaurer and Tawfeed El Hakeem. And have a superhuman will. Be immune to the thought of women. Stop dreaming of their tenderness and. . . .*

Today was the Sabbath—thank God for it, too—and there was no work at the store. They had all gone to the synagogue as usual that morning and the evening before. Seleem, his two older brothers, his father and stepmother. *She* didn't have to go but insisted on going, maybe just to make sure father was not influenced by his children into skipping prayers.

After six years as an English teacher, Mr. Hilmy joined USIA in 1958. He worked for the Arabic Service of VOA as a foreign language broadcaster, script writer, news editor and information specialist. Since 1971, he has been Chief of the VOA's Washington Arabic Branch. Mr. Hilmy was born in Baghdad, Iraq, in 1929.

In winter Seleem was glad he went to a government school. Which meant there were classes all day Saturday: that was another good thing about the school season. One had a good excuse for avoiding pious pretensions. *Funny how a thing can be good one time and bad another.*

Lunch was served. Seleem's favorite rice dish, *tibeet* (cooked over a very low kerosene burner since before sunset Friday), was part of the meal, so he cleaned up his plate and asked for more. That was an irresistible pretext for his stepmother to start her nagging. She liked nagging particularly when the family was eating.

"The boy is a glutton, I tell you," she complained to Seleem's father.

Father just frowned and did not speak. That was the worst thing he could have done: it infuriated her.

"The boy must be trained for lean times, I tell you, and emergencies. He must be stopped, I tell you, and taught the wisdom of moderation. Who knows when all of us may lose everything we have in this God-forsaken place?"

That was too much for Seleem. He was sick of her eternal talk of doom. And even if there were truth in *that*, who would believe anything said by such an unscrupulous liar? But he just gritted his teeth and avoided the subject.

"But I like this food for a change and I want to have enough before I leave the table."

Father tried to come to his son's defense, sheepishly:

"The boy doesn't usually eat enough, woman, and his health isn't very good. If he likes this. . ."

"So that's what you think, ha? How do you know what he does when you're not around the house? I tell you he looks sick exactly because he's always stealing food between meals."

"That's a lie!" shouted Seleem. He was trembling now.

Father seemed confused and tongue-tied. And there was the usual shouting back and forth, the loud threats and counterthreats. Seleem's two older brothers wanted no part of the argument, as usual. They did not want to fall out of favor, so they just held their tongues. And when stepmother started hammering on the no-respect-for-his-elders theme, father naturally gave in in the end. The scene ended in the familiar manner with Seleem bolting out of the room, a large lump of defeat in his throat, almost in tears.

This time he could not stand staying in the house. He took a book at random (more out of habit than any intention or desire to read) from the room he shared with his two brothers, then went out to the small garden that surrounded their ugly yellow brick house at suburban Bistan Khes. The afternoon heat was stifling. He found a somewhat shady spot under the sickly mulberry tree.

Why can't I take everything in stride? What does stepmother matter after all? Do I have to be so sensitive to everything? Can't I change myself as I wish?

Take his shyness with people, for example. He had a few fine friends at school, Moslems and Christians and Jews: they all seemed to like him; they had no contempt for him. Yet he could not express himself well on subjects that really mattered. He had some serious friends whose company he enjoyed so much, but the cursed school holiday separated them and he hardly ever saw any of them. His friends seemed so carefree always and so unshaken even by their own suffering. They suffered too, yes. They had problems of all kinds, too. True, they thought Jews lived in a sort of mysterious world of harmony and inner bliss, but they didn't know any better and seemed not to believe him, Seleem, when he told them otherwise. Despite his friends' preoccupation with criticism of the government and their elders, and their denunciation of conventions and social injustice, they also seemed to have ample time to dream of love and poetry and, moreover, they never seemed completely without hope.

In the distance, the sad cooing of a dove rose and fell in perfect rhythm: cocoookhti, cocoookhti. Ring-necked doves rarely ventured out into the deadly midday. Except for sunrise and sunset, they took shelter among the palm fronds and the eucalyptus branches. They kept to tall trees and high roofs even though they had nothing to fear from anyone, for it was taboo to kill or harm them. Again the plaintive call rose and fell.

Cocoookhti,
Wainoookhti?

Seleem threw his book on the ground and put his head under the garden spigot. At the touch of water his head burned with pain, and he withdrew it with a stifled shriek. Curses tumbled out of his mouth with clipped confusion. Breathless, he felt the running water with his fingertips. When it was finally running cool, he put his head under it. He felt relieved. Water dripped over his eyes and ears, his neck and shoulders, down his Sabbath shirt. Now he was ready for the short walk to the park.

He stuck close to the walls to shelter himself in the thin shade, thereby running the risk of stepping on some m'aidi boy's excrement. A sheet of shimmering glare assaulted his eyes and the heat seemed more gusty than usual. The mud walls and brick walls of fences and houses were sickening yellow and dirty gray. An Arab boy, his bare feet barely touching the melting tar of the pavement and his tattered *dishdasheh* billowing behind him, darted across the street with a scream of pain and disappeared around a corner.

Seleen had to step out onto the pavement to walk around a rickety cart parked against the wall of a house. It was the kind of cart some coolies dragged their loads on all over Baghdad. Quickly he returned to hug the wall and its precious shade. Under the cart, now behind him, he noticed a mangy little dog slumped in the dust like a heap of lifeless bones.

Now he could see the park gates about a hundred meters away. The treetops visible: eucalyptus, datepalms, sterile coconut plams, giant oleander.

A veil-shrouded woman crossed his line of vision like a fleeting shadow and disappeared behind an ocher garden wall.

And the image of his mother rose softly in his mind. Seleem always tried not to think of her—Rosa. With the passage of time it had actually become easier not to think of her. He hadn't even known what she looked like until he found a photograph among his father's old papers and account books.

"Rosa Avraham—1930," father

had written on the back. Just one year after she had delivered him, Seleem, into the sunlight. And ever since that day, he had stopped feeling sad for her. The photograph had been quite a shock. But he no longer thought death had done her an injustice. She was a plain-looking woman, very melancholy eyes with dark circles around them. As dark as a woman from India. The skin was drawn tight over her cheekbones and thin pursed lips. A suffering woman. And no one had the right to stop her from dying. Now nobody talked about her any longer. His brother Is-haq said he remembered a little: It was her weak chest. She took a long time dying. She was so young.

How can anything be alive one minute, and the next minute not be alive at all? Now warm and cold, now gone for ever.

What happened to the threads of her life? The fire in her thighs, where is it? The doves in her breasts? Ring-necked doves. The mournful cooing of frantic ring-necked doves at dawn. On the roof. In the cool of lightrise, bluerise. Every summer morning you wake up so gently sad with the slender doves doing their bluerise ritual.

Where are the roses that flooded her heart with velvet wine? The flood of rage?

He was at the wrought-iron grillwork of the park gate now. The doves sounded closer and more persistent: impatient with the heavy hand of daytime. People said those doves were sacred—ex-inhabitants of paradise or emissaries of the angels. And the invisible birds sounded their lament with convincing sadness.

Cocoookhti,
Wainoookhti?
Bil Hilla.
Ishtaaacul?
Bajillla.

Seleem automatically followed the shady path that led to the big pond, his mind completely preoccupied with the song of the ring-necked doves. They kept calling out to each other, asking their eternal question: "Where's my sister?"

A sister far away. Had she deserted the flock? Or maybe eloped? Had she been exiled? When did these doves lose their sister? And why did the sister go to Hilla? Perhaps she had run away to Babylon and over the years Babylon had been forgotten and the new town near its site had taken its place in the song.

O Babylon, Babylon! are there fava beans in your gardens? The heartless sister is eating fava beans. All the sisters had run away (kidnapped?) to Babylon. Nobody heard from them any longer. Not a word from any of them. But news somehow got back that they were well-fed. Bajilla is plentiful in Hilla.

"The woman's other hand had gone up to unveil part of her face. The unveiled eye shot glances at him he could not comprehend at all—completely strange glances: moist yet red-shot like some molten metallic substance."

Are they lost forever?

He sat down. The pond was less than half full, the water green and dirty. Choked with algae. The fountains were turned off. No sound of water anywhere. Except for the occasional wailing of a dove, silence was oppressive as if in collusion with the heat. Tiny drops of sweat joined and, glistening, ran down the dark complexion of his face. A few dripped on the book in his lap. He saw that and placed the book beside him on the bench.

What else did the doves say? He listened. The mourning came again:

Cocoookhti,
Wainoookhti?
Bil Hillla.
Ishtaacul?
Bajillla.

There was no doubt in Seleem's mind that they were saying exactly that. And then what? The birds stopped. How was it supposed to go?

Ishtaaacul?
Bajillla.
Ishtishshsrub?
Mayalla.

That's it. What does the sister drink to quench her thirst? Mayalla—the water of God.

Seleem wondered what the water of God could be. Perhaps it just meant plain water. Water is life-giving, hence it's believed to be God-given. And the thought of water made him realize how thirsty he was. Dryness, like a calloused paw, clutched at his lips and throat.

As he scanned the area for a source of drinking water, he noticed a black-shrouded figure moving slowly at a far bend in the path. It disappeared temporarily, then reappeared closer to him. It kept approaching until he realized it was the form of a completely-veiled woman. She seemed to slow down her steps in front of him. The silence and the heat pressed hard on his throat. His heart pounded foolishly against his ribs.

In order to look at her with impunity and pretend not to be looking, he picked up his book and opened it on his lap. The pages were blurred in front of his lowered face. He glanced up through his long eyelashes as furtively as he could and managed to see only half of her, from the black patent leather shoes to the barely noticeable outline of her hips. There was definite hesitation for a short time, after which she walked to his bench and sat beside him. He felt as if a big, agile blackbird had just perched noiselessly on his bench: an almost imperceptible breeze from her spreading silk cloak fanned his sweaty face. A chill ran through his bones. It was all he could do to press the book hard with his hands against his knees to keep from shaking.

Nothing was said.

The minutes stretched grotesquely. As if time itself were being reflected in a distorting convex mirror.

His thoughts raced in a feverish blur, unrecognizably out of focus.

A soft white hand moved toward his knee and was placed gently on his dark hand. He turned his face to the right to check the reality or unreality of the physical presence beside him. The woman's other hand had gone up to unveil part of her face. The unveiled eye shot glances at him he could not comprehend at all—completely strange glances:

moist yet red-shot like some molten metallic substance.

His heart pounded fiercely. With every feverish throb, a pain shot through the base of his spine. He gasped for breath, and gasping, his chest hurt. Yet the sharpness of the pain was curiously pleasurable. A kind of intolerable pleasure.

Suddenly the girl got up, bending over him and pulling him gently by both hands. Having raised himself slowly, fearfully, in response to her soft prodding, his book fell out of his lap. She still had not uttered a word.

He let himself be led around the bench and behind the hedgerow, his knees shaking and his head a complete vacuum now. She knelt down on the ground. Still holding onto his hands. And as if in a desperate final attempt to prevent darkness from enveloping him, his eyes scanned the visible parts of the park for an excuse to flee this madness. He could see nothing. It was with great effort that he could see anything, for his face was so flushed that it felt swollen and the rush of blood almost closed his eyelids and blinded his vision.

When he sank to his knees, partly falling and partly succumbing to the girl's tugging, he turned to stare at her.

"Don't be frightened, my eyes!"

Her voice was not soft at all. It was more like date syrup, thick and grating.

"Don't be scared of me, my heart!" she said again and removed her veil, pushed the *abaya* from her head onto her shoulders, and brought her face close to his. There was no recognizable expression on her face. More of a twisted image of some inner torment than an ordinary human face. Her lips, though touching his face ever so gently, bored into his skin like a blowtorch. She kissed his eyes, his cheeks, his temples. Her hands guided his to her breasts then crept to his back and ran up and down his Sabbath shirt. And just as unexpectedly, she released him and eased herself down on her back.

With strange grace and swiftness, she pulled up her green flowered dress and threw it in a fold over her breasts. He shuddered from head to toe. She had nothing on under the dress. He threw himself on her with such rage that a loud groan escaped through her pale, parted lips.

But he had no time to hear. A heavy hand clutched his left shoulder and pulled him up to his knees, shaking him violently.

"What goes on here, you son of a whore?"

Seleem lifted his head and his eyes met a dark, foul-smelling, mustached face glowering at him.

"What foul game are you playing, you offspring of a dog?"

"Now the policeman's eyes seemed to soften their menacing look for the first time. But he continued to clutch at Seleem's shoulder and threaten severe punishment."

Seleem opened his mouth to answer but no sound came out.

"Let's get up and go," the tall policeman said. "Maybe you'll talk at the station."

And with one powerful jerk the man pulled Seleem up to his feet. Being on his feet again, rudely shaken and trembling, seemed to have awakened Seleem from a nightmare. And he stammered:

"O please, Uncle, let me explain!"

"Nothing to explain here, you bastard son of a bastard! You can explain to the District Chief."

"O Uncle! I'll do anything you say—just don't take me to the police station."

"Don't uncle me, you filthy brother of a whore."

"I'll give you all the money I have, please."

Now the policeman's eyes seemed to soften their menacing look slightly for the first time. But he continued to clutch at Seleem's shoulder and threaten severe punishment.

"O please, please. May God prolong your life. I'm only a poor simple student. Let me give you all the money in my pocket, and I promise never, never to do this again!"

As if mollified by this promise, the policeman let go of Seleem's shoulder. And Seleem instinctively seized on the man's weakening resolve by digging out of his trouser pockets all the money he had.

"Here, you can have it all if you let me go."

"What's this, you son of a whoremonger?"

With one quick glance the policeman had made a good estimate of the amount he was being offered.

"You think I'd risk my job for this lousy pittance!"

"But that's all I have, I swear! Have mercy, may God keep you. And if you want my shirt even, you can have it."

This made the policeman's pock-marked face assume a thoughtful expression. He knitted his thick brows grotesquely and turned toward the woman. She was still lying on the same spot, now motionless and entirely covered with her black *abaya*. He put a tattooed, dirty-nailed hand on Seleem's sleeve and dragged him a few steps away.

"I'll tell you what, you child of iniquity! If you want to save your skin, I'll accept the shirt, what cash you have, plus—" and he nodded toward the prostrate woman.

Seleem gaped at the policeman, not quite comprehending everything.

"Or do you want me to take you and your whore to jail?"

Seleem didn't say anything. A bitter taste almost made him gag. He couldn't speak. Nor did he need to now. Having handed over his Sabbath shirt and all the coins he was holding in his fist, he crossed over to the bench and picked up his book from the ground before he turned toward the Park exit.

And because he thought he heard the woman's groan along with the sad nursery rhyme of the invisible doves, he quickened his steps and didn't stop to catch his breath until he was at the gate.

There he hesitated a little. The shirt. But there was ample time to think of an explanation.

A dove started her melancholy call again. The shrill mourning seemed to echo somewhere deep in the recesses of his soul.

"Truly there is a tide in the affairs of men, but there is no gulf-stream setting forever in one direction."—James Russell Lowell

THE BUSINESS WORLD:

Corporate Ladder or Slippery Pole?

HOVEY C. CLARK

I was standing in line at the supermarket a few months ago when I saw a bright young woman of my slight acquaintance who said, "Ah, Hovey Clark, I remember you. You are moving up the corporate ladder." I replied with total candor that I perceived the process more as a monkey on a slippery pole who knows he is in motion, but is not sure whether the direction at any given moment is up or down. The comment reflects my mixed but basically satisfactory eight years in business.

Does the former FSO miss the Foreign Service

I certainly found my eight years in the Foreign Service to be challenging and, in the main, to be rewarding. One of the major challenges was, and still must be, that of a quite different job every two, three or four years, in a different part of the world. One is forced to adapt to new circumstances. Changes in assignment, however, prove to be lateral, up, or down, in terms of one's real responsibilities. The job of the moment can be totally fascinating, and yet the next job can, to use the California idiom, be a "real bummer." The writer's own abbreviated experience is certainly not unique: a most interesting Department job in the early Kennedy Administration, two exotic and challenging overseas postings (Bolivia and Guatemala), and a return to Washington to a totally futile and boring assignment. One is reminded of Fred Allen's comment on his career as a radio comedian. "It is a treadmill to oblivion." And so, for the unwary, can the Foreign Service be.

As I keep contact with a good number of Foreign Service friends, I think it is fair to say that I am quite familiar with the types of jobs I could expect to be doing in Washington or abroad had I stayed. In my judgment, there are a limited number of my contemporaries who have remained in the Service and obtained jobs which I sincerely envy. The majority of my colleagues, of course, do not have these top jobs.

At the vice-consul/third secretary stage, one has a self-righteous feeling that a diplomatic career is "the" thing, that any employment allowing one to carry out the national foreign policy interest is superior to any other employment. In short, one has become an important member of a unique team of highly qualified professionals.

Perhaps this sense of contribution palls later in life. Lost in a huge commercial section in mid-career in a pleasant but unchallenging European posting; separated from friends and part of the family in later life in a hardship post; or in a manufactured Washington job when one is closer to retirement—these are all circumstances one would prefer to avoid. How many Foreign Service officers can legitimately aspire to the truly fascinating and challenging jobs dealing with international affairs? And perhaps more importantly, how long do they hold on to such jobs once obtained? As an active, politically-astute member of his own community, it is at least arguable that a private citizen has somewhat equal access to such significant and rewarding diplomatic jobs. Each incoming Administration demonstrates the sagacity of some former FSOs who got on the right bandwagon at the right moment.

From the perspective of eight years each in business and government service, I can certainly point out variegated aspects of government life which leave me enormously envious of my former FS colleagues. With my two weeks per year of vacation (standard on the West Coast for the first five years with a company), I am very

---

Hovey C. Clark spent some eight years in the Foreign Service and has now spent a similar period of time in business. He feels competent to give a reasonably balanced view of the pains and pleasures of the Foreign Service as contrasted with those of the business world. He is now an executive with a major international company, and is three years into his third job since leaving the State Department in 1968.

jealous of government home leave and vacation policies. The same sentiment holds for the generous government medical and retirement benefits (but just what does one do in retirement at 55?). Remember, for example, that in business you would have to amass a capital base with a present value of at least $400,000 to give you the kind of pension annuities you will achieve by retiring in your mid-50s as an FSO 2 or 3 after 30 years of service. More easily said than done.

I particularly miss the battery-charging provided by such perks as language training carried on during regular working hours (I have learned two new languages in business on my own time); the intellectual stimulation of the senior seminar and related training programs for emergent senior officers; and the satisfaction of a stint as diplomat-in-residence, giving time for reading, writing, speaking and general ego-gratification. I also miss the challenge of fairly consistently dealing with intelligent and well-informed people, of good conversation, and occasional postings to exotic and charming places. On the other hand, one wonders if the increasing rigidities of Foreign Service career patterns such as longer time in grade (or slower promotions), coupled with an increasingly sharp disparity between business and government salaries (despite the recent pay raises), the pear shape of the organizational structure, preventing access to jobs rated above one's own grade and so forth may not be leading more FSOs to consider making a go of it on the outside.

The woods of Foggy Bottom were thick (and still are, according to my former colleagues) with those considering leaving the Foreign Service for the "private sector" (let the record read that no one in business as represented by large corporations really calls it the private sector). Other FSOs consider university life, journalism, state and local government, trade associations, self-employment as consultants, import-export representations, small businesses and so forth. My impression, however, is that most who seriously consider leaving think about work with large internationally-oriented corporations, because of the number of jobs available, the putative high salaries, the challenge of the work, and perhaps because one frequently has entree to the business world through friends and contacts.

Business: Ladder, Pole or Shaft?

My personal hegira began in the summer of 1968 when I left the Foreign Service for a spuriously glamorous job as the regional representative of a prestigious investment banking firm specializing in Latin America. Some of my colleagues were furtively told of the 50 percent salary increase I had obtained. Within six months, however, I was given the sack (such circumstances are always "extenuating"). A couple of months thereafter, I was reemployed at essentially my former Foreign Service salary, as the Latin American area manager for loans at a large regional commercial bank, having an important advantage of being located in San Francisco. The job lasted some five years, when a combination of higher salary and greater opportunity lured me away to my current job with a major international engineering-construction company also in San Francisco, where I am a vice president in one of their lesser subsidiaries. The job consists of putting together financial packages from third-party sources so that my employer can design and build the projects so financed. This field is known as project finance, and the funds come from such disparate sources as commercial and investment banks, export credit agencies, international lending agencies, and on occasion, from various sources in the Middle East, from barter deals, or advance payments for scarce commodities by buyers in resource-scarce countries. As the projects I am involved in are almost without exception international, in many cases they require a fairly acute analysis of the politico-economic risks in the countries involved, and a sense of how to structure the right combinations of equity and loans to satisfy the diverse interests of the parties concerned. It is demanding, interesting, and at times exhausting work.

As a corporate executive, I am indeed on a slippery pole; I rather like the challenge. I could well be given notice again—within two months or two weeks—to look elsewhere. My present corporate department declined from about 20 to eight two years ago; most left the company; I am one of the survivors. The prospect of being given notice certainly focuses the mind to do the best job on the work at hand. There are relatively few sinecures at middle or senior management levels in most businesses. Sharp reductions of staff are endemic to certain industries, and particularly to the engineering business, consulting, and certain manufacturing industries. (Banks, conversely, are an exception: salaries are lower, but jobs are usually for longer term.) Business employers are unlikely, to say the least, to give some years of advance notice before "selection out." On the other hand, one's contribution to the company's performance in terms of dollar profits is generally clear, as contrasted with what one's contribution is to furthering the foreign policy interests of the US. The corporate efficiency report is both more basic and more ruthless. Yet, if performance is adequate or superior, promotion in terms of salary, bonuses, perquisites, job location, and so forth are not generally limited by rigidities dealing with such considerations as time in grade, pay freezes, the proper mix of functional responsibilities, or other frustrating impediments. Particularly since the freeze on government salaries has been in effect, business salaries have moved up to levels substantially above those paid in government for similar work. As recently as the early 1970s, however, a mid-career FSO was more or less on a par with his business counterpart—except in Manhattan or a few key cities. In business, as contrasted with the Foreign Service, one can perhaps look forward to earning a salary sufficient to send one's children to private schools and colleges, if one is so inclined; to an occasional modestly expensive vacation; to a second vacation house; and even to exploration of the intricacies of tax shelters. As the French tax law says: *signes extérieures de richesse.*

Although it is difficult to generalize, the business problems one is asked to tackle are often more susceptible to solution than many of the problems one deals with in

international affairs. The time frame for completing the task is much shorter. A problem presents itself; one proposes a plan, gets authorization to carry it out, obtains help from others to do so, and fairly quickly sees the results. The answers are frequently in dollar terms. The challenge of the work I have had over the past few years has been truly stimulating. Working for a very large company, I frequently deal with highly complex and large problems. The satisfaction of working out financial arrangements for a large international project is substantial. The commercial negotiations leading to the signature of a major contract abroad—be it for a loan, to design a power plant, or to provide many thousands of man-hours of engineering consulting services—are often complex and demanding. One even draws a certain satisfaction at learning how to maneuver his way through the corporate bureaucracy. Just as in government service, however, there are occasional conflicts of conscience between one's own view of what corporate policy ought to be and what it is. Should the company be conducting or soliciting business in Korea, South Africa, or Chile? Should the corporation build the project to the client's specifications even though we have told him that these specifications are for a larger and more expensive facility than he really needs?

There are, moreover, certain corporate pressures for conformity, but the man in the gray flannel suit and gray flannel mind of the 1950s is gone forever. It is, in any event, arguable whether the pressures for conformity in business are generally more severe than those in the Foreign Service. Despite considerable lip service as to how things have changed, one is left with the strong impression that such pressures are more severe in embassy life abroad than in business. I will not learn to play golf, even though it might bring me into more frequent contact with corporate management; I will not ask my wife to join the company women's club, or attend company parties if she does not want to. Perhaps these activities would help, but who cares. One has the impression, however, in the Foreign Service that the Ambassador, the rating officer, and the inspectors sometimes care a good deal about such evidence of "team play," and that the officer being rated ignores this reality at his peril.

How to find a job on the outside

The Foreign Service itself maintains an increasingly professional and helpful out-placement office. Presumably their claim to assist in confidence outward-bound diplomats can be treated at face value. That would be a first approach, and might be very helpful, at least in providing a general orientation about the business world. Another approach obviously is the old-boy network: former diplomatic colleagues, school and college friends, business executives one has dealt with in Washington and abroad, and what have you. One rule most job-shoppers in business live by is that the last place one should look is in the personnel office of a major corporation, a rule which is in the writer's experience worth following. Personnel officers are deluged with job resumes and job applicants. Unless the applicant more or less precisely matches the needs of the moment, the personnel officer is likely to "deep-six" the resume, despite pious claims that it is being maintained "in the active file."

> "The whipped-dog syndrome notable among many job hunters who have been too long on the market can be deadly. Start to look long before you have to look."

Another rule is that private executive recruiting firms can be very helpful, but only when their fees are being paid by an employer looking for a particular position to be filled. Although there may well be exceptions, paying a "headhunter" (executive recruiter) to find a job is in the writer's view money down the drain. The corporate headhunter, however, plays a useful role to the restive businessman. First, it is ego-satisfying to be called mysteriously and offered another job, because someone in another company recommended you, or perhaps because you have developed a professional reputation that is recognized beyond your company. In more practical terms, however, the headhunter—lubricous character that he is—can give you an excellent feel as to whether you are being adequately paid for your level of responsibilities, and about other jobs you might aspire to. (It is a surprise to the recent refugee from government service, where everyone's grade and salary are part of a general schedule and hence well known, that salaries and bonuses are very tightly guarded secrets in the business world.)

Other snippets on job hunting

One hears that a concise, carefully written advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal*—though it costs more than a pound of flesh—draws a remarkably large response. There is, of course, the much debated science of writing the curriculum vitae, and one can get reams of advice as to how to best portray relevant experience, qualifications and potential to best advantage. The best advice is probably to keep it short, to no more than two pages, and to change the emphasis somewhat depending on the industry or type of job you are seeking. Many big companies insist that you fill out their forms anyway before you are sent around for interviews.

A prospective entrant to the business world is frequently tempted to mail out broadcast resumes to hundreds of companies. This shotgun approach may perhaps result in a few interviews, but a much better approach is to mail a resume to a specific executive who heads a department where one might consider employment; these names can be readily gleaned from annual reports or stories in business magazines about particular companies. One is, of course, better served by contacting, wherever possible, someone you have known. He may not have a job to offer, but could

Continued on page 29

FSJ BOOK ESSAY

Memorable Memoirs

NOT SO WILD A DREAM, *by Eric Sevareid. Atheneum, $12.50.*
ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES, *by Richard H. Rovere. Macmillan, $10.95.*

These two books—the memoirs of two exceptional journalists—seem to have remarkably little in common. This, in spite of the fact that they both cover roughly the same period in history, even touch upon similar experiences, places and events. The Sevareid book was of course written more than thirty years ago. It went through eleven editions before being brought out again in 1976, unrevised—with the exception of a new introduction by the author. It is from this introduction that we learn that Sevareid wrote the book (more than a quarter of a million words before editing) "at one sitting, as it were, over a period of eight months with only a few days' leave from the typewriter."

I first read *Not So Wild a Dream* as a college student, majoring in journalism, more than twenty years ago. My purpose then was to learn something about the author. The New York *Times* had said that the book might have been called *The Education of Eric Sevareid.* To reread it now is to realize that it is history, superbly told, and in no way diminished by the passage of time. Sevareid's memoirs, which he wrote at the age of 32, are alive and well in the year of his retirement as a CBS correspondent, at the mandatory age of 65.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. calls *Not So Wild a Dream* "one of the significant American documents of our time," and he is probably right. The book is an intensely personal account of a boyhood spent on the Dakota prairies, a bleak apprenticeship as a Minneapolis newspaper reporter, and a series of youthful wanderings through Canadian wilderness by canoe, and across a Depression-torn United States by railway boxcar. Sevareid's journey culminates in Europe during the late 1930s, and in the great conflict that followed.

Included are finely-wrought details of events such as history's largest mass amateur parachute jump in which Sevareid found himself bailing out of a crippled military air transport in the company of John Paton Davies, Jr. (then of the State Department) and spending a month walking out of the Burmese jungle. Later on, Sevareid participates in the fascinating liberation of Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, who had left their Paris apartment to hide out from the war in a remote village of Southern France.

In his Introduction to the new edition, the author looks back on these experiences, and comments on the changes that have occurred in his life since he wrote the book. Among these was a belated perception of his father's greatness as a person: "My father's life suddenly came clear to me . . . the enormous stamina he devoted to his family's protection, the pleasures renounced for our sakes, the disappointments swallowed, the self-pity denied."

Sevareid wrote his father ". . . saying with restraint, but saying enough, that I understood at long last, and asking his pardon for my tardiness." Eight years later, after the funeral, Sevareid came across the yellowed and worn letter in his father's effects. He had carried it on his person all those years.

Richard Rovere also wrote about his father, but with a different sort of admiration. *Arrivals and Departures* is a collection of odds and ends, much of which has been published in *The New Yorker* over the past 30 years. Although the book tends to suffer from a lack of focus, perhaps its one sustaining feature is its demonstration of Rovere's virtuosity as a reporter: the man can write well on practically any subject. But his search for the man his father really was, struck me as a remarkable piece of journalism. Sevareid came to similar discoveries in his memoirs, but from a totally different vantage point.

Rovere spent years as a Washington correspondent for *The New Yorker* without actually living here. In fact his editor, the legendary Harold Ross, told people that if Rovere ever moved to Washington, he would no longer be the magazine's Washington correspondent. Ross was convinced that the only way to cover the Nation's Capital was to stay here for a few days at a time, and then get the hell back to New York before any contagion set in. Considering that Rovere took the job on in 1948—well before the advent of air shuttle service—there must have been many Union Station arrivals and departures for him in these days.

Rovere wrote a superb book about Senator Joe McCarthy whom he came to know rather well in the course of his reporting from Washington. One of the best parts of *Arrivals and Departures* is a brief *New Yorker*ish vignette of Rovere's first encounter with the Senator in 1949. It is a lightly fashioned, but devastatingly revealing account of a man who was soon to dominate Washington headlines, and give his name to the era that followed.

I started out by saying that these two books appear to have little in common, in spite of being journalist's memoirs written by men who lived and reported on much the same period of American history. They do share the common virtue of being extremely well worth reading. Each perhaps for different reasons.

—SEAN KELLY

FSJ BOOKSHELF

Compendious Wisdom

OUT OF CHAOS, *by Louis J. Halle. Houghton Mifflin Co., $20.*

In the introduction to the latest edition of his book, *Dreams and Reality* (reprinted in the *Journal* of June 1975), Louis Halle described himself as someone who proved to be no good at dealing with narrow specialties while he was working in the State Department. Partly, he surmised, for that reason, he was repeatedly "kicked upstairs"—until he ended with no speciality at all, concerned (in S/P) with the long-range development of American foreign policy as a whole.

"To be fair to myself and to those who found ways of removing me from each successive assignment along the way," he wrote, "my lack of aptitude for specialization was complemented by my disposition to think of foreign-policy problems in large terms. I found myself able to see Bolivia only in terms of Latin America and Latin America only in terms of the world." This disposition, he wrote, was finally given its fullest scope when, "as a result of a benign conspiracy . . . I found myself liberated from government service" and given a professorship in which he could indulge his penchant for larger generalizations.

He has now completed that process by writing a book of such general wisdom that it attempts to encompass the entire gamut of existence. *Out of Chaos*, a compendious work on our knowledge of the world, has six parts: The Physical Universe, Life, Mind, Civilization, What Mind Creates, and a final part entitled "Implications." He does, in 20th century terms, what Aristotle attempted in the third century B.C. and what Sebastian Muenster attempted in his Cosmography in the 16th—to encompass all that is known of the world and beyond, an awesome enterprise in which he has largely succeeded.

The only reason why I do not urgently recommend this book is that in almost thirty years of reviewing for the *Journal* I have tried to single out for praise those volumes that are *useful* for the practitioner of foreign affairs. This is a book for the civilized reader with leisure to learn about such subjects as the theory of relativity, the origin of life, the evolution of mankind, the rise and fall of civilizations, the meaning of art, and the age-old question of freedom versus order. Its lessons for the present and the future represent only a small part of this wise and elegantly written book, and readers of his earlier works will not be surprised to find his conclusions skeptical and tinged with pessimism.

Louis Halle has made a number of important contributions to the understanding of the dilemmas of foreign policy and the follies of pandering to the passions of the moment. If he had written nothing other than his essay, "A Message from Thucydides" (which appeared in the *Journal* some 23 years ago) and *The Cold War As History,* we would already be greatly in his debt. No one has written with greater cogency about the historical interaction between what he has termed "Demos drunk and Demos sober," a drama which has had to be played again and again in the life of democratic societies since the days of the Greeks.

In these days when populism—basing major political decisions on "the basic goodness and good sense of the people"—seems to be the paradigm of democratic government, the skepticism of Halle, derived as it is from a rounded view of the world and of the evolution of mankind, has special poignancy. He describes how "limited democracy" inevitably develops into "mass democracy":

> "When that happens, political power comes to depend on a mass opinion that is incapable of the delicate, informed, and balanced judgments generally required in reaching the decisions on which the progress or even the survial of the society may depend. Competition for political leadership generates an ever more irresponsible conduct of government. Indeed, leadership becomes followership as those who are competing for the suffrage of the masses succumb to the temptation of identifying themselves publicly with whatever the masses, in their ignorance and excitement, may be clamoring for, rather than seeking by persuasion to enlist their support for such measures as may be necessary for the security and well-being of a society."

We have had documentation of this wisdom in Halle's more useful books for foreign policy professionals, such as *Dream and Reality* of which the *Journal* has occasionally printed excerpts. It is a debatable generalization, but a respectable one; and Halle's pessimistic conclusion foresees an era of Caesarism "which maintains its ascendancy over the masses by force, by fraud, or by such devices as bread and circuses." In such times of trouble, he believes, the best that the "exceptional individual" can do is to withdraw into an ivory tower, cultivating the wisdoms which he has drawn from his learning, and trying to pass them along to future generations. Only, if his pessimistic predictions come to pass, there may be no future generations.

This, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the weakness of the conclusions of *Out of Chaos*. The young Louis Halle who warned against national hubris and marshalled arguments from history against such follies as the call for "rollback" of the Communists, has now become an old sage who no longer wishes to do battle, nor even recommends that the never-ending battle be fought with redoubled vigor to save our civilization. "In the ultimate appeal from Demos drunk to Demos sober (George) Washington came out well," he once wrote. That ultimate appeal continues to be required.

—M. F. H.

That Busy Ditch

THE PATH BETWEEN THE SEAS—*The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914, by David McCullough. Simon and Schuster, $15.00.*

A writer seeking to do justice to the story of the Panama Canal faces a staggering task. The waterway took half a century to build and occupied the energies of two great nations—France and the United States. It was far more than a gigantic and unprecedented work of engineering. It involved the conquest of yellow fever, the creation of a new nation, and a Watergate-size political scandal in France. It produced one of the great disasters of 19th century finance capitalism in the collapse of the French canal company. It also provided in the American period a model of efficient governmental administra-

tion—the largest public works project in history completed ahead of schedule and below the initial cost estimate.

In *The Path Between the Seas* David McCullough has shown that he is equal to the challenge of this rich and varied material. He has compressed the saga of the Canal into 600 readable pages spanning the period from the 1870s, when the ill-fated French attempt was launched, to 1914, when the Canal was opened to traffic. McCullough's talent for lucid, lively exposition is evident throughout—whether he is discussing the design of the Canal locks, the biology of the yellow-fever mosquito, or the diplomatic machinations that helped create Panama and put the United States in control of the Canal.

McCullough also takes pains to put the Canal in historical perspective. He shows how it was linked to the political, social, and economic currents of the age—to the smoldering social tensions underlying Third Republic France, the boisterous expansionism of America in the Teddy Roosevelt era, and the great-power naval rivalries inspired by the theories of Alfred Thayer Mahan. There are thoughtful analyses of the host of personalities who had a hand in the enterprise—from Ferdinand de Lesseps, the visionary but impractical ex-diplomat who launched the Canal, to George Goethals, the austere, iron-willed Army engineer who oversaw its completion.

In short, this book is outstanding for comprehensiveness, readability, and breadth of vision. It is also timely. With the Carter Administration pressing for a new treaty with Panama, the Canal is likely once again to be a focus for domestic political controversy. Those seeking an authoritative account of how it all began will find this book amply rewarding.

—KEITH GUTHRIE

Risky Business

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY *(Third edition), by Henry A. Kissinger. W. W. Norton, $9.95.*

Publishing one's speeches is a dangerous business. Many politicians make their way by operating in the shadowy margin created by the shortness of the public memory for the spoken word; diplomats, too, make great capital at times out of words spoken, but not written. For what is said is often capable of being unsaid, or re-said, whereas to render inoperative a written and possibly publicized statement is tricky. Still, Kissinger is not known for being diffident, and in any case, this collection of his speeches shows up rather better than worse.

The third edition of Kissinger's familiar book opens with two essays present in both earlier editions, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy" and "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy"; it omits the famous *Foreign Affairs* essay, "The Vietnam Negotiations." It includes 15 speeches from the years 1973 through 1976, three of which were included in the second edition; it omits four speeches and excerpts from hearings on Kissinger's nomination to be Secretary of State (perhaps one would have called the latter the "technical high point" of the second edition).

Despite the fact that all of the speeches here have been printed (in

Serving the Foreign Service in the Washington area.

SAY YOU SAW OUR AD IN FSJ

Routh Robbins
Realtors
7920 Woodmont Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20014

ASK FOR Harold O. Wright, FSIO-Ret.
(301) 654-3222 (301) 933-7432

SALES • RENTALS • MANAGEMENT

A Coldwell Banker Company

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE WOMEN
Box 8068, Washington, D. C. 20024

- Housing Assistance and Orientation
  Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573
- Educational Counseling Center
- Language and Writer's Groups
- Monthly Meetings ■ Newsletter
- Book Fair ■ Welcome Home
- Scholarships ■ Teenage Activities
- Community Service ■ Career Workshops

Women serving in the Foreign Service as FSOs, FSIOs, FSRs, FSSOs and FSSs and Foreign Service wives whose husbands are serving in these classifications are eligible for membership in the AAFSW. The annual dues are $10 which includes a subscription to the Newsletter. Send dues to Membership Chairman at address above.

The Kyrulian Ambassador's wife ignored me until I started reading the Journal. *She still ignores me, but I can think of how happy Margaret Sullivan's article made* my *wife.*

the mail-out/hand-out format that is PA's version of a "plain brown wrapper"), it is interesting to see them in a cluster. Speeches on the Year of Europe, the Middle East, detente, world community, international law, moral aspects of foreign policy, economic development, Latin America, South Africa, and Asia: they indeed show a consistency of view, for which Kissinger strove mightily, as well as an optimism about America's role and destiny somewhat surprising in the statements of a man better known for a cynical and tragic outlook.

It may well be, as this reviewer thinks, that within a few years people will look back on Kissinger's secretaryship as a time of great transition in American foreign policy, not so much for the overblown "opening" to China as for Kissinger's realization that America's place in the world had changed, and that this required adjustments in American policies, institutions, and methods in foreign affairs. Kissinger was the first Secretary of State to drive home the facts of interdependence, and the first to recognize that today military, economic, and political power no longer correlate as closely as they once did, so that increments of military power may not translate into political advantage, or even political utility. "Our strategic superiority has given way to nuclear balance. Our political and economic predominance has diminished as others have grown in strength, and our dependence on the world economy has increased. Our margin of safety has shrunk." As he said, "We must learn to conduct foreign policy as other nations have had to conduct it for many centuries—without escape and without respite, knowing that what is attainable falls short of the ideal, mindful of the necessities of self-preservation, conscious that the reach of our national purpose has its limits." That, too, is a risky business.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

Washington Bound?

Stay at . . .
Guest Quarters Hotels

Let Guest Quarters help make your stay in the nation's capital enjoyable. Reserve a room with us and we give you one or two bedrooms, a living room, dining area, and even a fully equipped kitchen. On temporary duty or relocating your family, you will appreciate the kind of "guest quarters" we provide.

Guest Quarters

Reserve A Room . . . We Give You A Suite

Washington South
100 S. Reynolds Street
Alexandria, Va. 22304
(703) 370-9600
From $26 per day

Washington Intown
New Hampshire Ave. & H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 785-2000
Three blocks from State Department
From $40 per day

Other Guest Quarters in
Atlanta, Ga. and Greensboro, N.C.

RIVERSIDE TOWERS
Apartment-Hotel
Washington, D.C.

PROUDLY BEARING A TRADITION OF DISTINCTION IN SERVICE TO WORLD TRAVELERS

—EXQUISITE—
Seventy-two suites, studios and efficiencies, elegantly decorated, all apartment facilities, color television, maid service, fully air conditioned.

—CONVENIENT—
A superb location, directly opposite the State Department and amid the centers of business, culture and government.

—ECONOMICAL—
Less expensive than most conventional hotel rates offered for the same daily, weekly, and monthly rental plans.

"A unique concept in furnished apartment-hotel accommodations designed to meet apartment requirements. The small congenial staff creates a warm, friendly atmosphere."

As a guest of Riverside Towers Apartment-Hotel special privileges are extended to you at Wayside Inn Since 1797, Battlefield Crystal Caverns and the GAFIA Lodge Recreational Complex in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

For Reservations Contact:
RESIDENT MANAGER
RIVERSIDE TOWERS APARTMENT-HOTEL
2201 Virginia Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037
Phone (202)452-4600 Cable: RIVERSIDE

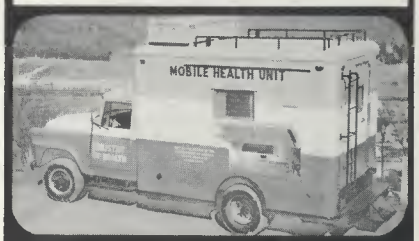
WORTHINGTON'S
ORIENTAL PORCELAIN GALLERY
Specializing in Early Chinese, Annamese, Siamese

Sell • Appraise • Purchase
ACCEPT CONSIGNMENTS
by Appointment Only
703/938-5935
Amos D. Worthington, Jr., FSR-ret.
2506 Babcock Road
Vienna, Virginia 22180

MOBILE UNITS

DELIVER HEALTH & EDUCATIONAL SERVICES TO THOSE WHO NEED THEM MOST.

Custom built units include: • ambulances • audiovisual • medical • x-ray • dental • education • blood • military • labs • mobile hospitals • audiometric.



One of many medical units delivered to over 94 countries in Medical Coaches' 25 years.

Mobile dental clinic reflecting the quality that has earned Medical Coaches the reputation as one of the world's finest specialized vehicle manufacturers.

MEDICAL COACHES INCORPORATED
MEDICOACH
HEMLOCK ROAD, ONEONTA, N. Y. 13820
TELE. AC 607-432-1333 o TWX 510-241-8294

Of Politics and Policies

THE CHANGING AMERICAN VOTER, *by Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba & John R. Petrocik. Harvard University Press, $5.95.*

P.R. AS IN PRESIDENT, *by Vic Gold. Doubleday, $8.50.*

As our foreign policy assumes a new role in re-articulating our national values, the interaction between domestic and foreign policy becomes an important aspect of the education of diplomats. In recent years the small number of citizens who have taken a regular interest in foreign affairs has been augmented by a much larger group with a periodic interest in foreign policy, as the impact of foreign policies on the lives of ordinary citizens has become more evident.

The Changing American Voter is a book for the intelligent policymaker who follows American politics—from the politics of complacency to the politics of engagement. It is written by three sophisticated and insightful political scientists who depict a changing and increasingly alienated and dissatisfied citizenry. Their analysis contrasts sharply with the view of the American public presented in the now classic study, *The American Voter*, published in 1960. That view portrayed a largely passive citizenry, unconcerned about political issues, guided in its electoral choices primarily by party allegiance and economics. But Nie, Verba, and Petrocik show that the voter is far more aware and sensitive to political issues and far more likely to rely on his own issue position and to desert his party in voting. Tracing these changes both to changes in issues, which have become more divisive since the 1950s, and to the entry of new voters into the electorate the authors make a persuasive case that the electorate is undergoing a major realignment.

For those of us, either at home or abroad, who missed the public relations oriented 1976 presidential campaign, the cynically amusing accounts of the last campaign by Barry Goldwater's and (later) Spiro Agnew's former press secretary make light reading. Vic Gold, who now writes for the *Washingtonian* magazine, tries to show that in modern American politics what you get is what you see. To Gold the image is the message. But this book is really the image *within* the image, at times lively, gossipy, and speculative notes on current politicos.

There is Jody Powell, the deep-fried Southern Baptist who knows how to blaspheme in two languages—South Georgia Holy Roller and West Coast Rolling Stone, Scoop Jackson, the William McAdoo/John Nance Garner of our day, Jerry Brown, the zodiac weirdo, Panama Ron Reagan, just plain Jerry, and I'll-never-lie-to-you Jimmy. Only Henry the K. (policy-making should not be left to bureaucrats) is missing.

It is amusing, it brings back 1976, carefully avoiding too much mention of 1968 and 1972. But above all, in contrast to such pros as Buchwald, Baker and even Frank Mankiewicz, its superficiality leaves one with only a few *bon mots*. Sometimes I wish more books on politics would be published which reach a middle ground, something that could be read in the living room, rather than in the library or at the beach.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL ELECTRIC

-U.S.A.-

Refrigerators • Freezers • Ranges

Washers • Dryers • Air Conditioners

Dishwashers • Radios • Phonos

Small Appliances

Available for All Electric Currents

Local Warehousing for Immediate Shipment

General Electronics, Inc.

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

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

JOIN

DACOR

NOW

Diplomatic & Consular Officers, Retired—known as Dacor, Inc.—welcomes both active and retired FSOs, FSROs, FSIOs, and FSSOs. Dues $20.00 annually. Interesting Bulletin. Group Insurance. Other beneficial features.

Members may stay at Dacor House while on leave or consultation. May apply for club membership in Dacor House. Excellent meals. Reasonable rates. Fully air conditioned. Club rooms for entertaining.

For further information and application forms write to

DACOR, INC.
1718 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Be Wise Shop Riverside

Liquor Discounts

ATTENTION:
State Department and Foreign Service Personnel

10% off on estate bottled wines
5% off on our regular low prices on liquor

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 BUSINESS WORLD
from page 23

certainly help in providing other job leads in his company, in his industry, or in his geographic region.

The job hunter is probably best advised to look for a new job when he is reasonably happy with his current position (albeit perhaps with serious reservations about the longer term). The whipped-dog syndrome notable among many job hunters who have been too long on the market can be deadly. Start to look long before you have to look. The process almost invariably takes longer and is more exhausting than one can possibly imagine at the start. Another rule that the writer has learned is that the locale of the initial assignment is probably not all that important. What is important, however, is that the company's head office be located in a city, community and country where you could reside fairly happily. It is rare that the overseas corporate executive is not brought back to the head office permanently, perhaps for doing very well, or perhaps for doing badly.

What type of FSO gets the jobs?

There are, of course, the highly competent and specialized middle and senior grade FSOs with detailed knowledge of the domestic and international ramifications of civil aviation policy, the export of nuclear technology, textile negotiations, commodity agreements, the oil industry, or how to get along in the Middle East. It is clear that these kinds of people face excellent employment prospects; one could almost posit the theory that there is a good deal to be said for seeking out such a specialization with commercial application at some point during one's early Foreign Service career, because it would enhance one's marketability in business if the seven-year itch to change jobs were to become unbearable. And in the writer's experience, some of these areas—although perhaps not highly esteemed by FSOs generally—in fact offer some of the most exciting job opportunities in the service.

Another point worth making is that it is very much easier to begin a new career during your 30s. Job hunting at 40 or older is complicated by many factors: the actuarial problems of funding pension plans; the degree of specialization and experience built up over 15-20 years by peers in the business world; and the benighted impression in some quarters that an old-time "government man" is not retrainable. Jobs are perhaps somewhat easier to find, however, for the senior (ex-Ambassador) diplomat, particularly if he has some experience of particular interest to business. Moreover, he is presumably already qualified to receive a reasonably generous government retirement pension, and may be able to get along with a more modest business salary. Younger FSOs with more generalist backgrounds seeking to find jobs in business face difficulties when competing with the computer-oriented MBAs from Harvard or Stanford.

The political officer—despite his high prestige in the service—will

6% plus ¼% Bonus!

6¼% ANNUAL DIVIDEND

Compounded & Paid Quarterly

SERVING MEMBERS AROUND THE WORLD

Each member account insured to $40,000
NCUA
by Administrator, National Credit Union Administration

STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

Begg, Inc. Realtors

SALES • RENTALS • MANAGEMENT • INVESTMENT

1714 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 387-2480

Our sales staff of over 70 experienced agents includes the following presently or formerly associated with the Foreign Service:

Mr. James Bowers
Mrs. Joseph Carwell
Mrs. Michael Calingaert
Mrs. Pamela Jova
Mrs. Moorehead C. Kennedy
Mrs. R. Gerald Livingston
Mrs. John P. White

Branch Offices:
Bethesda, Md. (301) 530-9400
McLean, Va. (703) 893-2300
Chevy Chase, D.C. (202) 686-9556

For Caribbean properties:
Islands Investment Corporation
(202) 387-3283

For European properties:
Begg International Inc.
(202) 387-4805

REALTOR *"Specializing for over 25 years in the Finest Residential Properties"*

often have the hardest time, unless he has an especially broad Weltanschauung, perhaps a law degree, coupled with a regional specialization such as the Middle East, Japan, or Brazil which has particular application to business. Consular officers, unless they too have law degrees, will probably have equally difficult times. A very few large companies, including my own, maintain offices to assist their traveling executives (businessmen, somewhat like Secretaries of State have an enormous penchant for frequent, short, exhausting, highly structured travel). People who understand the problems of visas, regardless of the issuing country, and how to cut embassy red tape and so forth can be very helpful. Administrative officers have frequently developed managerial and budgeting skills which are transferable to business. The writer was once astonished to be considered for a business position because he had been duly "elected" to run the commissary in a difficult posting. Our firm employs several former administrative officers who perform rather similar tasks to those they exercised in embassies by providing supporting services assistance to the engineering-line officers. Often, positions are available to such people in only the least desirable (but highest paying) areas: Algiers, Basra, Ciudad Bolivar, Dhahran, Jakarta, and such like. They may well lead to much more attractive follow-on jobs at the head office, and should not be dismissed out of hand.

Clearly, the economic-commercial specialist has a background most akin to business. Perhaps he has a business school degree. He may well have had experience in negotiating PL480 sales contracts, complicated trade agreements, trade disputes, etc., which are very similar to many business problems. Ability to read a balance sheet and income statement without getting sweaty palms is an example of a skill the would-be transferee might find it worthwhile to develop. Economic-commercial reporting, contacts with domestic and foreign businessmen and their business problems, an understanding of the dynamics of several major industries and the important companies within these industries, are all useful background.

Depending on the job which he is seeking to fill, the imaginative businessman generally looks for a certain mental acuity; a record of some past accomplishment regardless of the field; evidence of managerial skills; an ability to analyze, articulate and resolve complex problems; an ability to get on with colleagues; and sincere interest in the job at hand. Flexibility as to initial salaries, assignments, job titles and what have you are all important. Most businessmen, however, tend to exaggerate enormously the experience one needs to do a specific job; bankers are particularly tunnel-visioned in that regard. (Regional banks with international pretensions offer excellent hunting grounds, nevertheless.) One hurdle the successful generalist applicant must overcome is to convince the potential employer that he has the ability to quickly learn the technical skills required for the job at hand, and that he can bring useful

NEED WHEELS IN WASHINGTON?

Let our diplomatic discount serve your weekly or monthly need for temporary transportation.

We rent all size cars, from subcompacts to station wagons. 15 passenger vans and trucks also available.

Write or call for advance information.

We feature FORD and other fine cars.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL RENT-A-CAR®
2804 Jefferson Davis Hwy.
Arlington, Va. 22202
Tel. (703) 684-4087
TLX 73-0715
In Europe and the Mediterranean look for iR rent a car

LIQUID PROTEIN!!

You read about PROLINN in Family Circle Magazine and Dr. Linn's book—"THE LAST CHANCE DIET". Ask for our free brochure on how to lose inches fast and safe.

EMF—Enzymatic Modular Formula is now AVAILABLE from

WORLD WIDE PRESCRIPTION SERVICE

Morgan Pharmacy

30th & P Sts., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
337-4100

AN ACCREDITED U.S. HIGH SCHOOL COMES TO YOU!

U.S. dependents can live with their families overseas and continue their high school studies in an accredited program. The University of Nebraska Independent Study Program offers:

1. Fully accredited program and diploma which meet college entrance requirements.
2. Certified Instructional Staff
3. 145 course curriculum
4. Individual counseling and program planning services
5. Transferable credits

The University of Nebraska Independent Study Program is the largest university-based correspondence program in the U.S., with a 48-year history of serving overseas students.

INDEPENDENT STUDY BY CORRESPONDENCE —

THE ANSWER TO OVERSEAS EDUCATION FOR U.S. DEPENDENTS!

For detailed information write:

Monty O. McMahon, Director
Independent Study
Division of Continuing Studies
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Lincoln, NE 68588

(140 college credit courses through Independent Study by Correspondence also available.)

characteristics to the job lacking in other more experienced applicants: breadth of vision, desire to learn, new perspectives, drive, etc. Since FSOs change jobs, countries, and assignments every few years in very different situations, they can probably demonstrate to the sympathetic corporate executive the kind of adaptability that is required.

One difficulty on the part of the job hunter, however, is a tendency to idealize a new job opportunity, to not listen to or to not read job descriptions. The applicant should listen very carefully to what the employer says or does not say regarding the position. In one's haste to move, one can sometimes be lulled into thinking that a particular job is the perfect job, without looking closely into it. The same criteria one uses in judging a potential new assignment in the Foreign Service should be brought to bear. Had the writer used his judgmental facilities more acutely, he would probably not have had the instructive experience of being fired from his first job out of the government.

Some closing thoughts

There are certainly some fairly good business opportunities for FSOs from a variety of backgrounds. The business world is, however, on occasion fairly cutthroat. It is rare that one finds the type of job security or the many additional non-salary benefits that are available at all levels of the Foreign Service. These benefits should not be denigrated, when one is trying to decide whether to leave the Service or stay.

In business, one loses security, yet gains more control over his own future. Once trained in certain business skills, with as they say "a proven track record," it is relatively easy to move from an unsatisfying job to a more attractive one, usually with a salary gain. In big companies, often one can achieve the same goal intramurally. The disparities in salaries between business and the Foreign Service are significant for comparable levels of responsibility in the middle ranges—and very large in the senior ranges—and likely to get larger still in all ranges. One may find in a business career—perhaps even more than in the Foreign Service—that there is significant satisfaction to be derived from activities outside the office. Many companies sincerely encourage participating in local organizations, local government, or international affairs groups. One should certainly take advantage of these opportunities. My erstwhile government colleagues tend, however, to overestimate the importance of the business expense account, first class air travel, club memberships, and the like. These perquisites make life a little easier, but that is about all.

In looking back at eight years in business and eight in the Foreign Service, the writer finds pros and cons in both. One should not idealize the business world. On the other hand, one should not unduly cast aspersions on it, or hold it too much in awe. For the writer, it has proved, as the chronology above indicates, to be both a ladder and a slippery pole. Is the Foreign Service really any different?

In Kabul or Kinshasa...

(or anywhere else in the world)

YOUR CORNER DRUGSTORE

The Capitol Hill Pharmaceutical Diplomatic Service offers 20% discount on prescriptions, 20% discount on over-the-counter merchandise, further discounts on quantity purchases. Overseas mailing.

MORTON'S PHARMACY

The Prescription Service

301 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

PHONE 543-4103, 543-9278

Copenhaver

Fine Stationers and Engravers

Members of the Foreign Service of the United States of America can depend on *Copenhaver* for quality, service and correct counseling on questions of protocol for their calling cards, informals and invitations, etc.

Urgent requests filled promptly

ADams 2-1200

Connecticut Avenue

Courtesy Parking

1625 CONNECTICUT AVE.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

MOUNT VERNON REALTY INC.

SOMEONE WHO KNOWS YOUR NEEDS

ANNE GOMEZ

Member of one of the most successful home finding agencies in the Washington area.

Write for free information on taxes, schools, financing— a guide to buying or renting a home that you can understand.

SPECIALIZING IN MAKING YOUR RETURN TO THE STATES A PLEASANT ONE.

Write: MOUNT VERNON REALTY INC.
Attn: Anne Gomez
6257 Old Dominion Dr.,
McLean, Virginia 22101
Tel: (703)821-8300

For Fine Properties in the Washington Area

Please contact our experienced, competent staff

John Millar
Welene Goller
Lynn Magruder
Patricia Boorman
William Trueheart
Jack Klein

MGMB, inc. Realtors

362-4480

3408 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016

CHINA-BURMA-INDIA
from page 12

was brief. I learned how to assemble my "gear," carry a pack, and roll and unroll my blankets. I trudged along on night marches and slept in the jungle. I even surprised everybody, including myself, by once hitting five out of eight bull's eyes in target practice with the M-1. But I was not exactly cut out to be an infantry soldier. It turned out that the Marauders took very few prisoners during the first part of their 500 mile march and the opportunities for my "talking to the Japanese" were rare.

While Merrill's troops were crossing India by train, I flew to Assam with Colonel Charles Hunter, second in command—a professional's professional if there ever was one, and several other ranking officers of the unit. The troops arrived at the railway terminus on February 6 and assembled at a staging area near the little town of Margherita. By midnight of the 7th they were starting out on their "long penetration" over the Patkai range, into the Hukawng valley, over more mountains, toward a destination on the Irawaddy River called Myitkyina (pronounced Mitchinaw). Their story was a tragic one, lasting until August, and crowded with malaria, typhus, monsoons, mud, exhaustion, enemy fire, ambushes, and human bravery. It ended in near-mutiny when the siege of Myitkyina bogged down and convalescents just able to carry a rifle were ordered back into combat. One defiant boy tore a dressing from an enormous wound in his chest as he boarded a plane. Stilwell was blamed and the Marauders' bitterness toward him was deep. Charlton Ogburn wrote that his name was "as a red flag to a bull" and Colonel Hunter began his book *Galahad* with the phrase, "Nuts to you, General Stilwell."

For me the next few months were a Foreign Service officer's dream. This was the war—probably our last—about which we had no doubts. However we might question the diplomacy of 1941, *we* had been attacked and *we* had to win. We were spared the gnawing scruples of our successors in Vietnam. It was exciting, exhilarating, with the exuberance heightened by the dark beauty of the Burma jungle and the tensing sense of danger, often sharply, though pleasurably, exaggerated in the imagination. Unchained from a desk, I was in fact my own boss, coordinating my activities with John Davies. Our status was established at the various headquarters in the theater and we wrote our own travel orders; an obliging Adjutant General would always gladly sign a document which began, "The Commanding General directs. . ." I flew in transports, bombers, hospital planes, and in little one-passenger L-5s which were fine for getting up and down the Hukawng valley. Once on a trip across the Hump I was a "waist gunner" on a B-24. Jeeps and trucks were always available; one time I found myself driving a huge weapons carrier over rutted, mud-impacted roads. We four political advisers, scattered as we were, developed our own code for communications that no one else could

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 Annandale, Arlington, Manassas and McLean.

Crowell & COMPANY, INC. REALTORS

2160 N. GLEBE Rd.
Arlington, Va. 22207
Phone (703) 524-3131

COME TO THE
HUNT COUNTRY
OF VIRGINIA
CLOSE TO WASHINGTON...
AND A WORLD AWAY

LOTS • FARMS • HOMES - NEW & OLD

HUNT COUNTRY REALTY, INC.
WARRENTON, VA. 22186
(703) 347-0731

W. J. (Jack) Caldwell
(USIA-Ret.)
Realtor

Ralph L. Boyce
(AID/USIA-Ret.)
Associate

Service·Concern·Dependability

A. C. Houghton & Son, Inc.

REALTORS

IN THE FAMILY FOR 70 YEARS

Sales and Rentals in Northwest Washington, Chevy Chase, Bethesda, Potomac

4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 — 686-5800
6400 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md. 20034 — 320-5700

MR. ENVOY IN PARIS:

Mr. Envoy was sent to Paree,
now he's as happy as he can be,
for all the things he prized
*were shipped Containerized**
and packed by District, you see.

*With District's Custom Containerized method, everything is carefully packed in specially constructed containers and remains untouched until unpacked at final destination –across the nation or around the globe. ICC No. MC-126453

DISTRICT MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3800 Kenilworth Ave., Bladensburg, Md. 20710 (301) 779-4900

read. No wonder that Ambassador Clarence Gauss in Chungking, to whom we were all technically assigned as "second secretaries of embassy," grumbled about these free-wheeling FSOs he could not control.

It developed naturally that my duties in the CBI Theater would have to do with the Japanese. John Davies, Jack Service, and Ray Ludden were busily analyzing the fate of China. To me was left speculation about how the war would end and what postwar Japan would be like. I had lived that country's evolution toward militaristic nationalism from the February 26 Incident to the eve of Pearl Harbor and my studies of Japanese literature and interest in Japanese theater had given me inklings of the conflicts between obligation and passion, the power of the warrior's code, and the philosophy of fatalism which still moulded the national character. Suicide, violence in desperation, the unpredictability of impulse, and belief in the Karma of retribution—all present in the Japanese psyche—might offer clues to the development of our war with the Yamato nation. Psychological warfare and prisoner interrogation appeared as avenues through which I might try to explore this murky future.

While keeping in touch with Merrill's Marauders at various places along their line of march, I spent a good deal of time with the Office of War Information's Psychological Warfare Team located on a tea plantation, Chota Powai, near Margherita and the take-off point for the Ledo Road. The group's functions were to win support and cooperation from the various native peoples in the area of Stilwell's operations and to direct psychological warfare at the Japanese enemy. Unlike OSS (Office of Strategic Services), OWI's propaganda was "white," or overt, with its origin plainly marked. The OWI team was a remarkable assemblage of colorful personalities. It included Shans, Kachins, and Burmese, who busily wrote leaflets in their own languages, and missionaries with long experience in North Burma. One extraordinary American, Harold Young, born in Burma, was an expert on the Lahu and the head-hunting wild Wa, tribes living near the Chinese border. He knew the jungle like the streets of a hometown and lectured to spellbound troops on how to survive in the jungle. I went with him to gather plants with which he then demonstrated, identifying those which were poisonous and those which were edible (bamboo shoots, banana buds) and life-saving (banana leaves for shelter, bamboo stalks for water). Many of the Americans later became distinguished in a variety of careers as ambassadors, publicists, journalists, scholars, businessmen, and artists: William Roth, as ambassador in the Kennedy administration and candidate for governor of California in 1974; Porter McKeever as secretary general of the United Nations Association, New York, and special assistant to John D. Rockefeller, III; Proctor Mellquist, as editor of *Sunset Magazine;* John Steeves, as ambassador to Afghanistan and Direc-

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

Make Your Washington Move Easy . . . with our
FREE
'Somebody Cares' Kit
Write: Diplomatic Dept., Shannon & Luchs
Suite 808 – Honeywell Center
McLean, Virginia 22101
Realtors • Established 1906
SHANNON · & · LUCHS
Offices Throughout D. C. Metropolitan Area (202) 659-7155

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.
WORLD WIDE PRESCRIPTION SERVICE
Western Pharmacy, Inc.
t/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Assignment Washington?
PANORAMA
REAL ESTATE
The largest complete real estate organization in the Greater Washington Area.
For free brochures and advance information
Write or call:
7900 Westpark Dr., McLean, Virginia 22101
703/821-3800

tor General of the Foreign Service; Marshall Shulman, as director of Columbia University's Russian Institute; David Botsford, as president of his own advertising agency (San Francisco, New York, and Tokyo); Harry Diamond, as a well-known New York artist; Robert Kleiman of the New York *Times* and Adolph Suehsdorf, a New York publisher.

Another *nisei* team had been especially selected for assignment to OWI, a talented group with experience in journalism, labor unions, business and commercial art; most were *kibei* with education or experience in Japan and therefore a good knowledge of Japanese.

The team leader was Staff Sergeant Koji Ariyoshji, Hawaiian-born, 30 years old, a graduate of the University of Georgia who had worked in Hawaii as a store clerk, coffee plantation overseer, truck driver, road construction worker, longshoreman, and freight clerk. Koji was stocky, soft-spoken, serious, and already deeply involved in the American labor movement. Although he had never been in Japan, Koji spoke Japanese fluently and was earnestly conscientious about his responsibilities. A non-*nisei* Sergeant temporarily assigned to the group wrote about him in the *CBI Roundup:* "Our team leader made our unit the best disciplined group at all staging camps we had to pass. We often had to march in formation when it wasn't absolutely necessary. Our carbines were the cleanest, our uniforms the neatest." I was later to take Koji up to China where he became well-acquainted with the Communists in Yenan, staying there until after the war ended.

Perhaps the most lively, ebullient, hyperactive *nisei* psychological warrior was Kenji Yasui, short, muscular, loquacious, aggressive, and an inveterate gambler. Yasui had lived almost 20 of his 29 years in Japan, returning to California only in 1938. His colloquial Japanese was probably the best of any team member. "Kenny" became famous as the CBI's "*nisei* Sergeant York" when he engineered the capture of 13 Japanese soldiers on an island in the Irawaddy river at the battle of Myitkyina. Responding to a call for volunteers, Yasui and three Caucasian GIs stripped and swam to the little island where 20 Japanese were hiding in the underbrush. When Kenny shouted a command in Japanese, an enemy sergeant peered out cautiously, astounded to see a naked little man announcing he was a Japanese colonel working for the Americans and demanding surrender. After one officer had thrown a hand grenade, only to kill himself, and after three recalcitrants had been shot and four had escaped, the remaining 13 lined up shamefacedly and marched in close order drill to the barked commands of the bogus colonel in the buff. Yasui got the group across the river by ordering the prisoners to swim and push a raft, on which sat Kenny, clad only in drawn sword, Japanese "colonel" to the last. For this exploit he was decorated with the Silver Star.

Continued next month

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 Sangamore Road, Washington, D. C. 20016

Phone 229-4000 Phone 229-4016

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?**

Let me know your requirements and I will send you an up-to-date realty analysis without obligation. I believe my Departmental and Foreign Service experience in administration has given me unique qualifications to help you with your transition.

SALES—RENTALS—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

ROBERT E. PECK
representing
Routh Robbins Realtors

1359 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean, Virginia 22101
Office: 703-356-7000 Home: 703-356-3864

Calvert School

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. Used by over 300,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog. Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin.

Established 1897 **301-243-6030**

Calvert School

Box F10-7, Tuscany Rd. **Baltimore, Md. 21210**

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

LETTERS *from page 2*

lished physical requirements, and to require that their performances meet certain standards. I would question your approach about assignments to personnel who are not medically cleared for worldwide service. In addition to Washington and Europe, how about Canada, for instance, and some of the Caribbean Islands, Australia and New Zealand, etc?

Allowing that there might be an increasing number of "older members" clustered in Washington, and allowing that this could be a problem, it does not seem to me that it follows that this would affect international affairs.

Finally, there is no way for me to know how many FSO 1 and 2 employees would indeed remain on much longer should retirement age be changed to 70 years, but I am inclined to believe the vast majority would opt for retirement within a few years of age 60.

I am attaching my chit as requested, and do hope that this question will be examined from all sides, and, of course I hope that the present decision stands.

MIRIAM E. NIXON

Caracas

Mandatory Retirement—Pro

The decision of the D.C. court to change Foreign Service mandatory retirement from age 60 to 70 can only be based upon a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge of the Foreign Service functions, conditions and personnel requirements. I think all of your points are very well taken. I believe it would be a tragedy for the Foreign Service if this court decision should stand.

I have had long experience with relevant matters having been a supervisory officer all of my 25 years in the Service, and having been a member of several committees in Personnel while I was Dean of the Foreign Service Institute.

If this court decision should stand, Foreign Service personnel matters, particularly promotions, would have to be handled in a much more Draconian fashion than ever before. If such a change should take place, it could be a very bright lining to a very dark cloud: mediocre personpower would never reach Grade 3. The only alternative would be chaos or outright favoritism, which I'm sure the court does not intend. And having lived as long as I have, I have lost hope that any bureaucratic system will learn to weed out deadwood as fast as it should.

BERT FRANKLIN

Manhattan, Kansas

Mandatory Retirement—Con

I should say at the outset that I am strongly opposed to mandatory retirement from the Foreign Service at age 60.

It is disheartening to me to note that the *Foreign Service Journal* has called a well-reasoned and unanimous decision of a distinguished three-judge panel a "bad one." The reasons cited by the *Journal* for this statement are, in my view, in the most unfortunate tradition of career protectionism.

Perhaps the time has come for the Foreign Service Association to desist in a repetition of the threadbare argument that failure to remove officers at what could be the most productive period of their lives simply blocks promotional opportunities for younger officers in the system. Can one seriously argue that the retention of older experienced men in science, education, medicine and many other fields has damaged the career opportunities of younger men? Has the retention of Ambassador Bunker threatened the cherished dreams of some unidentified mid-career officer?

What is clearly needed, in my opinion, is careful restudy and more astute management of the Foreign Service assignment and promotion system itself. If, as the *Journal* suggests, 70 Foreign Service officers are "walking the corridors" looking for assignments, then something is clearly wrong with the system. I do not pretend that a restructuring of the system would be an easy task. But the tide of affairs is running against the Foreign Service on the retirement issue. AFSA should be in the forefront of change, not simply protecting itself against change and new opportunity.

I therefore urge that AFSA rethink its position on retirement and career opportunities bearing in mind that the field of foreign affairs in all its modern complexity should provide, with careful planning and management, ample opportunities for those who enter it to find rewarding careers as long as they remain alert and productive.

JOHN A. BIRCH

FSO-1 (Ret.)

Chevy Chase, Md.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

"I hope that this demonstrates, Briggs, that there are some distinct advantages to getting to staff meetings on time."

AFSA NEWS

This portion of the JOURNAL *is the responsibility of the Governing Board of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.*

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication. ***AFSA News Committee, Room 3644, N.S.***

CONTENTS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

In August 1976 President Carter told New York *Times* correspondent C. L. Sulzberger that he would like to help out the Secretary of State "by improving the quality of our major diplomatic appointments. I want these to depend firmly on merit and ability. I don't believe that people should be paid off for contributing to elect a President by getting such posts." This theme is repeated in Mr. Carter's book, *Why Not the Best*, and frequently mentioned in campaign speeches which sharply criticized past practice in appointing envoys as "political payoffs."

President Carter has now nominated 61 ambassadors and filled the top two dozen positions in the Department of State. So far, the record falls considerably short of the expectations Mr. Carter himself stirred.

The President has increased the career share of overseas ambassadorial assignments, but the pattern of his non-career nominations remains solidly in the tradition of his predecessors. Moreover, the numerical increase in career chiefs of mission has been offset by the sharp reduction in Foreign Service officers in senior departmental positions.

In August 1977, the United States had 118 serving or nominated chiefs of mission. Of these, 30, or 25 percent, were non-career. A year ago the figure was 33 percent. The 1933-76 average was 36 percent. While the career share in Europe and Latin America has increased, the overall geographic distribution of non-career envoys remains similar to past patterns. The largest number are in Europe and only two are in Africa. (See Table 1.)

In terms of appointments, 28, or 46 percent of President Carter's chief of mission nominations have been for individuals from outside the career Foreign Service. However, it is reasonable to expect that the percentage of non-career appointees will decrease since the bulk of nominations so far have been to replace political ambassadors named by Presidents Nixon and Ford. (See Table 2.)

President Carter's choices for non-career ambassadors fall squarely into the traditional mold. About ten are exceptionally well qualified and represent the type of nominee likely to add to the overall effectiveness and creativity of American diplomacy. The Association welcomes the infusion of talent and experience like Senator Mike Mansfield to Tokyo, Dr. Robert Goheen to New Delhi, Leonard Woodcock to Peking, Wilbur LeMelle to Nairobi, Richard Gardner to Rome, and Howard Wriggins to Colombo.

Roughly an equal number are people who have performed creditably in various walks of life but have no special qualifications that merit their selection over experienced professionals as chiefs of mission. Unfortunately, there is a third group of five so far who even by stretching the criteria have neither requisite foreign affairs experience nor other background to

KEY: C = Career
NC = Non-Career

TABLE 1
Serving Chiefs of Mission

	1977			*1976*	*1933-76*
Region	*C*	*NC*	*% NC*	*% NC*	*% NC*
Latin America	15	6	29	44	35
Europe	20	9	31	45	48
Africa	26	2	7	13	24
Near East/ S. Asia	18	4	18	18	19
East Asia	7	4	36	31	25
International Organiz.	2	5	71	86	77
	88	30*	25	33	36

*Includes two non-career holdovers

TABLE 2
Chief of Mission Appointments

	President Carter			*1933-76*
Region	*C*	*NC*	*%NC*	*% NC*
Latin America	8	5	38	34
Europe	11	9	45	49
Africa	5	2	29	21
Near East/ S. Asia	6	4	40	21
East Asia	2	3	60	32
International Organiz.	1	5	83	73
	33	28	46	37

merit their selection. They appear to be old-style patronage appointments. At least two may owe their nominations to campaign contributions of $50,000 or more.

The Association strongly opposes this type of traditional political appointment. While our public testimony at confirmation hearings has not succeeded in blocking Senate confirmation, the Association, as a matter of principle, will vigorously continue to urge non-confirmation whenever a nominee appears to fall below the minimum requirements in an ambassadorial appointment.

A potentially constructive innovation has been the establishment of a Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments. But the Board, which is ostensibly designed to screen nominations in cases where non-career candidates are under consideration, has proven a disappointment. The concerns expressed in the Association's February 4, 1977, statement regarding the lack of foreign affairs experience of the majority of the Board's 20 members has been borne out by the number of unqualified individuals who have received the Board's "qualified" stamp. The Board's performance has inevitably fueled suspicions that its purpose was to serve as a political laundering operation rather than a meaningful screening process. This suspicion has been strengthened by the Administration's unwillingness to accept the Association's suggestion . that distinguished retired career and non-career ambassadors be added to assure that at least a majority of the membership have first-hand knowledge of the functioning of an embassy. At present, only one Board member has ever served as an ambassador overseas and only one was a career officer. Under the circumstances, the Association plans actively to consider the establishment of an independent and nonpartisan screening panel patterned on the American Bar Association's Committee on the Federal Judiciary.

Another troubling aspect of the ambassadorial selection process relates to the procedures by which nominees are examined by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Common Cause has recently proposed several useful procedural reforms:

- Seven days advance notice of public hearings;
- Delay of two weeks before Committee voting after a hearing to permit a more careful review of the hearing record;
- A written report to the Senate at least three days before it votes on confirmation.

These sensible proposals have the support of the Association. In addition, the Executive Branch should provide the Senate a written statement on the qualifications of the nominee for the proposed assignment.

Within the Department, there has been a sharp reduction in the number of Foreign Service officers serving in top positions; those of assistant secretary level or equivalent. A year ago there were 16 career officers in the top 25 positions. Today there are six. The Association does not question the right of the President and the Secretary to select people in whom they have confidence, but does regret that they have chosen to select so few of the many well qualified senior officers.

In sum, while Mr. Carter is using more career officers as ambassadors than his predecessors, the overall record is nonetheless disappointing. In the post-Watergate era and especially given Mr. Carter's campaign promises, the Foreign Service had hoped for more fundamental improvement than has occurred. Under the circumstances, the Association plans to continue an aggressive campaign for reform. The Association's goal remains a rational system of appointing envoys under which the large majority would be trained and experienced career professionals but also including a few exceptionally well qualified non-career appointees who have foreign affairs experience, substantial area knowledge or distinguished public service records. The Association is already in touch with Common Cause and hopes to enlist the support of other public interest organizations and academic groups who share the Association's view that it is time we stop selecting chiefs of our diplomatic missions the way we used to pick postmasters.

RETIREMENT AT 60??

The August *FSJ* reported that on July 6 the outgoing Governing Board of AFSA had written to the Department urging an appeal of the United States District Court's June 28 decision striking down Foreign Service mandatory retirement at age 60. The August *FSJ* also asked Members whether or not they favored the court decision. Out of about 50 responses received by early September, 15 supported the Court's decision but 35 favor mandatory retirement at age 60.

On August 8 the Deputy Secretary of State wrote to the Solicitor General asking that he appeal the District Court decision to the Supreme Court. The Deputy Secretary argued that the court was mistaken in declaring, on the basis of the written briefs by both sides, but without a full trial, that Section 632 of the Foreign Service Act lacked any rational basis whatsoever, and was unconstitutional. The Department hopes that the Supreme Court will return the case to the District Court for a full trial on the merits.

On August 23 the newly elected Governing Board adopted a resolution which "welcomes and supports" the Department's decision to ask the Solicitor General to appeal the decision; and we conveyed this position to management and to the Solicitor General.

We regretted having to take any action on this issue without full consultation with the Membership. But we believed we had to go on record prior to the deadline within which the Solicitor General had to decide whether to appeal. We thought that the decision, if unchallenged, would have a negative impact on the careers of a majority of our constituents. We were concerned that the District Court's opinion, which rejects the notion that there is anything special about a Foreign Service career, could adversely affect other unique aspects of the Foreign Service Act, such as voluntary retirement at age 50 with annuities higher than the Civil Service. We also believed that only if the Solicitor General appeals to the Supreme Court is there a chance that this complex issue will be examined fully on its merits.

We look forward to receiving a fuller indication of the memberships' views.

REFERENDUM ON MEMBERSHIP DUES

The Referendum Committee on September 6, 1977 supervised the verification and counting of the secret ballots cast on the proposition to authorize the Governing Board to change the dues schedule for membership in AFSA. The Referendum Committee certified the following results:

Total Valid Votes	YES	2440
Total Valid Votes	NO	591
Total Valid Votes		3031
Total Invalid Votes		55
Total Blank Votes		8
Total Votes Received		3094

The vote on the Proposition by constituencies was as follows:

	YES	NO
AID	296 (82%)	65 (18%)
USIA	102 (73%)	37 (27%)
RETIRED	735 (81%)	170 (19%)
STATE	1307 (80%)	319 (20%)
Total	2440 (80.5%)	591 (19.5%)

The Referendum Committee therefore declared the Proposition approved.

The preference indications between Option A (3-tier dues level) and Option B (single dues) for active duty members was

OPTION A	1245 (66%)
OPTION B	635 (34%)

Following are the constituency breakdowns on option preferences:

	OPTION A	OPTION B
AID	192 (59%)	131 (41%)
USIA	63 (53%)	56 (47%)
STATE	990 (69%)	448 (31%)

Upon receiving the Referendum Committee report, the AFSA Governing Board approved a resolution to increase AFSA membership dues effective January 1, 1977. The new dues schedule will provide for a three-tiered system as outlined in Option A. Thus, effective January 1, 1977, for FSO 8-6s, FSS 10-4 and persons with equivalent rank membership dues will be $39.00 annually or $1.50 in a biweekly allotment, for FSO-5-4 and FSS 3-2 and equivalents $52.00 annually or $2.00 in biweekly allotments, and for FSO-3s and above, FSS-1s and equivalents $65.00 annually or $2.50 in a biweekly allotment. Retired FS personnel with annuity under $15,000, dues $20; annuity over $15,000, dues of $35. Life membership is $1,000 and Associates remain at $20.00.

AID REORGANIZATION AIMS AT EMPLOYEES' "LIFESTYLE"

Many reports are circulating concerning AID's reorganization efforts. We now learn that a message is being prepared for the Administrator's approval stating his "determination to bring the lifestyle of AID officers in line with the purposes to which the Agency is committed!"

In response to AFSA inquiries for clarification of that imprecise but noble aim, we are told that, as a first step in this new determination AID management is proposing to eliminate the official residence expense allowance (ORE) for all mission directors! Although noting that mission directors are management employees and thus outside of the normal bargaining unit, AID management acknowledges AFSA's concern as to the implications of this "determination" on other Foreign Service employees who are in the bargaining unit.

An information memorandum forwarded to AID management advises that should ORE allowances be eliminated, it would be virtually impossible for anyone dependent on a government salary to make up the difference from his own resources to accept the chief AID position in Paris, for example. The Agency, probably, would have to look for someone with an outside income for such a position instead of choosing the best qualified, most experienced person. The memorandum continued that it goes without saying that the elimination of the ORE allowances for mission directors will undoubtedly have some potential bearing on the allowances for ambassadors and DCMs.

AID management's decision toward controlling employees' "lifestyles" could naturally have an effect upon the entire Foreign Service. For this reason, AFSA/W believes that questions of this nature should be resolved in an interagency context and has so advised all AFSA overseas Chapters.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

Materials for the 1978-1979 AFSA Merit Awards and Financial Aid Programs will be ready to mail out in early December. All 1978-1979 undergraduate students interested in applying for a financial aid grant from the AFSA Scholarship Fund and all students graduating from high school in '78 interested in entering the merit awards program should apply to:

AFSA Scholarship Programs
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Again this year the deadline for completion of the materials will be February 15th.

These programs are made possible by funds from the AFSA Scholarship Fund and funds raised by the AAFSW Book Fair. This annual event needs support and assistance throughout the year.

Additional financial aid grants for 1977-1978 are going to the following:

Rubina Ahmed, Northern Virginia Community College, AAFSW Scholarship; **Sameena Ahmed,** Mary Washington College, AAFSW Scholarship; **Margaret A. King,** University of Minnesota, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship; **Frances Lawrence,** Keene State College, AAFSW Scholarship; **Silva E. Lino,** American University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Mary C. Pelczynski,** George Mason University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Marion A. Shaw,** Tufts University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Marianne Stephens,** Tufts University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Peter C. Springer,** University of Houston, Charles E. Bohlen Memorial Scholarship; **Bernadette C. Walls,** Virginia Commonwealth University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Michael P. Walls,** Georgetown University, Julius C. Holmes Memorial Scholarship; **Keitlyn Watson,** University of California, Berkeley, Foreign Service Wives' Club, Frankfurt Scholarship.

AFSA WINS INCREASE IN MOSCOW POST ALLOWANCE

As a result of protests by the AFSA Chapter in Moscow that working and living conditions there had sharply worsened following the recent Embassy fire, the Department increased the Moscow post allowance from 20% to 25%!

AID'S UPWARD MOBILITY PROGRAM FOR STAFF

AFSA, in conjunction with the Women's Action Organization (WAO), recently completed a survey of the attitudes of AID's Foreign Service Staff employees toward AID's Career Development program. As stated in a presentation given to AID Management in early September, the survey clearly showed the need for the Agency to focus its attention on the importance of revitalizing its upward mobility programs for Staff personnel.

Concerned over the small number of applications received for the 1977 AID Career Development program, AFSA and WAO cooperated in circulating a questionnaire to over 200 FSS employees in AID/W and overseas. The questionnaire asked whether they had applied for the 1977 class, their reasons for not applying (if they had not) and their interest in and suggestions for future career development programs. Over half of the questionnaires were completed and returned.

The replies showed substantial interest in continuing upward mobility opportunities for Staff employees and contained many concrete recommendations for making the program more useful for themselves and for the Agency. Some potential applicants for the career development program indicated that they had been "turned off" because of earlier failures by AID to give positive recognition to consistent superior performance and to demonstrations of broader skills. For example, an employee classified as a secretary but who had worked as an accountant for almost two years was told on reassignment that she would have to go back to secretarial work. A number of respondents were discouraged from applying because they had been unable to obtain explanations from SER or their career counseling officers why their earlier applications for career development programs had been refused.

A saddening aspect of the replies to the AFSA/WAO questionnaire is the low morale evident among the Staff corps, exacerbated in recent years by the limited number of promotions and the general obstacles to upward mobility. It should be noted that a number of employees expressed the wish to continue their career as professional secretaries and have no desire for launching into new career patterns. However, even they protested that they are frequently treated as "second class citizens" or as "pieces of furniture."

Based on its survey, AFSA and WAO recommended to AID that the career development program be continued but be restructured to allow greater flexibility in meeting individual needs, that care be taken to ensure administrative/personnel slots are available for all classes, that avenues be provided for direct conversion of qualified, experienced employees, and that the Agency be more sensitive and responsible to the problems and aspirations of the staff employees.

TEENS IN COMMUNITY—THE TOKYO EXPERIENCE

by
Jeannie Livaudais, Coordinator
and
Amy Egan, Volunteer

A summer job program for teens, Teens in Community, was implemented in Tokyo in 1976 through the joint cooperation of the American Embassy, the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, and the Tokyo American Club. The aim of this program is to make it possible for American youngsters who remain in Japan during the summer to:

- become constructively occupied;
- explore vocational interests and develop skills;
- gain experience in applying for a job and with the hiring process;
- earn money.

The program is run by a committee consisting of a representative each from the Civic Affairs Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, the American Embassy and the Tokyo American Club and several other volunteers. Each of the three sponsoring organizations plays a key role in the success of the program. The ACCJ provides the jobs as well as practical advice on legal, insurance and personnel matters. The American Embassy handles the liaison with the Justice Ministry's Immigration Bureau which has set up special procedures for obtaining temporary working visas for the participants. The Tokyo American Club provides the coordinator with a telephone, office space, supplies, xeroxing and mailing.

In its two years of operation, the program has placed students in jobs ranging from airline ground hostess to computer manual editor, from bank employee to hospital orderly. The program appears to have fulfilled the varying needs and expectations of most of the students.

Since its implementation, the organization has standardized its operational procedure. First, jobs are solicited from companies by mail with a personal contact follow-up. Next, applications are solicited from teens through volunteers at the various international schools. Third, a coordinator, assisted by volunteers, pre-screens the students, learning their interests and qualifications and advising them on suitable jobs. After the students have selected job possibilities, the coordinator arranges for a job interview. The coordinator, then, completes the post-hiring paper work for visas and insurance and takes the students' passports to the Justice Ministry. At the completion of the program employers and students are asked for written evaluations of their experiences and a report is written by the coordinator.

The program is attempting to expand each year, but this naturally results in higher costs. The program relies on the donations of various organizations. In the past the American Embassy Employees' Welfare Association, the Embassy Women's Club, the Tokyo American Club Women's Group and the Saint Mary's Mother's Club have donated funds. The program further relies on volunteers.

As evidenced by the enthusiastic response to Teens in Community, the organization has rendered a much needed service among young people in Tokyo. Through the cooperation of the sponsoring organizations and volunteers, this program will continue to be a viable project.

Foreign Service People

Marriages

Hilliker-Groskopf. Laurie Ann Hilliker was married to William Groskopf on June 12, 1976 in Rhinelander, Wisconsin.

Hilliker-Carns. Janet Lee Hilliker was married to George Carns on August 27, 1977 in Madison, Wisconsin. Laurie Ann and Janet are the daughters of FSO-retired Grant G. Hilliker of Columbus, Ohio and Miriam Chrisler Hilliker of Falls Church, Virginia.

Births

Halter. A son, Karl Ryan, born to FSO and Mrs. Karl S. Halter on August 18, in Bogota.

Reed. A son, Scott Alan, born to FSO Randolph Reed and FSO Yvonne Thayer, on August 17, in Buenos Aires.

Deaths

Allison. Effie B. Allison, wife of Ambassador-retired John M. Allison, died in Honolulu, on August 5. Ambassador Allison served as Ambassador to Japan, to Indonesia and to Czechoslovakia before his retirement in 1960. Mrs. Allison was an expert on and collector of Oriental porcelain and some of her pieces are in the John Quincy Adams Room of the State Department. She is survived by her husband of 538 Ahakea Street, Honolulu, and by her two daughters, Mrs. Kenneth West of Honolulu and Mrs. H. W. Gewald of Houston, six grandchildren and one great grandchild.

Duggan. William Redman (Red) Duggan, died on July 11 in Salem, Oregon. Mr. Duggan joined the Foreign Service in 1944, and served at Durban, Vancouver, Copenhagen, Dar-es-Salaam and Durban before his retirement in 1971. Since then he had been "diplomat on campus" at Willamette University and an adviser to Oregon Governor Bob Straub. He is survived by his wife, Florence, 550 Waldo Avenue, S.E., Salem, Oregon 97302 and a son, David of St. Paul, Minn.

McGregor. Mary Hopkins McGregor, wife of FSO-retired Robert G. McGregor, died on May 6, in Sarasota, Florida. She is survived by her husband, 2114 Hibiscus St., Sarasota, Florida 33579, and two daughters, Mrs. Marlene Barton, New Brunswick, N.J. and Miss Ann McGregor, Vienna, Austria and three grandchildren.

Palmer. Ely Eliot Palmer, Ambassador-retired, died on August 12, in San Bernardino. Ambassador Palmer entered the Foreign Service in 1910 and served at Mexico City, Paris, Brussels, Bucharest, Vancouver, Jerusalem, Beirut, Sydney, and as the first Ambassador to Afghanistan. He then served as US representative on the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission before his retirement in 1952. Ambassador Palmer served under seven Presidents and he received commendations from President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson upon retirement. He is survived by his daughter-in law, Mrs. George E. Palmer, 775 Gretchen Road, Chula Vista, California 92010, two granddaughters, Gayle Foster Palmer and Karen Eliot Palmer, a grandson, Hunt Foster Palmer, and a great grandson, all of Chula Vista.

Percival. LeRoy Frederick Percival, Jr., FSO-retired, died on August 8, in Forestville, Connecticut. Mr. Percival entered the Foreign Service in 1946 and served at Bremen, Kabul, Paris, Bonn, London, Paris (OECD), and as DCM at Bern and Canberra before his retirement this year. He is survived by his wife, 184 Washington Street, Forestville, Connecticut 06010, two sons, Jonathan and Bronson, and two daughters, Sarah and Melissa.

Troutman. Harry L. Troutman, FSO-retired, died on August 13, in Daytona Beach, Florida. Mr. Troutman entered the Foreign Service in 1919 and served at Milan, Messina, Budapest, Aleppo, Beirut, Jerusalem, Bucharest, Salonika, Alexandria, Ankara and Istanbul and as Consul in Geneva before his retirement in 1950. He is survived by a niece, Mrs. Gloria Troutman Florey, 11910 West Hilloway Road, Minnetonka, Minnesota 55343.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and **Journal** readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, **Foreign Service Journal,** 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

BOOKS

ORDER YOUR CHRISTMAS presents now from Nancy's Nook, owned by retired AID FSR. Will mail anywhere. 20% discount on popular fiction and non-fiction books. 10% for professional and textbooks. 60c mailing and handling charges per book. Christmas catalog available. Write Nancy Dammann, Box 368, Hyden, Kentucky 41749.

EDUCATION & INSTRUCTION

UNIVERSITY DEGREES BY MAIL! Bachelors, Masters, Doctorates from prestigious American Colleges and Universities. Free revealing details. Counseling, Box 317-FS10, Tustin, California 92680.

HOUSES FOR EXCHANGE

WANT A RENT-FREE vacation? Write—Holiday Home Exchange, Box 555, Grants, New Mexico USA 87020.

VACATIONS

DAYTRIPS IN EUROPE for adventurous travelers! Our unique travel guides show the way. For free information write Great Trips, Box 5199-FS, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017.

FOR RENT

FT. MYERS, FLA. — Brand-new 3-BR home complete in every respect, available for long-term lease within couple of months. Foreign Service retirees especially welcome. Write: D. E. Owen, Embassy, APO SF 96301 or call 813-481-7789.

AID STANDING COMMITTEE NEWS

We had planned to use this month's column to bring you up to date on the AID/AFSA activities that have taken place during the summer, particularly the chapter concerns of Kabul, Bogota and Santiago and the various negotiations with AID management that have been going on and are scheduled in the next few weeks. However, just before the editorial deadline for the FSJ, we had brought to our attention informally some information which we believe will be of broad interest to our AID colleagues.

We wish to share with you some current management thinking on the reorganization of the personnel system which would impact on us. Some of the recommendations being suggested are:

1. Rejection of the concept of a single personnel system;
2. Rejection of the concept of a career development officer corps;
3. Decentralization to and involvement of the Regional Bureaus in the personnel process;
4. Review and greater support of the assignment precepts;
5. Foreign Service personnel unwilling or unable to accept an overseas assignment or possessing skills no longer needed overseas should not remain in that service;
6. Determination of staffing requirements for Washington activities and overseas staffing requirements and application by formula to determine numbers for rotational assignment;
7. A study of the PER form and the evaluation system;
8. A high-level committee to re-

THREATENED TAXATION OF OVERSEAS ALLOWANCES

This is an update on the current status of proposals to repeal Section 912 of the Internal Revenue Code, which exempts from federal taxation overseas allowances paid to US government employees.

The Department has circulated rather considerable background material to posts abroad including copies of the Rostenkowski Task Force Report (A-1593) and Chapter Four of the Inter-Agency Report (A-2633), as well as an analysis of the possible tax impact of current working-level Treasury proposals (A-2879), and a summary of Secretary Vance's letter to Treasury Secretary Blumenthal of July 30 (Cirtel 180195).

AFSA has kept abreast of developments in this issue through meetings with the Department and contacts on the Hill, and in direct talks with the Treasury Department's Office of Tax Policy. That office is headed by Assistant Secretary Laurence Woodworth, a former chief counsel of the Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and a leading expert on the Internal Revenue Code. In their meetings with us, the Tax Policy people adopted what is known as a "tax purist" attitude: allowances should be taxed, and if it hurts, we should seek adjustments in compensation.

AFSA's president, Lars Hydle, wrote directly to Treasury Secretary Blumenthal on August 2, explaining why it would be unfair and unwise to repeal or modify Section 912, and concluding:

"While the tax bite on individual Federal employees overseas would be substantial, the general revenue increase to the Treasury would be trivial. If, as the Office of Tax Policy suggests, the Administration proposed and the Congress granted offsetting increases in compensation, there would be a minimal revenue impact—only the additional administrative cost in the IRS and in the Departments, and the additional record-keeping requirements for individual Federal employee taxpayers.

"The repeal of Section 912 would be, to borrow a phrase, 'a disgrace to the human race.' It would run contrary to two of the stated objectives of the Carter Administration tax reform package—simplification and equity. We urge you to put it aside."

On August 13 Assistant Secretary Woodworth replied to our letter, in substance as follows:

"We are currently studying the system of taxing Americans who work overseas in a civilian capacity, whether for the Government or the private sector. This could involve proposing some modifications to section 912, for example, such as the possibility of limiting the housing exclusion so it does not exclude the portion representing ordinary housing in the United States, but I seriously doubt that our proposals would involve the repeal of section 912.

"It, of course, is true that, in the absence of taxation, compensation can be lower and record-keeping simpler, but these are arguments that also apply to Americans working at home. Our objective is to provide tax relief to Americans working overseas for especially high costs incurred as a consequence of that employment, while recognizing that there are cost differentials within the United States as well. We are reviewing the various allowances from that viewpoint."

Meanwhile, we urged AFGE Local 1812 to ask USIA Director Reinhardt to weigh in directly with Secretary Blumenthal, and we understand he has done so (as have a number of other cabinet members whose subordinates serve overseas). AID Administrator Gilligan, at the urging of the AFSA AID Standing Committee, has gone on record against any change in Section 912.

At AFSA's suggestion, the Board of the Foreign Service also took up the question. On August 18 they unanimously adopted a resolution, transmitted to Secretary Blumenthal on August 22 by Acting Secretary Christopher, which noted the large increase in tax liability which would result from the repeal of Section 912 and continued:

"One of the primary purposes of Section 912 of the Internal Revenue Code, and allowances provided thereunder, was to compensate Foreign Service personnel for the extra expenses of serving overseas so that they would not be penalized financially for such service. The taxation of allowances as proposed will negate this purpose, seriously undermine the Foreign Service merit promotion system, and disrupt the normal assignment process of the Foreign Service. The result in the near future can only be a lowering of the caliber and efficiency of the Service."

Our congressional contacts indicate that the initiative on tax changes rests for the present with the Executive Branch. On the basis of informal soundings, we are cautiously optimistic that changes in Section 912 will not be part of the tax reform package which the Carter Adminstration plans to transmit to the Congress this fall. Therefore, as of now, it would be premature for Chapters or Members to blitz the Congress with appeals on this issue.

We doubt, however, that Section 912 is safe forever. We will continue to monitor developments, keep you informed, and let you know if and when, and in what fashion, it may become desirable for Foreign Service personnel to communicate with the Congress.

---

view and make administrative promotions on recommendations of Assistant Administrators;

9. A study of the feasibility of making promotions to R-1 and R-2 temporarily for the duration of assignment, with permanent promotions limited to the R-3 level;

10. Re-establishment of selection-out;

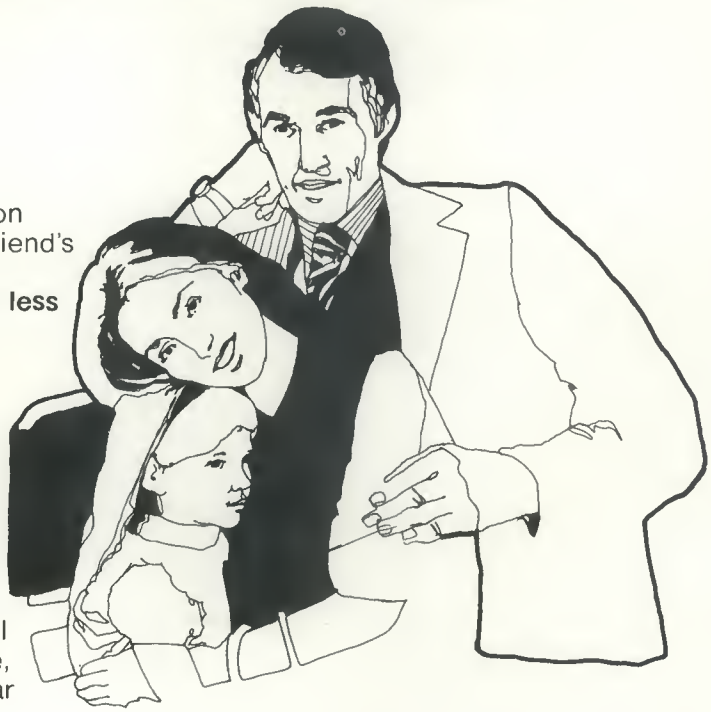
11. A message is being prepared by AID Management stating "it is the determination to bring the life style of AID officers in line with the purposes to which the Agency is committed." Such a message will eliminate official residence and instruct Directors and AID Representatives to pay the full cost of any servants they would employ if they held any other position at post.

We realize that the above management recommendations could and probably will be modified or rejected. Our purpose in bringing them to your attention is to keep you as informed as possible and to assure you of our continuing vigilance in protecting your interests. We will be using this column, and other channels as necessary, to keep you informed of future developments in the reorganization process.

Your views on this column—as well as on other matters—are encouraged. However, before formulating your comments, please refer to 3 FAM 651, Appendix A (p. 6), Sec. 8, and AID Handbook 24, Chapter 6.

Feel at home with security...

AFSA Group Accident Insurance for Loss of Life, Limb or Sight.



"Make yourself at home."

How often is heard that warm invitation to share the comfort and security of a friend's home. And though the surroundings may be unfamiliar, they somehow seem **less foreign** and more secure because your host is there to help protect you.

Home is where the security is!

Similarly, AFSA Group Accident Insurance for loss of life, limb or eyesight provides that added security to make many of our members feel at home anywhere they happen to be.

This AFSA program provides financial protection against accidental loss of life, limb or eyesight 24 hours a day, the year round, anywhere in the world.

You and your family can be covered whether you're traveling by car, taxi, train, boat, bus, subway and even as passengers on most commercial, private and military planes you'd normally travel in.

Moreover, protection is provided during business, pleasure and just plain day-to-day activities at home and abroad.

ACT NOW! Get all the facts about benefits, rates and exceptions on AFSA Group Accident Protection for loss of life, limb or eyesight—direct by mail! No agent will call.

Just complete the coupon below and mail today. No obligation. So don't delay on a plan that can mean added security for you and your family!

UNDERWRITTEN BY

Mutual of Omaha®

People you can count on...

MUTUAL OF OMAHA INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: OMAHA, NEBRASKA

AFSA INSURANCE PROGRAM
1666 Connecticut Ave. NW ■ Washington, D.C. 20009

☐ YES! Please rush full details on the Group Accident Insurance Plan available to me as a member of the American Foreign Service Association. I understand no agent will call.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP Code _____

FILL OUT AND MAIL TODAY!