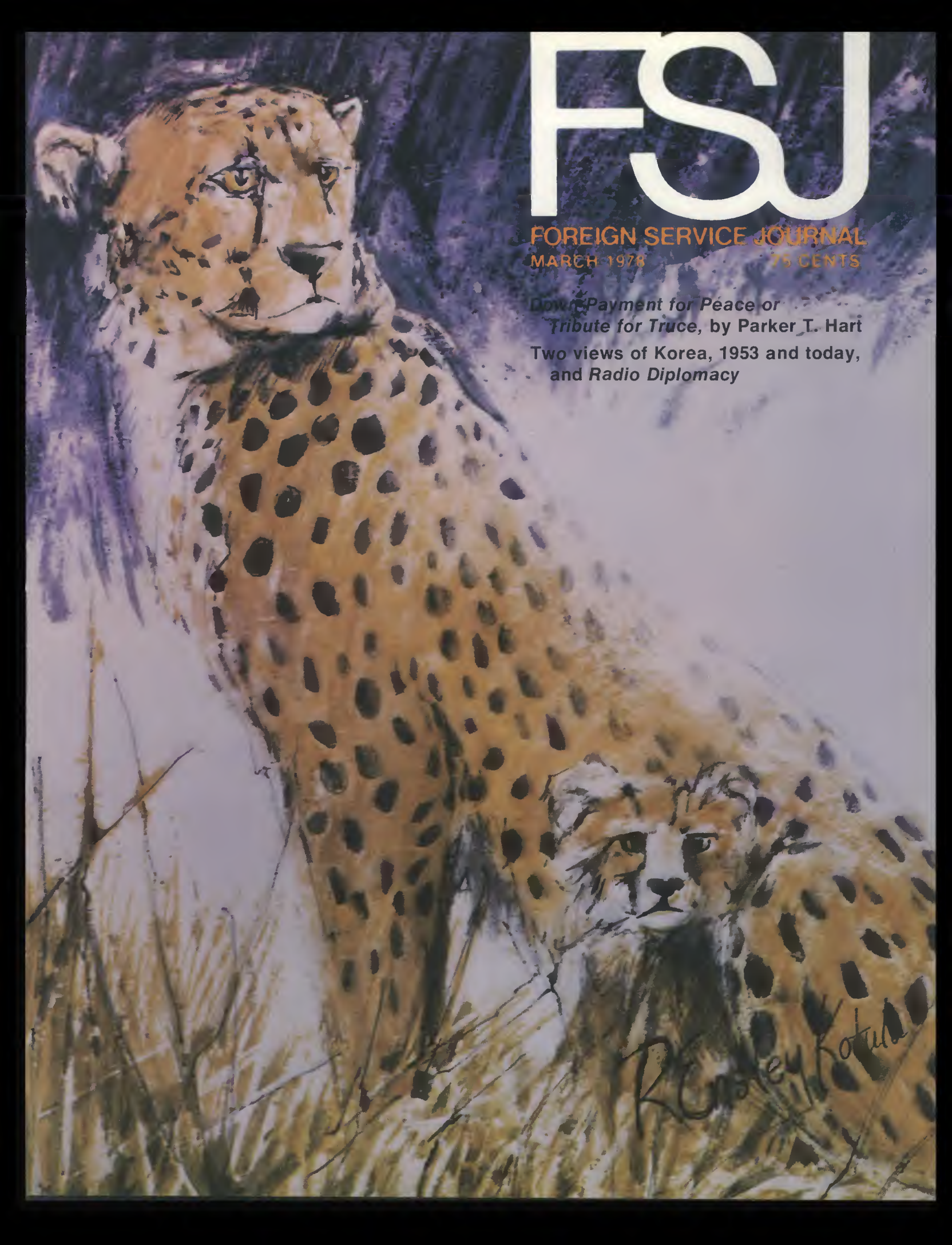




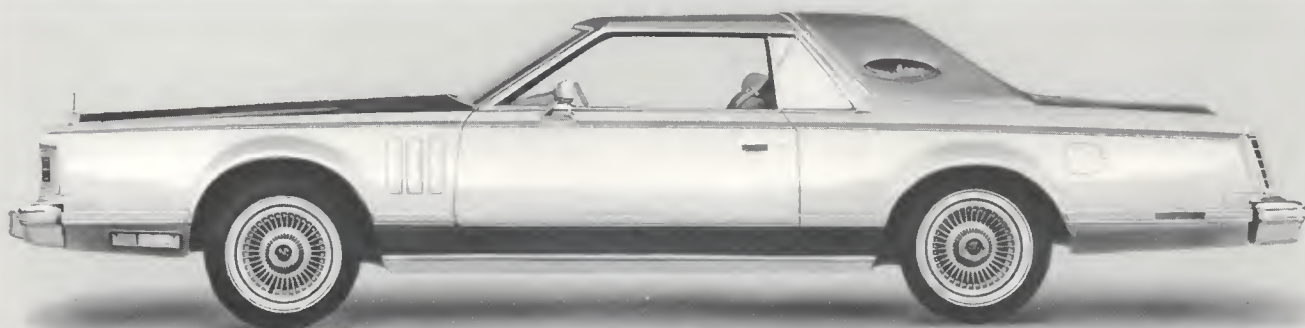
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and *Radio Diplomacy*

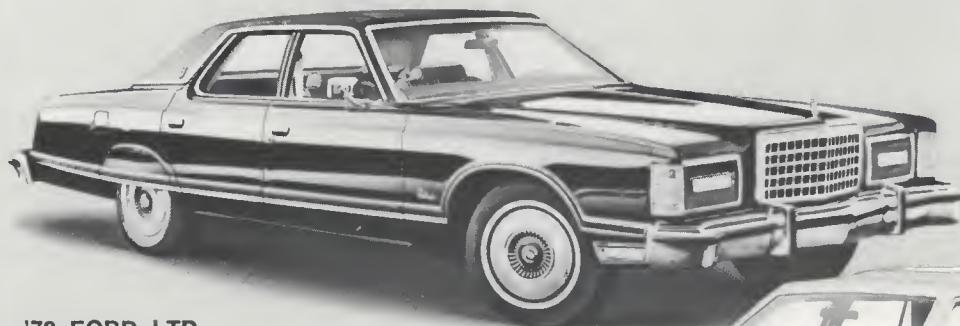
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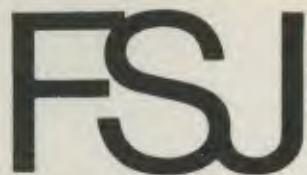
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Communication re:

The \$3.12 Misunderstanding

LUCIEN AGNIEL 4

Foreign Service Fable:

The Man Who Hated Flies

GEORGE T. CHURCHILL 5

Down-Payment for Peace or Tribute for Truce

PARKER T. HART 7

The Origins of America's Commitment in Korea

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN 10

America in Korea:

The End or a New Beginning

JOHN BARRY KOTCH 14

Radio Diplomacy

BETTY BERNBAUM 21

Secrets of the Turkish Bath

SARA RAU 23

AFSA Editorial 2

The Bookshelf 25

Letters to the Editor 35

Cover: Last Vigil—Cheetahs, by Ruth Kotula



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JANET RUBEN

On a skiing trip with some friends late in January, Janet Ruben's car hit a sheet of ice on the highway and spun out of control; in the ensuing crash Janet was killed instantly. This terrible tragedy has shocked and deeply sorrowed Janet's many and varied friends. We in AFSA were privileged to have been among her circle of friends, and we share in this shock and sorrow. We were also privileged to have worked with Janet on the AFSA Governing Board, to which she had been elected last July as a representative of the USIA constituency. We and all her host of friends will miss her wise counsel, active participation, and above all, her warm, cheerful personality.

Possessed of a keen, incisive mind, Janet was a most unusual person. Born in Pittsburgh, a cum laude graduate from Smith College, a Fulbright scholar in Guatemala, and holder of a Master's degree from Stanford University, she joined USIA in 1968. She served in Mexico City, Quito, and Rio de Janeiro, prior to her return to Washington as USIA personnel officer for Latin America in 1974. Since 1976, Janet had been detailed to the United States Delegation to the Organization of American States as education, scientific, and cultural officer. Wherever she went, Janet's extensive knowledge and professional skills, as well as her dynamic, joyful personality, won her friends and professional admiration.

As an opportunity to remember her together, over 200 of Janet's friends in Washington, including many from AFSA, USIA, the OAS and WAO, joined her mother and sister at a unique gathering in the ornate main hall of the Pan American Union building. Selections from her collection of Latin American art were on display and Latin American music provided a background. Ambassador Gale McGee set the tone for this occasion when he noted that even in a moment of deep sorrow we were aware of the joyousness which seemed to epitomize Janet's spirit. Words which most aptly described Janet, he continued, were "joyous," "exciting," "electric," "fun," "enthusiastic," "dedicated," and "determined." Her aspirations for the good of people and her dedication constitute a living inspiration. Ambassador McGee concluded that it would be the word "living" which Janet would underscore in that statement.

Following Ambassador McGee, Tom Tuch, her former chief in Rio de Janeiro, recalled a series of humorous anecdotes of working with Janet. In so many ways, he said, Janet was a person who had enriched all of our lives with her vitality, good humor, and spirit for living.

Enrique Martin Del Campo of Mexico recalled working and knowing Janet over the past two years when both were engaged in activities of the Organization of American States. He spoke of Janet's tremendous personality and of her deep understanding, sincere sympathy, dedication, and love of Latin America, which attracted everybody. Her personality projected her elegance and good taste. We admired, he said, her love of nature, sports, and the arts, and were constantly impressed by her skill at the negotiating table.



Lars Hydle, President of AFSA, said that since his first real meeting with Janet last July, upon her election to the AFSA Governing Board, he and the entire Board had become impressed by Janet's spirit and her ability for hard work, clear thinking and persuasiveness. During debates concerning AFSA policies on contentious issues, such as reorganization of public diplomacy and affirmative action she consistently demonstrated an ability to go beyond specific differences on issues to identify the humanity which binds us all together. She could disagree without being disagreeable. Janet possessed a rare charm and deep compassion for people.

Bob Chatten, another USIA colleague, mentioned the inspiration and spirit which Janet conveyed to all whom she met and worked with. Janet's contagious laugh projected a wonderful sense of humor.

In cooperation with Janet's family, Janet's friends have been discussing the creation of some form of living memorial in her honor. While plans are still in a formative stage, those who wish may send contributions to the American Foreign Service Association Fund, identified for the Janet Ruben memorial. This special Fund can accept tax-deductible donations.

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COMMUNICATION **re:**

The \$3.12 Misunderstanding

ELKINS, W. VA. — It's a 1977 US Government check, made out to me in the amount of \$3.12—and after long years on the bureaucratic rockpile, I cherish it as a small symbol of victory in one of those inane skirmishes which mark every man's lifelong war with the computer mentality. I hope I will be forgiven, or short of that, humored, if I dwell for a moment on how I earned it. And I *did* earn it.

Back in 1974, when we were all a lot younger, the USIA sent me to cover the Missouri State Fair for a number of overseas publications. In that warm August, I flew to Missouri, wrote my piece and got reimbursed for my travel expenses. In September, I was posted to the United States Mission in Berlin (US sector).

In November, USIA sent a field message to its West German headquarters in Bonn charging that I had been overcompensated for my travel to Missouri and demanding that I remit at once \$64.88. Bonn forwarded the message to the Berlin outpost, directing it to "immediately request an accounting from the employee." If I didn't pony up, the message continued, "appropriate payroll deductions will be made." What confused all of us there was the absence of any rationale for the charge.

Oddly enough, I had not lost nor thrown out my travel data, expense records and receipts. I checked closely and became convinced the Agency was in error. I then submitted my records to the Mission's administrative officer

and he agreed I should decline to make a rebate. On November 15, the Mission responded to the Bonn headquarters which in turn forwarded the disclaimer to USIA.

A certain amount of in-tent sulking followed because it was 16 months—February of 1976—before Washington fired off a message to Bonn, copy to Berlin, which had an ominous ring. Agniel should pay at once \$64.88, the message said, repeating the old threats and making no reference to my earlier rebuttal.

Cheered on by loyal colleagues, I stood my ground, vouchers and travel data at the ready. Again the Mission headquarters supported my position. More messages were despatched to Bonn and Washington. Again, the headquarters bureaucracy fell silent.

Two weeks later, USIA tried a gentler tack. There was a fresh telegram to Bonn, copy to Berlin. Upon a thorough review of the record, the Agency in its wisdom decided that my debt was not \$64.88—only a mere \$4.88. If I would simply remit the \$4.88 the entire matter could be settled—and presumably, we could all get on with winning the battles for the minds of men.

It was perhaps small-minded of me, but I couldn't quite see it their way. Again I checked the records. They confirmed my already fervent conviction that I owed nothing. On the contrary, I discovered that the Agency had disallowed in the original voucher an expenditure of eight dollars for four admissions to the Missouri State Fair. (The Fair had a no-pass policy and I had visited the grounds four times). Rummaging through my dog-eared file, I found my receipts and wrote the Agency finance people as follows: "Your conclusion that I owe you

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\$4.88, while representing an improvement over your earlier contention that I owed \$64.88, remains nonetheless in error." Then I committed the ultimate impudence of billing *them* for the suspended eight dollar item—and asking waiver of the \$4.88 as well.

It was as if I had harpooned a whale. Geysers of messages spewed back and forth across the Atlantic. Washington's impatience turned to anger; pay up or else. Suddenly I was getting different advice on my home front: come on, fella, it's not all that much. Don't make waves, just pay it and forget it.

I remained adamant. But I was distressed, too. It still distresses me to think how much the government wasted in its futile effort to collect \$64.88 which I did not owe it. As time staggered on, I became convinced I had got at best a kind of tie, a no-decision dead end.

But there was more to come. In the spring of 1977, another year later, I received a registered brown envelope from Washington with the familiar green check peeking through the window. USIA refused to withdraw from its position that I owed it an inexplicable \$4.88—but it acknowledged that my claim for 8 dollars was valid. It didn't *say* so, but the check for \$3.12 was a tacit admission of its error—or part of its error.

I do not know what law or regulation I am violating by not cashing that check. I freely rescind any claim to the small sum; but I do want to keep that little piece of paper. It's an important symbol of my last tour of foreign duty, in effect the last word with the bureaucracy—or the last word so far!

LUCIEN AGNIEL

Foreign Service Fable

The Man Who Hated Flies

Once in a far off country there was a Consulate in a region equally known for the religiosity of its inhabitants and the luxuriance of its insect life. While the insects can today be seen in their natural state only in the National Insect Preserves, they were in those times still abundant throughout the region. In fact, they were everywhere.

There were, of course, the ordinary flies, the ones with green iridescent posteriors, the small biting flies, and the gnats that dive unerringly for the corners of the eye. Roaches generated whole new species quicker than the entomologists could count the old. There were mosquitoes and midges, bugs and slugs, bees and fleas, mites and ticks, and a myriad of unseen creatures that clicked and whirled in the grass. Nor should one overlook rhinoceros beetles, gigantic feathery moths, and the thing with six sets of wings that crashes into lamps and flops about convulsively on the floor.

To this tropical post was assigned a young political

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officer, recently trained in Finnish, who had expected other things. "How," he asked the Consul over lunch, "Can you stand these insects, one of which you are even now about to put in your mouth with that piece of bread?"

"Always blow before you bite," said the Consul, briskly puffing at the fly, which fell forthwith into his companion's soup. It was one of the bluebottle variety, and a strong swimmer. "Never mind," said the Consul, noticing the young man's agitation. "You will get used to it."

"Never!" groaned the young political officer through clenched teeth.

Then the young man spoke to his servant, saying: "Go to all the houses where I will be invited and bring this word to the other punkahs or wadis or whatever you chaps call yourselves. Tell them my religion forbids me to eat food that has been touched by insects. If but one fly lands on it, it must go back in the oven or the cooking pot before I may put it in my mouth. And go especially to the Governor's house for I am to dine there next week."

With that, the young man set about destroying all the insects in his bungalow until not one was left alive and even the small lizards that live on the ceiling departed.

At the Governor's elegant table, the young man ate the fish course and found it good. Roast lamb was next. The skin was crisp and the aroma delicious. As he reached his fork toward the plate, a fly delicately alighted on the tender meat and rubbed its legs solemnly together. It was a small velvety brown fly, the gentlest of God's creatures. The young man smiled and waved the fly carefully

away, his mouth watering for the first bite. But the Governor's servants were alert. His plate was snatched away and he found himself, fork in hand, staring at the tablecloth. In time, a servant reappeared from the kitchen with his plate, but hesitated, flicked off a fly, and headed back for the oven. One piece of bread after another was taken away, touched by insects that only the sharp-eyed servants could see. Exotic vegetables, fresh, steamed, and curried, appeared in front of him and disappeared as rapidly, leaving behind only their fragrance. One course inexorably followed another, as nothing, least of all hunger, can stay the majestic progress of a formal dinner.

Finally came baked Alaska, a dish the young man had always admired. But a delicate mayfly chose that moment to flutter into the creamy confection he was about to spoon into his mouth. No creation could have been as beautiful as the tracery of those tiny wings against the white meringue. In sadness and hunger, the young man could only watch silently as this too was taken from him.

By year's end, the young man's clothes hung loosely about him and he grew weak, for eating in other people's houses was part of his job. At last he was sent on compassionate transfer to Oslo where insects are never seen in polite company. But he was not happy there. Gazing at his plate of boiled halibut and potatoes of an evening, his thoughts would ever turn to that far-away land and the tantalizing fragrance of roasted lamb.

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GEORGE T. CHURCHILL



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Addicted to a diet of crises, we have long ignored, as a nation, the deepest currents in the Arab Middle East: the contest between political imperatives and pragmatism, between the search for power and the deeper quest for modernization.

These parallel currents, now separating, now converging, derive from centuries of subordination to outside control, economic and social neglect and debilitating shame and dismay. They express a fundamental urge of ancient societies to retain the best of the past and still earn recognition in the West as equals, achieving self-confidence and a better quality of life. The emotional content is deep and as long as basic freedom and self-determination remained the dominant issues, during the 1950s and early 1960s, wishful thinking had the upper hand over reality. It was voiced in the ridicule of retreating British and French colonialism, in the defiance of Israel as the tool of a new American imperialism, in the borrowing of Marxist slogans and quasi-Marxist ideology to draw in Moscow's anti-Western support. It was also expressed in increasingly vicious struggles for personal leadership and group hegemony.

The political and military adventurism which flavored the first two decades after the end of World War II may have passed its crest. Remaining are some basically irrational situations such as the Arab-Israeli confrontation; the backing by Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya of Palestinian rejectionists; the Algerian conflict with Morocco and Mauritania; and the struggle in the Horn of Africa. However, there is noticeably less of the old urge to hurl oneself into all-out political and military combat, to call for guns instead of but-

Down Payment For Peace Or Tribute For Truce?

PARKER T. HART



Parker T. Hart retired in 1969 after serving as Ambassador to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait and Turkey, as well as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He entered the Foreign Service in 1938. After retirement he served three and a half years as President of the Middle East Institute in Washington. In 1973, he left that post to go into business. He retired from full-time work in 1976 and became a business consultant.

Shaded area shows Israeli Boundaries after 1949 and do not include territory occupied after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967

ter, to demand Moscow's or Washington's utter commitment to a respective cause. It is a qualitative change, reflecting more self-confidence and a cooler approach.

The well-worn labels—"positive neutralism," "Afro-Asian solidarity," "the so-called State of Israel," the "reactionaries," the "progressives"—are now embarrassing oversimplifications. "Oil for the Arabs" has disappeared as one by one oil companies have been nationalized. What has happened to the Dhofar War, South Yemen's "Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf" and the "Confederation of Arab Republics" (perhaps you remember the "United Arab Republic" which preceded it)? The Arab League and the call for "Arab Unity" are almost forgotten.

Relations have been severed in the region, mended, broken again, but it all seems to have lost relevance. It is hard to remember that Nasser invaded North Sudan in 1958, bombed Yemen and Saudi Arabia in 1963 and broke relations with Iran over nothing in particular. The main Arab-Israel struggles remain in our consciousness but it is bewildering for most Americans to review the shifting alignments of the past 20 years and to evaluate today's changes: the Sudan and Egypt in closest cooperation; the two Ba'athist powers, Syria and Iraq bitterly hostile to one another; Iran at peace with Iraq but backing Egypt; devoutly Muslim Qaddafi aligned with the USSR and Cuba in Ethiopia; and above all the long-discounted Arabian Peninsula oil states now stepping forward as exponents of free enterprise, as arbiters of oil prices and as bankers to those who once sought their forcible overthrow and the seizure of their resources.

Today pragmatism is pulling abreast—and in most areas ahead—of political adventurism in its appeal to popular sentiment. The divisions are still sharp between the ideologues and the practical thinkers, but Sadat could not have taken his November 1977 gamble with Jerusalem without a ground-swell in the Arab world, as well as Egypt, on which to ride. Indeed, he was responsive to a fundamental local demand: attention to a stagnant Egyptian industry and

a steady decline of living standards amid the surge of development in smaller neighboring states. He responded to a demand for a search for peace in the aftermath of a 1973 reassertion of Egyptian self-respect and two disengagements. It was clearly in the popular sentiment that four wars for Palestine and (according to Sadat) 100,000 Egyptian casualties were enough. Egypt owed nothing further in blood and treasure for other Arab causes if any conceivable avenue of peace could be found.

As Sadat phrased it, rather bitterly, to Lebanese correspondent Salim al-Lozi of *Events* on December 30, 1977, "We have been living as captives of ideas that have no place in the real world . . . The Soviet Union, which is now backing the rejectionists, told them openly that it would not accept anything which touched Israel's entity. Why all this clowning? . . . There is now in the area a new generation, the October generation, which is free and without complexes. They do not fear domination by anybody, either Jews or anyone else."

These words could not have been uttered before 1973 and not easily since then by any Arab leader other than Sadat. For it is Egypt's case which has always been critical to area revolution or stability, Marxism or anti-Marxism, war or peace. No radical Arab society—least of all the PLO—can hope to engage Israel militarily without instant disaster unless Egypt, strong and prepared, is spearheading the offensive. Nor can any Arab state with a primary investment in modernization, such as Saudi Arabia, hope to make headway in its development if Egypt (as under Nasser) has set its course toward all-Arab revolution and hegemony. In fact, only Egypt among Arabs holds viable options in the confrontation with Israel, for it alone could negotiate a separate peace. There are problems but no insuperable obstacles to a Sinai settlement, and a separate peace between Egypt and Israel in that sector must appeal to Begin, who can see himself then holding all the high cards against Jordan and Syria.

Sadat's insistence on an overall approach (meaning primarily a Palestinian solution) denies his isolation and attracts, gravitationally,

Syria as well as Jordan, despite Syria's denunciation of Sadat's Jerusalem initiative. It also requires Israel to apply itself because Egypt and Egypt alone presents the real long-term threat to Israel's own existence. Egypt can wear Israel down.

All four states, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Israel, have a deep commitment to modernization and development. The contest of pragmatism with political drives may be won in Egypt, but it is less certain in Israel and Jordan and far from achieved in Syria. Asad is definitely less ideologically bound than any of his recent predecessors, but despite the heavy sacrifices little Syria (eight million people) bears and has borne, it cannot shed from its neck the albatross of Palestinian consanguinity and solidarity. Even Jordan, with one million Palestinians on the East Bank (as against 200,000 in Syria) has more self-assertion on this issue, as Hussein's private contacts with Israel, since his crackdown on the PLO in 1970, have clearly indicated.

If negativism and fractiousness in the Palestinian political leadership and Israeli intransigence over sovereignty on the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza should cease, the old priority of political imperatives in the northern confrontation zone might disappear and peace be within reach. The negativism is historically explainable: a fundamental injustice—a travesty of self-determination—has been left unremedied for 30 years. However, it is not conceivable to remedy it by another and more monumental outrage, a war of annihilation. Neither Israel nor its ultimate opponent, the PLO, have come to grips with this human dilemma on which all else depends.

Only the PLO and its rejectionist affiliates have nothing to lose by continued violence and their struggle has persistent, if waning, appeal among all Arabs. Indeed, some Palestinians have much to gain, namely a paid livelihood, financed by Libya and Iraq and equipped by the USSR. Deprived of statehood when they were a two-to-one majority in the Mandate, the Palestinians saw 52 per cent of their land awarded in 1947 to sovereignty by Jews who owned 6.7 per cent of that land. Then they saw 70 per cent go to Israel in the war of

1948-49. Since then, they have had no clear position from which to negotiate a compromise on the remainder, nor power of their own to regulate the whole. They have, in effect, demanded perpetual war by their host Arab states, regardless of consequences, until their Covenant is fulfilled.

To seek exit from this moral impasse and to assist Arab states to regularize the status and abate the bitterness of the destabilizing refugees in their midst, Sadat and others demand Palestinian self-determination, preferably as a state, located in Palestine outside the 1949-67 Armistice lines. Clearly, a massive influx to the West Bank of militant refugees is both dangerous and impractical and it must be assumed that for security and economic reasons a return to that area must be sharply limited in any settlement which might be devised. In any case, only the most ambiguous and discouraging support for the statehood idea has ever come from PLO moderates (because of the Rejectionists), even though West Bank Palestinians would find in their interest any device to escape from Israeli rule. Consequently Sadat and like-minded Arab leaders have been out ahead of the PLO in this concept.

As for Israel itself, it flatly rejects a Palestinian state on security and political grounds. It appears to be Begin's logic, for world opinion, that it is better to control Palestinians by force, despite their numbers and high birthrate, than to release them from occupation and risk their takeover by a highly trained guerrilla minority infiltrating from camps in Lebanon and Syria. But there is a deeper concern: admission of any Palestinian rights to statehood raises legal and moral questions of Jewish primacy over Arabs in any part of Palestine, past and present. For as Begin has indicated, if Jews are not at home in Hebron, are they in Tel Aviv?

A solution to this conundrum is imperative and could release tremendous positive forces in the Middle East. Arab and Israeli leaders are aware of this and most of them yearn for it. For the attractiveness of material development in each Middle East society is self-reinforcing. The pace of investment accelerates from Morocco to the Arabian Sea and new elites cast

their shadows on the political scientists, military leaders and agitators of the past. They are the doctor in urban planning, the civil engineer, the computer programmer, the construction manager, the financier and the industrialist. Little by little the lure of realizable de-

"Compensation would also be funded for Jews who had fled Arab states parties to this agreement. No doubt a part of the expense of compensation to Palestinian Arabs will fall on the long-suffering US taxpayer, who alternatively faces the prospect of Congressional funding for Israel (and perhaps some of her opponents) in the billions of dollars over an indefinite future. Better a large down-payment for peace than a permanent tribute for a fragile truce."

velopmental goals crowds out the oratory of retribution. It is no longer satisfying to witness explosions, executions and destruction. The massive nihilism in Lebanon has been a lesson to preachers of violence. International hijackings and assassinations by extremists have been widely condemned and hospitality to the perpetrators increasingly denied. Only on the West Bank have executions of "collaborators" recently flourished, under open PLO sponsorship.

The key, therefore, is to find a means of self-determination for the Palestinians of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza which will not seriously aggravate

the security problems which Israel has long faced from guerrilla infiltration. Indeed, such self-determination might diminish the threat from restive populations under occupation, frightened of denying the infiltrators a hospitable medium. Israel, as a garrison state, has a dim future. It is difficult to envision any plan which could guarantee security for and maintenance of a Jewish majority. The Palestinian Entity, when born, must therefore begin with restrictions on its sovereignty which could be phased down and perhaps out if the decades ahead prove the formula workable.

An example of possible approaches might be the following: a West Bank and Gaza in loose federation with Jordan and with open trade borders with both Israel and Jordan.

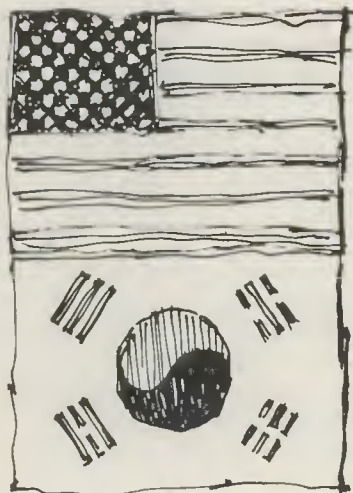
The Entity would have organic administrative links with each, and be demilitarized except for a Palestinian constabulary which would be subordinate (except in Jerusalem) to Jordanian and UN contingents with Israeli observers. Anti-groundforce and anti-infiltrator warning systems, and restrictions governing immigration to the Entity from the East would be necessary. The ultimate sanction against guerrilla intimidation of the population would be the right, only *in extremis*, of Israeli Defense Force intervention. Regular security against guerrilla formations and infiltrations would be in the hands of a strong UN force along the Jordan River and elsewhere with attached Jordanian and Israeli observers. This part of the agreement should be limited to a specified period of years, with full review and renegotiation of provisions at the end.

Along with the security provisions would be the preservation and further development of existing economic ties with Israel and Jordan, involving free movement of people between Israel and the Entity for commerce and other normal pursuits. Development of the West Bank and Gaza economies would be assisted by an internationally funded compensation agreement covering refugee properties left behind in Israel from 1948 and 1949 as well as 1967, pursuant to long-

Continued on page 30

"I don't go along with the bilateral pact, because it gives Rhee the whip hand. I would rather pick him up, preferably with ROK troops, and hold him in protective custody."

General J. Lawton Collins, Army Chief of Staff,
May 29, 1953



The Origins Of America's Commitments In Korea

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

President Carter's plans to withdraw American ground troops from the Republic of Korea (ROK), and the scandals of "Koreagate," have provoked American interest in our alliance with South Korea and our military commitments there. Unfortunately, the recent debate on these commitments has avoided any analysis of the origins of the mutual security pact and of the postwar stationing of troops in the ROK—decisions made by the Eisenhower administration in 1953 and renewed the next year. Recently declassified materials disclose new information about these policies and the American government's struggles to restrain its obstreperous Korean ally.

Uneasy Dealings with Rhee

These Eisenhower decisions

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emerged from the Korean War (1950-53) and from America's uneasy dealings with Syngman Rhee, South Korea's shrewd, petulant dictator. Though long shored up by American money and power, Rhee proved a very troubling, often unreliable ally. When the United States began negotiating an armistice in 1951, he tried to block it. It would leave Korea divided, whereas Rhee insisted upon unification under his control. He wanted America and her United Nations allies to continue the war, to conquer the Communist North and vanquish the Chinese "volunteers," and to reunite Korea.

In 1952, he repeatedly threatened to withdraw his troops from the American-controlled UN Command if the administration persisted in armistice negotiations. Since ROK forces manned about two-thirds of the front lines, their withdrawal would have imperiled the 275,000 American troops and might have provoked enemy attacks. Looking back on these threats, General Mark Clark, the American and UN commander, wrote, "I found myself engaged in

a two-front . . . battle [and] the biggest trouble came from Rhee."

That summer, after Rhee had imprisoned about forty Korean legislators and declared martial law, American leaders feared that his actions would "create internal confusion, dissension, and weakness" in South Korea, thus impairing resistance to the communist enemy and endangering American forces on the peninsula. The Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed a top-secret plan ("Ever Ready") to overthrow Rhee and to "take over and establish some form of interim government" if conditions worsened. There was no enthusiasm in Washington for such drastic steps, however, since an American-directed coup would have created problems in America, among her allies, elsewhere in Asia, and even in Korea, where no other strong anti-communist leader seemed available to replace Rhee. Fortunately for the administration, the immediate crisis subsided, but plan "Ever Ready" always remained available for future crises, and was dusted off and revised on a number of occasions in Eisenhower's first year.

In the spring of 1953, when an armistice seemed near, Rhee again tried to upset negotiations and threatened, once more, to remove his troops from the UN Command. Repeatedly, he declared that he would continue the war alone, since a divided Korea meant "national suicide." His strident, anxious words, General Clark thought, were designed largely to wring from the Eisenhower administration a mutual security pact. Mere American promises of armed support in case of a future communist attack would not assuage Rhee. Nor would the promise of stationing American troops nearby, or even briefly in Korea, unless he had a formal treaty. Even though the Eisenhower administration was reversing the assumptions of the Truman administration and promising to protect Korea in the postwar period, that offer was insufficient for Rhee.

In late May 1953, in an effort to avoid a security pact but bring Rhee into line, Eisenhower tried to get him to settle for a loose American commitment. The President's top-secret message, in addition to offering more economic aid and military equipment, assured the Korean dictator that South Korea would be within the general orbit of American protection: "We would take a strong stand against any developments from any quarter that affected the political stability, economic progress, and military security of free countries in [the western Pacific], including Korea. We intend to maintain armed forces in the area (Okinawa), where they would be a strong deterrent to renewed aggression. UN forces [including Americans] would remain in Korea as long as circumstances permitted." Such promises did not mollify Rhee.

Overthrow Rhee?

Recently declassified materials reveal that American officials were torn in the late spring between overthrowing Rhee (Plan "Ever Ready"), giving him a defense pact, and seeking an American pullout either before or after the armistice settlement. At a high-level JCS-State meeting on May 29, at the Pentagon, American leaders anxiously discussed the tangled problems of dealing with Rhee. They faced unpleasant alter-

natives. Here is a portion of the recently declassified transcript:

Walter Robertson [Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs]: If it is not militarily possible to effect [a pullout], there is no use in considering it from a political point of view.

General J. Lawton Collins [Army Chief of Staff]: We could pull back to a defensive perimeter against the Chinese Commies. I don't think the ROK would fight us . . . I would take Rhee under protective custody rather than submit to his blackmail.

Mr. Robertson: I would be inclined to give Rhee the alternative of his going it alone.

H. Freeman Matthews [Deputy Under Secretary of State]: But that would merely be a bluff. We couldn't let him go it alone.

General Collins: I would take him into custody on the basis of it being necessary for the security of the troops.

Mr. Robertson: But what would you do then?

General Collins: I would stay in and fight the war.

Mr. Robertson: It would seem to me it might better be done for the purpose of getting out . . .

Admiral Donald Duncan [Deputy Chief of Naval Operations]: If Rhee is not brought into line in the eyes of the world, it would be a disastrous military defeat for the UN forces. I think it would be worth it to give him a security pact in order to keep him in line . . .

General Collins: I don't go along with a bilateral pact, because it gives Rhee the whip hand. I would rather pick him up, preferably with ROK troops, and hold him in protective custody.

Neither the representatives from State nor from the JCS could agree even among themselves, and hence the mixed group decided to prepare a memorandum to Eisenhower outlining the three options and enclosing a draft message authorizing use of Plan "Ever Ready" in the "event of an emergency."

During the day, while a presidential decision was pending, the JCS directed General Clark, according to a recently declassified message, "to take preliminary measures to meet any threatened emergency resulting from difficulties with the ROK Government; in event of a grave emergency . . . to take such action as deemed necessary to insure the integrity of [his] forces."

The Offer of A Mutual Security Pact

Secretary of Defense Charles E.

Wilson and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles vetoed plans for an American coup, and Dulles advised Eisenhower to offer a security pact instead. They hoped it would reconcile Rhee to the armistice, guarantee that he would keep his troops within the UN Command, and avoid the international embarrassment of the United States overthrowing its ally. Since the Korean war was portrayed widely, both in America and abroad, as a struggle for freedom and democracy, how could American leaders justify a coup? Even a coup staged by surrogate forces could involve similar risks. Moreover, there was no strong alternative leader to Rhee.

Rhee had blackmailed the Americans into offering the bilateral security pact that they had been resisting for weeks. Just a few days earlier, the administration had again opposed the pact, apparently fearing it might embolden Rhee to launch an attack against the North and thus drag America into a wider war. American officials never trusted Rhee. Though they admired his anti-communism and patriotism, they suspected that he might act recklessly while counting on American troops to save him.

America's promise of a mutual defense pact and aid was contingent upon Rhee's good behavior—his acceptance of the armistice. But, perhaps partly encouraged by his success in blackmailing the administration, he refused to accede. He still hoped to block the armistice and gain American troops in a war to unify Korea. For Rhee, patriotism, anti-communism, and ambition comfortably coalesced.

Straining Ike's Patience

On June 18, 1953, he released about 25,000 anti-communist POWs in an effort, partly, to undermine the armistice negotiations. Once more, the Eisenhower administration considered deposing him, and Ike sharply warned him that his obstreperous behavior could make it "necessary [for the United States] to effect another arrangement." Still gambling, Rhee challenged the administration, declaring that he was prepared to have American troops pull out of Korea. He would "go it alone," he proclaimed.

The next day, at his cabinet meeting, Eisenhower complained that Rhee "now . . . says he's willing to see us walk out." "We must not walk out," Eisenhower asserted, for, with armistice negotiations pending, "[it] would be a surrender to the Chinese [Communists], handing them on a silver platter everything for which they had been fighting for three years."

Once more, the overthrow of Rhee came up. Eisenhower "told the cabinet again," according to an associate, "as he told them often during the truce negotiations, that he wished the South Koreans would overthrow Rhee and replace him with a more moderate and reasonable leader." Another adviser reported that General Douglas MacArthur, the former American commander in the Pacific, had predicted that Rhee would be assassinated in a few weeks by South Koreans. Cabinet members apparently found this prospect attractive, but they could not base policy on a hope.

So, instead, the administration coaxed and cajoled the reluctant dictator into accepting the armistice agreement and keeping his forces under the UN Command. In return, the United States gave him 10,000 tons of food for Korean relief, promised soon to provide the first \$200 million (of a pledged \$1 billion) for economic rehabilitation and military equipment, and in August 1953 negotiated the mutual defense pact.

The recently declassified minutes of the August treaty discussions between Rhee and Dulles reveal that the Korean ruler was not simply concerned about Communist aggression. He also wanted the defense pact as a guarantee against renewed encroachments by Japan, the former colonial ruler of Korea. "The American people know little about the masked face of Japan," Rhee lectured Dulles. Rhee argued "that it was not wise to build up Japan militarily and economically and that Japan should be forced to abandon the idea of re-occupying Korea." Dulles promised Rhee that Japan would not be a military threat to South Korea, and explained that a strong Japan was the linchpin of America's anti-communist policy in Asia and therefore essential to the

ROK's survival.

Continuing Problems

Even after these August negotiations, Rhee continued to threaten to disrupt the armistice, which had gone into effect on July 27th. If the forthcoming Geneva international conference did not unify Korea, and few believed it could, Rhee declared that he would march north to unite the nation. He explained that he hoped the United States would support his attack, despite the numerous disclaimers from Dulles and Eisenhower, and he proclaimed that he did "not care what the UN did."

With eight American divisions in Korea and Chinese "volunteers" still in the north, Rhee's threats continued to plague American leaders. Upon orders from Washington in October 1953, the new UN and American commander, General John H. H. Hull, revised Plan "Ever Ready." The National Security Council directed him to include provisions for "all possible measures . . . both overt and covert, to gain the earliest possible knowledge [of Rhee's decision], and to be ready for "the seizure and detention of key ROK military and civil personages involved." The scheme seemed to call for taking Rhee into custody and forcing him to back down, while the United States would also promote anti-Rhee propaganda, presumably in case a coup was necessary.

General Hull warned Washington that it should not "rule out Rhee's unilateral military action solely because of our conviction that it will be disastrous [for there are] other factors which may more strongly influence [him and he undoubtedly believes that America] cannot disassociate itself from ROK." Hull concluded: "ROK has capability of unilateral action."

"Rhee [is] a problem of considerable difficulty," Dulles told British and French leaders in December 1953, according to a recently declassified summary. Admitting that his assessment of this problem "was probably the understatement of the year," Dulles said, no "nation had ever exerted itself as fully with such a great combination of generosity on the one hand and threats on the other, as we have done to keep Rhee in

line . . . We had acted effectively in many ways to create a situation where it was highly unlikely that he would [resume] the war." Unwilling to offer his European allies any stronger assurances about the South Korean's likely behavior, Dulles acknowledged that he "made this prediction with some hesitation as President Rhee [is] rather unpredictable."

The Secretary informed the British and French that the United States planned to withdraw more troops as new ROK divisions became battle-ready. A partial withdrawal "would serve as a warning to Rhee," Dulles explained, "that he could not commit us on land and it would be notice to everyone that if the war were resumed, we would probably resume it with more sea and air power and less land forces in Korea."

American legislators, too, feared that Rhee might suck the United States into another war. Defending the mutual security pact before the Senate in January 1954, Dulles explained, America had "no obligation under the treaty to maintain any armed forces in Korea. If it seems wise to us, we could, consistently with the treaty, wholly withdraw forces in Korea."

Dulles and Eisenhower always realized that Rhee was a dangerous ally and that the security pact, especially when linked to an American military presence in Korea, could confront the United States with a difficult choice if Rhee unleashed a war: America could either abandon him, as she had warned him, and lose prestige; or join the war, and risk power and prestige.

It was not a dilemma from which Eisenhower and Dulles believed they could easily escape. While Plan "Ever Ready" lingered as a solution to their fears of Rhee, they concluded that a coup would weaken Korea in the anti-communist alliance and might also alarm other Asian allies. At a time when Eisenhower and Dulles were trying to "save" Indo-China, they would not risk removing a strong, anti-communist dictator in Korea. The anti-communist world needed more patriots like Rhee, Dulles declared.

Dulles had told his British and French allies, "no [complaints] should be allowed to obscure the fact that [Rhee is] a great patriot

and leader of anti-communist forces, that he had sustained the spirit and morale of his people under most difficult conditions and for this the whole free world owes him a debt of gratitude." To stress this theme, Dulles told Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, "an amusing story in this connection concerning Indo-China." Dulles had asked "a Frenchman from Indo-China what was needed to win the war there, and the answer had been 'Syngman Rhee.'" According to the recently declassified minutes, "Bidault broke in to say, 'It's a deal.'"

Some in the State Department were more uneasy with Rhee. They wanted "to check him [and] be prepared to actually withdraw if Rhee remains unshaken in his determination." The Department of Defense and JCS would not endorse such counsel. They were willing to withdraw troops in about a year *only if* the People's Republic of China also removed her "volunteers." Unilateral American withdrawal, according to the JCS, would mean "a political setback." If China did not remove her troops, the JCS proposed cutting the American commitment to about two divisions and then deferring further reductions. The JCS seemed to assume almost total withdrawal in a few years. They did not foresee a nearly twenty-five year American troop commitment.

The Continuing Commitment

Recently declassified records reveal that some advisers saw continued advantages in keeping some US troops in Korea—regardless of whether China withdrew. The US forces would underscore the American commitment to Korea and thus might deter renewed aggression from the north. They would also put more pressure on North Korea and China, provide an additional military reserve in the event of an upheaval in Japan, and might also stop Rhee from launching a war. The maintenance of the UN Command, with an American general technically controlling ROK forces, might thwart the adventurism of Rhee and reduce the likelihood of war. The UN Command could (and did) even restrict gas supplies to prevent a ROK attack on the North.

At the Geneva conference in the spring of 1954, American efforts to unite Korea under Rhee failed, for they ran into the predictable opposition of North Korea, China, and Russia. Neither side could agree on the withdrawal of non-Korean troops, largely because Dulles insisted that China must pull out before the elections and that the Americans would leave later. Simultaneous withdrawal, he argued, would be inequitable, since "the

sults. Eager to kindle the embers of war, Rhee journeyed to the United States in July to pressure the Eisenhower administration to unite Korea by arms. Pleading his case before a joint session of Congress on July 26, 1954, Rhee condemned the "unwise armistice," warned that Russia was lulling the United States into a "sleep of death," and called for war against China and possibly Russia. His strategy of preventive war shocked many

"Had the Eisenhower administration finally tired of Rhee and was it signaling support for his deposal? Or did it think that the demonstrations, backed by this rebuke, would compel the senescent dictator to modify his ways? Because the American documents remain classified, definitive judgment is impossible but there is considerable evidence that American officials refused to help Rhee in his time of trouble and they sought to end the crisis by ultimately directing him to resign."

United Nations forces would have a long way to go [but the] Chinese would have only a few miles to go—and they could quickly return." With the French collapse in Indo-China that spring, Dulles had found additional value in keeping American troops in Korea: They would divert China's energies from advancing her own economic development and aiding insurgent forces in Vietnam, and nurture her anxieties of American military power. That was part of the larger Dulles-Eisenhower strategy of "containing" China—a policy inherited from the Truman administration.

Dulles had not expected the conference to unify Korea, as he had admitted to the cabinet a few months earlier. But he did think that he could create military and economic pressures that might *ultimately* produce a united Korea. The presence of American troops might compel the enemy to offer unification in return for American withdrawal. Economic aid to the South, he suggested, might make it strong enough to wring concessions from the North.

Unfortunately for Rhee's hopes, the Dulles strategy was not conceived to produce immediate re-

Congressmen, who feared a nuclear holocaust.

Rhee's intemperate demands provoked a rebuke from Eisenhower, who rejected this "holy war of liberation." To trim the military budget and probably to warn Rhee, the administration promptly announced it would withdraw four of its six divisions from Korea by mid-1955. In response, the People's Republic of China speedily promised to withdraw seven divisions within the next few months.

On November 17, 1954, the ROK and the United States reaffirmed their earlier agreement: ROK forces would remain "under the operational control of the United Nations Command while that Command has responsibility for the defense of Korea. . . ." Despite the PRC's withdrawal in 1958 of her last troops, that 1954 military agreement, so much a product of the wartime disputes, still remains in effect, along with the mutual defense treaty.

Epilogue: The Deposal of Rhee

Syngman Rhee, shored up by American money, troops, and prestige, remained in power for almost

Continued on page 34

"Korea represents one of the two most explosive and dangerous spots on our political map of the world, the other one being the Near East."—George F. Kennan

America in Korea: **The End Or a New Beginning?**

JOHN BARRY KOTCH

1975 marked the 30th year of American involvement on the Korean peninsula, yet for most Americans Korea remains a blur—the residue of a distant war fought for motives that today seem outdated, collective security, defense against aggression—the intellectual and political baggage of another era.

Can we, in 1978, look forward to a continuation of an intimate involvement in Korean affairs or will the phased withdrawal of American ground forces which President Carter has pledged to complete in the early 1980s, coupled with the recent revelations of alleged wrongdoing by representatives or agents of the Korean government, presage the beginning of the end of an American role and responsibilities on the Korean peninsula? More fundamentally, is the Korean-American security relationship worth preserving and if so can it be preserved?

Thus far, the policy debate has

centered on the risks of phased withdrawal. Specifically whether the residual air, naval, ground support and intelligence forces in combination with South Korean forces will be sufficient to deter any attempt by North Korea to reopen hostilities. A section of military opinion briefly challenged this proposition and it now appears that even the Joint Chiefs would have preferred a slower pace in implementing the new policy.

The weight of history hangs heavy on the entire question of withdrawal from Korea. The existing precedent is clearly one which no responsible American policymaker would like to see repeated. Although it still remains unclear whether and to what extent the absence of an American security commitment to South Korea and the exclusion of Korea from the US defense perimeter in Asia in 1950 contributed to the subsequent North Korean attack, it is certain that it did little to deter one.

Nevertheless, it seems a safe enough bet that, assuming the requisite military modernization is carried out in a comprehensive fashion, the underlying American commitment remains firm and the economic and military infrastructure underpinning South Korean security does not materially deter-

riorate (indeed it should strengthen as long as the South Korean economy continues on a sound footing), the risks of renewed fighting will remain within "acceptable limits."

Domestically, the policy of phased withdrawal has, in one swift stroke, greatly reduced, if not removed, the fear of "automatic involvement" of large numbers of American troops in another Korean war. It has also substantially lessened the political liability of supporting a regime which has both violated the human rights of its citizens and, at best, sanctioned illegal payments to American officials. It has, in brief, given to the substantial congressional opposition to the Park government what it has wanted all along—a less visible, lower key commitment to the present Korean government.

The rapidity and relative lack of anxiety with which the Korean government has received the new American policy initiative is a positive sign reflective of an inner confidence in its own ability to provide, within limits, for its own defense. By contrast, the immediate, almost instinctive and wholly exaggerated comparison between Generals Singlaub and MacArthur was again reflective of the telescoped public understanding of the Korean

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problem to a brief wartime period. Incredibly, the media overlooked the totally different circumstances of the challenge to Presidential authority—the wartorn Korea of 1951 and the economically prosperous and militarily strong Korea of today.

Asia has been the locus of great political turmoil and change over the past 30 years: a civil war and a communist triumph in China; the re-emergence of Japan as a world power; and a final, if regrettable from the American viewpoint, political outcome in Vietnam. But as a policy problem for the United States, Korea predates them all, and in actuality, has changed little since the collapse of Japanese authority in August 1945. Substitution by a joint Soviet-American occupation, and the eventual formation of two independent, mutually hostile states followed in the wake of a Soviet-American impasse over the political configuration of an independent, democratic and unified Korean state. (1948 marked the formal end of the respective Soviet and American military occupations and the formation of the Republic of Korea in southern Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in northern Korea.) These two states have fought a bloody war, undergone a lengthy process of reconstruction, followed ideologically divergent paths of political development and although they have established diplomatic relations with most of the nations of the world, they remain fundamentally "at war" with each other in every way short of open warfare.

Since 1953, thousands of incidents in the demilitarized zones separating the two countries and on the high seas, coupled with expeditions of assassination (against President Park in 1968) and infiltration in the rear areas, have resulted in thousands of casualties and kept tension abnormally high. Even in the United Nations itself, North Korea continues to challenge the political legitimacy of the South Korean government which it views as an outpost of American imperialism and militarism.

The American role in Korea has evolved accordingly from an occupying power at the end of World War II, to the creator of a state in southern Korea in concert with the United Nations, the Republic of

Korea, to the defender of that state against aggression from its northern neighbor in 1950, and finally as the buffer between the two Koreas, maintainer of South Korean security during the post-Korean war period.

The overarching objective of present US policy toward Korea is to limit intra-Korean conflict to a non-violent dimension in what remains today one of the world's most unstable and potentially explosive trouble spots. A further objective is to serve as a continued underpinning for the maintenance of peninsular security through existing arrangements and to provide the catalyst, if possible, for diminishing the level of hostility between the two Koreas pointing the way toward rapprochement and, ideally, movement toward reassociation. However, this also requires that the American people continue to support an American involvement in Korean affairs, a meaningful although streamlined American military presence, and a formal American security commitment as embodied in the US-Korean Mutual Security treaty of 1954. In short, a firm domestic basis of political support.

The consequences of renewed fighting on the Korean peninsula could be at least as dangerous as a new Middle East war. More than one million men face each other along a 150-mile truce line, armed to the teeth with the entire panoply of modern weaponry from Soviet, American and Chinese arsenals. And yet, the active and intense search for peace in the Middle East has no parallel on the Korean peninsula.

More than five years have elapsed since the July 4, 1972 communique which pledged the two Koreas to work toward a political confederation transcending their conflicting ideologies and political systems. Almost two years have gone by since Kissinger's United Nations initiative proposing a conference among the two Koreas, the US and China (recently endorsed by Secretary Vance) to work out alternative armistice arrangements which would put a formal end to the state of hostilities now only punctuated by an uneasy truce. The sterile and often bitter UN debate which followed

only confused matters further and ended up by adopting two conflicting resolutions—one favored by the United States and South Korea providing for the dissolution of the United Nations command conditioned on the successful negotiation of alternative armistice arrangements and the second, favored by the Soviet Union, PRC and North Korea, calling for the unconditional dissolution of the UN Command and the speedy and complete withdrawal of American military forces from the Korean peninsula.

Compared to the Middle East, a solution to the Korean problem appears simple. There are only two parties constituting a homogeneous people and sharing a common language and historical tradition. Moreover, the adoption of the policy of phased withdrawal is based on the explicit assumption that both the Soviet Union and China can be henceforth counted on to work toward a peaceful resolution of the Korean problem rather than as the architects of North Korean conquest as was the case in 1950.

Yet the continued and seemingly implacable hostility between the two Koreas which erupted into war in the early 1950s and has been in a state of tenuous remission ever since is no less deepseated than the Arab-Israeli conflict and no less concerned with fundamental questions of political legitimacy, secure borders and national sovereignty. For these reasons, nothing could be more short-sighted or dangerous than to view the American role in Korea solely as an equalizer of military hardware or to expect that it will end once a military balance between the two Koreas is achieved. For military balance is a tricky concept. In the past, armies inferior in size and equipment have often proved more than equal to their adversaries. Factors such as determination, motivation, quality of leadership have often made the crucial difference. While the South Korean army has acquitted itself admirably in Vietnam, the ultimate test of its effectiveness is in its ability to defend Korean soil.

A consideration of the appropriate American role on the Korean peninsula in the present and the immediate future must begin with a clear understanding of the origins of the American involvement.

While untangling the web of American interests and obligations which have developed over the past 30 years is a long and difficult exercise, it is a necessary one, at least in summary form, to enable us to arrive at reasoned explanation of the present state of affairs and as a surer basis for a more effective American policy in the future. The task is further complicated by the varied assortment of commitments created during this period, comprising a moral, historical, psychological, political, military and security dimension. Each of these has significantly influenced the evolution of the Korean-American partnership at critical junctures.

The goal of an independent, sovereign and democratic Korea was first agreed to by the United States, Great Britain and China at the wartime Cairo conference (1943) and subsequently joined in by the Soviet Union at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. It represented the first real political alternative to Japanese hegemony on the Korean peninsula in the 20th century.

Unfortunately, in working toward these noble objectives the allied consensus broke down and domestic Korean politics intruded. Ultimately, the creation of a sovereign and independent Korean state fell victim in part to the ideological, political and military confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the immediate post-war period and the inability of the Koreans themselves to transcend the shackles of narrow partisan politics, personal struggles for power and competing ideological orientations. And the super-charged political atmosphere of post-liberation Korea put an end to early prospects for democracy.

From the outset, American policy-makers viewed Korea as critical to the peace and security of East Asia but were unwilling to take on the entire responsibility themselves. Thus trusteeship was conceived as a device to secure the co-operation of the Great Powers (the US, USSR, China and Great Britain) without placing an undue burden on any one of them and at the same time removing Korea from national rivalry and conflict which on two earlier occasions had produced major conflict (the Sino-

Japanese war of 1894-1895 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905). Unfortunately, it too proved impossible to implement.

By mid-1947, American objectives on the Korean peninsula had shrunk to the much more modest goal of an independent and democratic South Korean state in the American zone of occupation based on Western ideals of democracy and serving as a bulwark against communism. During the latter half of 1947 and the first half of 1948, the United States systematically set about to create such a state and skillfully imposed its will on the United Nations in obtaining UN backing for this policy.

But the creation of the Republic of Korea produced additional problems for US policy-makers. It created a moral obligation to help ensure the security and survival of the fledgling Republic. It induced a psychological dependency on the United States for its survival in the face of a hostile regime which had been created in the north and ultimately produced an American military intervention to repulse the rivals' attack in June 1950 and an American security commitment at the conclusion of hostilities (July-August 1953). It pledged the United States to commit its resources to repel future armed external attack against the Republic of Korea in accordance with its own constitutional processes. And alongside this bilateral security commitment, the UN Command has remained as the embodiment of the principle of collective security and visible evidence of a UN commitment to the maintenance of peace and security on the Korean peninsula.

Since the end of the Korean war, our Korean commitment has come to rest more and more on an American security pact and less and less on a United Nations guarantee although the original military intervention was based on a broad UN mandate. And while the Republic of Korea has not become the bastion of democracy in Asia which American policy-makers had hoped, neither has it remained the economic basket-case they fear would drive the country toward communism. Instead, it has emerged from a pre-war "bullcart" economy to become one of the

economic bright spots of the developing world but with a government in an authoritarian rather than a democratic mold.

In the post-Vietnam era, American policy toward Korea stands at a historical crossroads—American manpower can no longer guard the survival of the Republic of Korea yet American responsibilities, the maintenance of peace and security of the peninsula, preclude the cutting of fundamental security ties of more than 30 years duration. The alternative—to imperil peninsular peace and security and provoke a fundamental Japanese reappraisal of her defense relationship with the United States is simply unacceptable. Having equated the security and stability of Japan with that of Korea in previous policy statements (i.e. the Nixon-Sato communique), the withdrawal of US forces tends to be viewed in an alarmist rather than a reflective mood.

We must, therefore, apply a sense of realism to the historical residues of the past while charting a sound policy for the future. What should our objectives be in this regard and are they likely to be successful?

First, we must be clear that neither democracy in Korea nor the attainment of a reunified Korean state should be considered as overriding American policy goals. They are simply beyond the ability of the US to bring about, even if it desired to do so. Nor does it mean that American concern for the protection of fundamental human rights cannot occupy a centerpiece in our policy toward Korea as in our dealings with other governments. Indeed, President Carter himself characterized the internal oppression of the South Koreans during the recent presidential campaign as "repugnant to our people and undermining support for our commitment there." Some, outside of government or even inside, might privately prefer a new government in South Korea on human rights or other grounds. But it would be an act of folly for the American government to commit itself, either privately or publicly, to such a course of action for it would demonstrate that the painful lessons of an interventionist foreign policy in the 1960s and early 1970s had

Continued on page 32

RADIO DIPLOMACY

BETTY BERNBAUM

Amateur radio operators compose the friendliest international organization that I know of. When they are not helping with emergencies, they are having great fun talking about their hobbies, their families, their countries—just plain making friends with one another.

Rank is frowned upon on the amateur radio bands. In Venezuela, as the wife of the American ambassador, I was usually known only as "Betty," operator of radio station YV5AAZ. My "ham" friends all over the world are

"Tom, Dick, or Alvaro." And their first question usually is "How can we help you, Betty?"

Often we hams spend hours kidding each other. Once, much to my embarrassment, this involved a bra and girdle for me. Because my husband's family lives in Chicago and we often talk with them by ham radio, I always listen for Chicago hams. One day, when we were living in Quito, Ecuador, I was "tuning across the band" and heard a Chicago radio amateur calling, "CQ, Lima, Peru: Calling Lima, Peru with urgent traffic."

Betty Bernbaum writes, "I was born in Washington. Maurie and I were married in 1942 and our honeymoon post was Caracas: it was from Caracas that we retired in 1969 where Maurie served as Ambassador for 4½ years.

"Altogether we served in Caracas for 10 years, three different times over a period of 27 years.

"Our other posts together were Managua, State Department, Quito and Buenos Aires. We served twice in Ecuador, the second time as Ambassador. Daughter Marcia was born in Quito during our first time there. Marcia and her husband are now both working for AID and will be assigned together overseas in June. She has her Ph.D. in child psychology.

"Our son Edwin, born in Washington, spoke no English until he was three years

old, as we went to Nicaragua when he was a baby. Eddie was graduated from Harvard as was his father. He speaks, reads and writes Nepali as well as Spanish. He is working on a book, for which Doubleday has given him an advance. The book is about the ancient legend of shambala on which Lost Horizon was based.

"My hobbies are amateur radio, golf, gardening, writing and painting. I have had one-man art shows in Argentina and Nicaragua and have shown paintings with groups in Venezuela."

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"Jack, this is Betty in Quito. Can I help you?" I asked, "I can easily get Lima from here on another band."

"Great. I've been trying without success for hours. A friend of mine just died in Lima of polio and his fiancée and her father want to know when and how the body is to be shipped."

Within a few minutes I had this information for him from a helpful Lima radio amateur.

Then Jack asked, "Say, Betty, have you and Maurie got that middle-aged spread yet?"

"What are you talking about?" I blustered.

"Well," explained Jack, "the boy's fiancée and her father are in the radio 'shack' and they would like to thank you. I'll put the father on the microphone first."

Papa wanted to send me a gift to thank me for my help. I, of course, told him that we hams are always glad to help and neither expect nor want remuneration.

"Betty," said Papa, "I'm the agent in South America for a well-known brand of bras and girdles. I'd like to send one of each to you to express my thanks. What size do you wear?"

I hemmed and hawed until Papa said, "I'll put daughter on the microphone. She'll know the questions to ask."

Daughter proceeded to ask, "Betty, bras come in sizes 32, 34, 36, etc. and cup sizes A, B, C. What size do you wear?"

At this point I, suspecting that male hams all over the world were now listening in, wished I'd never heard of Jack and his friends—especially Jack. Jack hadn't told his guests that there is nothing private about conversations on amateur radio. He was probably sitting back laughing his head off at my discomfiture, while his friends put to me their embarrassingly personal questions. They were so persistent that I had to solve this messy situation by giving them my weight and height. Months later Maurie got a belt and I got a bra and girdle. And for many months afterwards hams called me from all over the world to ask, "Say, Betty, did the undies fit?" or "Say, Betty, aren't you the gal I heard over the radio giving out your intimate details?"

There have been many fascinating experiences during my years of amateur radio operation. Some of them have involved hours or days spent at my radio. A page-turning device to locate so that a Canadian woman, who was paralyzed from the neck down, could read books; a fire in the interior of Ecuador to be reported to the fire department in Quito because reinforcements were needed from the capital; a Peace Corps volunteer to be traced in three countries and notified that after he'd left for his vacation, his dog had died of rabies and he should get rabies injections immediately; a member of the family had died in the United States and the relatives in South America to be informed of funeral arrangements; a baby born after a difficult birth and happy grandparents to be notified; airplane crashes and victims' families to be told about arrangements for shipping home the bodies; a North American kidnapped from a hacienda in South America and his wife, a radio ham, asking that we inform the police and our ambassador to that country; exchange students short of funds or homesick and wanting to talk to their families in South

America; birthday greetings, Christmas greetings, and families merely wanting to talk to one another from far away.

Four of the most rewarding and exciting times spent at my amateur radio set involved me in the emergency work after earthquakes in Ecuador and in Venezuela, the first heart transplant surgery done in Venezuela, and the saving of the life of an eleven-year-old girl.

In 1949 a severe earthquake struck the Ambato area of Ecuador. Thousands died and thousands were left homeless. Whole villages disappeared. Immediate needs were tents, medicines to prevent epidemics and heavy wrecking vehicles to tear down damaged buildings.

I was at my radio giving the International Red Cross in the Canal Zone a list of medicines requested by the Ecuadorian Red Cross, when I was interrupted with a query, "Betty, is yours an official embassy radio station?"

"No," I replied, "it is my own station, just a hobby."

After a pause, "Well, from now until further notice you are requested to remain on this frequency. We've set up an emergency network connecting you with several Canal Zone hams who will monitor this frequency around the clock."

Dazed, I felt like snapping to attention and replying, "Yes, Sir."

During the first forty-eight hours I got three hours sleep. Then I told *them* what my hours would be, mainly that after I closed down my radio station at night (often after 3:00 a.m.) I would not return to the air until 9 a.m. I've always found it difficult to wake at 6:00 a.m.—and the tension of listening through radio interference while taking steady streams of messages had taken its toll. The second night of the emergency network, I turned off my radio and started upstairs to bed when I heard voices calling me from my radio. I was frightened at "hearing voices" and suspected a nervous breakdown until a ham told me later that mine was a common experience, especially after the number of hours of continuous operation I'd put in.

Colonels flew in daily from the Canal Zone and had to talk to their

generals back in the Zone. Lists of needed supplies had to be relayed to the Canal Zone for the next day's plane. Families from all over the world wanted to know the condition of their homes and loved ones. Telephones were not automatic and working through Indian switchboard operators was most confusing. I even enlisted the help of Boy Scouts where telephones didn't exist.

When the "traffic" thinned out sufficiently six days later for me to leave it to the commercial radio and telephone companies, I went off the air and back to my family who needed me, too.

Nearly twenty years later an earthquake struck in Caracas, Venezuela, and I was again at my radio for five or six days sending messages from friends there to their families in the United States and answering inquiries from the United States about relatives in Venezuela. Because of the flood of messages following such a disaster, cable offices and telephone companies collect such a backlog that messages don't get answered for days, and telephone lines are jammed.

"What is the telephone number? Your family is safe, New York. Now may I have that phone number from the person inquiring from Los Angeles. Yes, your family is safe. Will the person in Dallas give me the phone number of a friend, as the number you gave me for your father is out of order. Perhaps he was living in one of the condemned buildings and is now staying with a friend or relative."

Most of my messages were happy ones, bringing relief to those concerned. Two were tragic. A wife, daughter and her fiancé were killed in one of the seven apartment houses which had crumbled to the ground during the Caracas earthquake which killed two hundred and fifty people. The other tragic news I helped relay took hours to complete. A little Venezuelan girl was traveling with friends in the United States. I was told she was spending that day at Disneyland. Her father was trying to reach her

Continued on page 28

"However, it was all Oriental luxury, and I did what I could to enjoy it." — Mark Twain

Secrets of the Turkish Bath

SARA RAU

Lady Wortley-Montague, eighteenth century writer and peripatetic wife of an English diplomat, helped create our stereotype of the Turkish bath. Stopping in Adrianople (present-day Edirne) while her husband presented his credentials to the sultan, she whiled away the hours with a visit to the *hamam*, as the bath is called in Turkish.

In a letter to friends at home she described how she strode into a domed, brick building, its ceiling honeycombed with small circular panes of opaque glass. Peering through swirling clouds of steam she focused on scores of languorous, naked women reclining on marble ledges that lined the wall. Although she presumed that the women who twined pearls and ribbons into other women's damp tendrils were servants, Lady Wortley-Montague was discerning enough to realize that social distinctions fade fast in such a situation.

Her fascinated observations were finally interrupted by a request from the self-appointed leader of the Turkish ladies that she raise the skirts of her proper English riding habit so they could see what was underneath. With aplomb she flung her petticoat high above her head, drawing gasps from the shocked denizens of the bath. They assumed that her tightly laced corset was a diabolically contrived

chastity belt forced on the downtrodden English lady by a tyrannical husband. After carefully examining the abomination they returned to their gossip and preening, smug in the knowledge that they lived in so free and open a society. Lady Wortley-Montague departed, equally condescending about the quaint customs of the "Musilmen."

In such ways are cultural myths created. The French artist Ingres, inspired by Lady Wortley-Montague's description, painted "Le Bain Turc" early in the nineteenth century. His graceful nudes, their pink-fleshed bodies posed on cushions and rich carpets exemplified the aura of oriental sensuality that westerners ascribed to the Turkish bath. Today by studying the history of bathing establishments, it is possible to compare the romantic myth with reality.

To begin with the Turkish bath was not Turkish. For centuries people had refreshed themselves in seas, lakes, and rivers, but a playful people—the Athenians—were the first to organize communal baths, and their neighbors—the Lacedaemonians—developed the refinements of hot steam rooms. A wood or charcoal-burning stove called a *hypocaust* was placed under the floor of a central bathing room. Hot air from the *hypocaust* was circulated by ducts and air vents under the floor and behind the walls of a domed enclosure, mixing with the moisture from a pool and fountain of water located at each end of the room to form hot steam.

The Romans borrowed the idea of communal baths and developed it on a grand scale. Vast establish-

ments called *thermae* not only cleansed the citizens of the Eternal City, but provided them with education and entertainment. Gymnasiums, theaters, stadiums, and libraries were often connected with the baths. By endowing these early foundations, Roman emperors discovered a simple way to placate the populace and assure their own political popularity. Even distant outposts of empire scattered along the littoral of Asia Minor contained these public monuments to imperial beneficence.

Miletus (110 miles south of present-day Izmir) had a particularly fine bathing establishment endowed by Faustina, the wife of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. In these rooms the classic arrangement of heat gradation was followed. First the bather entered the dressing room (*apodyterium*), then a lukewarm room (*tepidarium*), and eventually a hot room (*caldarium*) with a sweat box (*sudatorium*) adjoining it. Finally, cleansed and enervated by the steam, the bather finished with a stint in the cold plunge room (*frigidarium*) where the statue of a reclining river god placed at the end of the pool witnessed the last ablutions. Near the bathing rooms were classrooms and a gymnasium.

When the Roman Empire declined so did the morals of its citizens. Baths became havens for drunkenness and licentious behavior. Mixed bathing became popular, and sexual orgies were a frequent coda to washing, skin-scraping with an instrument called a *strigil*, and massage with oils and sweet-smelling pomades. Bathing was also considered a catalyst for appetite, and a Roman might have recourse to the baths several times during the course of a night's gluttony.

The early Christian fathers, reacting against pagan excess, condemned bathing as an activity inspired by the devil and abhorred by godly men. As a result perfumes, herbs, and spices wrapped in handkerchiefs or placed in perforated metal balls took the place of soap and water and were particularly popular during times of plague. The simple expedient of soap and water was rarely considered, and cleanliness was far from godliness during the Middle Ages.

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In the Byzantine Empire, however, many of the old Roman customs survived. Devotion to Christianity never seemed inconsistent with the pursuit of pleasure to these eastern sybarites and the baths retained their popularity. Many were the public bath houses of Constantine's city and numerous the aqueducts that carried the water from its source in the countryside. Public records tell of at least thirty baths inside the city, and one—the Baths of Kaprinia located outside the walls of Constantinople—was heated with oil and accommodated at least two thousand people per day.

As the sons of Osman swept out of the East and over Asia Minor and European Thrace, capturing Nicea (Iznik), Adrianople (Edirne), and finally Constantinople (Istanbul), they inherited the Byzantine baths. But these Ottoman warriors, burning with the fervor of Islam, subtly changed the institution while continuing to use the same architectural form.

Cleanliness, health, relaxation, and companionship were the objectives of the Ottoman bathers—never licentiousness. As Moslems they were also sexual Puritans and insisted that the baths be strictly segregated.

In some buildings separate hours were reserved for men and women, but the grandest and most popular places were double *hamams* with separate entrances and rooms for men and women. Although it is no longer in use, the double *hamam* built by the noted sixteenth century architect Sinan and located between Saint Sophia and the Blue Mosque is the finest extant building of this style to be found in Istanbul. The Galata Saray double *hamam*, although still used, is considerably less opulent.

The arrangement of rooms in Turkish baths was slightly different from the classic plan. Cold plunge rooms were rare and most of the bathing activity took place in the hot room (*Hararet*) and lukewarm room (*Sogukluk*). In these rooms small fountains along the walls provided a steady stream of water that was poured over the body from shallow metal bowls. A large, centrally located marble slab, known as the "belly stone," served as the soaping and massage area and sometimes as an impromptu stage

for dancing and singing. Instead of a metal *strigil* for scraping off old skin, a coarse-fibred cloth (*kese*) made from the inside of a gourd or from goat hair was used. The dressing and resting room (*soymak yeri*) was more extensive than in Byzantine times. Private cubicles for the wealthy were added, and the great hall was embellished with fountains, birds warbling in cages, charcoal braziers for brewing thick Turkish coffee, and glass water pipes (*narghiles*) bubbling in the corners.

Although Lady Wortley-Montague was delighted with the charms of the Turkish *bagnio*, not all visitors shared her enthusiasm. Mark Twain, in *Innocents Abroad*, described his confrontation with this oriental institution. He fell off wobbly wooden clogs and slipped like a piece of wet meat over the soapy marble slab. He submitted his body to a heavy-handed attendant who apparently tried to erode it to a fraction of its normal size with an infernal, scratchy glove. And instead of enjoying the water pipe, he choked on it and was sickened by the fumes. Mysterious East was East and West was West and never the Twain did meet.

Perhaps an observant western traveler would have been more fascinated with the female side of the Turkish bath in the nineteenth century, but evidently no missionary's wife attempted the adventure; or if she did, she failed to tell the mission board about it. It remained for modern Turkish writers to interpret the real uses and delights of the Turkish bath for the outside world.

Irfan Orga in his autobiography *Portrait of a Turkish Family* recalls how as a young boy he was taken by his grandmother to the baths. Had he read Lady Wortley-Montague, he might have concurred with her astute comment, "In short, 'tis the women's coffee house." For women in Ottoman Turkey, secluded in a harem and excluded from any sort of public life, the *hamam* became a community center where gossip was exchanged, small talk was raised to an art, singing and dancing skills were developed, and marriages were contemplated and arranged. Mothers of sons frequented the *hamam* primarily to judge the charms, wiles, and wits of prospective daughters-in-law. In the

navel-to-navel atmosphere of the bath it was difficult to mask the true value of the marital merchandise in question.

According to Orfa, a visit to the *hamam* involved extensive preparations. For some women it meant a preliminary dying of the hair with henna powder. Others spent a full day cooking delicacies for the outing: vine leaves stuffed with spicy rice; tiny meatballs mixed with herbs and kneaded for at least half an hour to insure smoothness; fat, syrupy doughnuts known as "ladies navels," *lokum* or "Turkish delight," and *baklava*, a sweet pastry oozing with syrup and finely chopped nuts.

The best towels—hand-woven linen embroidered with costly gold and silk thread—were gathered and laundered. High wooden clogs, made for walking over the wet floors, were taken out of bags and dusted. Copper and brass soap dishes, multileveled lunch boxes, and water bowls were polished to a sheen with lemon and salt. Finally, armed with her extensive paraphernalia and surrounded by her troop of servants, the Ottoman lady made her assault on the bath. For a full day she amused herself with washing, massage, resting, eating, gossip, marriage arrangements, jokes, dancing, singing, and an occasional nap. The Turkish bath was not, as Europeans believed, a garden of sensual delights. Instead it was a beloved social institution—a sort of feminine forum.

In modern Turkey, the *hamam* is rapidly becoming an anachronism. In the cities most Turks take baths in the privacy of their own tiled bathrooms, comfortably appointed with all modern conveniences. At the *hamam* you will very likely see a few peasants from Anatolia or some of the urban poor who cannot afford a private bathroom. Quite possibly, if the *hamam* is in Istanbul, you will also see American tourists sitting self-consciously on a bench. Frequently middle-aged and Middle Western, these women are the spiritual sisters of Mark Twain . . . innocents abroad. Their furtive glances and muffled giggles express the nervousness and excitement with which they approach an afternoon spent in this steamy "den of iniquity," this moist "garden of sensual delight" . . . this fabled Turkish bath!



Judging War

JUST AND UNJUST WARS: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations, by Michael Walzer. Basic Books, \$15.00.

A professor of government at Harvard University, Walzer has written a book on war that in some respects is as important for diplomatists as for soldiers. He argues that war and other acts of state are by no means inaccessible to moral judgments or illimitable by moral constraints. It is possible, he says, as well as necessary, to measure both war's purposes and war's conduct by the standards of morality he believes to be embedded in human history. With historical illustrations ranging from the Peloponnesian Wars through the Vietnam War, Walzer elaborates his view of what those standards may be and what they may mean in application today. The result is, as an instructor once wrote in the margin of one of this reviewer's essays, "*nicht ganz einwandfrei*," but it is provocative. In all, this is probably the most serious and sustained attempt to provide a respectable intellectual framework for anti-Vietnam convictions, and so merits especially careful reading.

—THOMAS H. ETZOLD

For China Hands

A RAGE FOR CHINA, by Robert Payne. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$10.00.

Robert Payne lived in China for most of WWII. He was a member of the renowned United States Army Yenan Observer Group. He married the daughter of a former Chinese Prime Minister. In October 1976, he returned to China after 30 years.

He tells of his visit to eight major Chinese cities—with the perspective of the decades, the appreciation of a Sinophile, the pen of a superb reporter. For those who have read his other books, such as *Forever China* and *Mao Tse-tung*, reviewers' superlatives are not needed. He speaks for himself.

Expecting to see China changed beyond recognition, he found: "Communist China was much closer to the China of the emperors than to the chaotic, inefficient rule

of Chiang Kai-shek." Consciously or not, the communists had adopted many of the authoritarian practices of the emperors as they ruled from the imperial "Forbidden City."

Noting Lord Acton's maxim about the corruption of power, he saw that Maoist China had become a monolithic bureaucracy under the absolute rule of a deified emperor and infallible sage. But when Mao died in September 1976 he left his country in disarray. The succession crisis was dramatized by Chiang Ch'ing's ill-starred coup to seize power and her arrest and vilification and that of her henchmen in the "Gang of Four." *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

As of passing historical interest (as it is improbable that Mme. Mao will be born again politically), Payne's view of her may be cited:

"... she acted stupidly and dangerously ... she possessed vast power and misused it ... she made innumerable enemies and had not the wit to see at the time of Mao Tse-tung's death that she was immensely vulnerable. ... instead she made a bid for supreme power. ..."

And now for all Old China Hands and their *epigoni*:

"In Peking it was winter, the snow falling, the icy winds blowing across the Mongolian plains, and the palaces with their yellow roofs were transformed into palaces of snow and ice ..."

Wish you were there? Well, you can be—in a *tour de chambre*. Don't read blurbs—read the book.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Politics and Markets

POLITICS AND MARKETS, by Charles E. Lindblom. Basic Books, \$15.00.

To treat the broader issues of politics and social organization without interrelating economics would be ludicrous if it were not so respectably dominant among social and political scholars (and FSOs). To conduct one's macro-economic analysis in purely mathematical language would be silly were it not the dominant form of intellectual entertainment among economists. Lindblom interrelates the two in this valuable and original book on comparative systems. Moreover, he does so with an excruciating attempt at objectivity. He stretches

beyond reason to treat the communist systems fairly, and outdoes himself to pick holes in the Western democracies, but in the process he shows as so much humbug most popular criticisms of market systems, including Galbraith's, and confronts us with the truly meaningful and difficult structural problems the democracies face. Lindblom discusses why there are no democracies without market systems, why there can be no political freedom without markets, and he throws doubt on hopes some still hold that the totalitarian societies will evolve either toward market economies, or toward more pluralistic political systems. Lindblom correctly separates market systems from capitalism and raises enough questions to father a generation of Ph.D. dissertations. *Politics and Markets* is an important book and it will be influential. For FSOs it is must reading.

—JOHN H. PENFOLD

Russia's Revolutions

BLACK NIGHT, WHITE SNOW: *Russia's Revolutions 1905-1917*, by Harrison E. Salisbury. Doubleday, 610 pp. with bib. and notes, \$14.95.

The two Russian revolutions and the fall of the Romanov dynasty have been such a source of endless fascination in recent years that one wonders why another history of these events is necessary. Yet each new work seems to illuminate aspects of the drama that were not covered before, and Harrison Salisbury's comprehensive account is no exception.

Concentrating on dramatic events, rather than on the social, political and economic background of Czarist Russia, this lengthy and thoroughly researched work recounts in circumstantial detail the story of the tragic 1905 uprisings and subsequent repression; the activities of the Social Revolutionary terrorists and exile groups; the rise and murder of Rasputin; the February revolution; and the overthrow of the provisional Governments by Lenin and the Bolsheviks followed by the Red Terror and the murder of the royal family. Salisbury is particularly effective in demolishing the myth of the storming of the Winter Palace which was captured by infiltration with almost no bloodshed.

The chief defect of the book is that in its dense recapitulation of

"facts" the uninitiated reader is left little wiser than before about the personalities and social forces that contributed to the downfall. In addition, for all his exposure to Russian history, Salisbury is hopelessly provincial in his assessment of the Czarist regime. He has a naive conception of the autocratic character of the Russian state, which combined political absolutism with almost anarchical freedom in other respects; and he neglects the role of the westernized upper class, especially the Baltic Germans, in government, industry and the professions. He ignores the enormous strides in industrialization and the network of new strategic railways that was almost complete by 1914. When war broke out, mobilization was ahead of schedule and took the Germans by surprise. The two Russian armies that invaded East Prussia may have been badly led but they were by no means the armed mob of popular cliché; the legend of rear ranks advancing without rifles came much later. The perennial problem was logistics, and too narrow an industrial base to supply the vast numbers mobilized.

The notes are comprehensive and often more fascinating than the text; but alas, no illustrations and not one map!

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

Mekong Memories

THE HONOURABLE SCHOOLBOY, by John le Carré. Alfred A. Knopf, \$10.95.

This book is a sequel to *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* which I have not read, and probably won't.

Something has happened to le Carré since *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*. His books have become much longer, and they seem to make less sense. *Schoolboy* has been described as a tedious novel, but I did not find it so—mainly because I was carried along by the author's engaging description of a vanished era: the journalist's Southeast Asia of the early 1970s.

Transported in my boozy reverie of Vientiane nightlife (le Carré's accuracy extends even to Lulu's and the White Rose—as well as Maurice's Constellation) and the sobering bush forays out of Phnom Penh in the inevitable Mercedes-for-hire, I simply ignored the complexities of *Schoolboy's* plot struc-

ture. Skimmed over them, as it were.

I got caught up with, at the end. The author was waiting for me on page 532 with his list of questions: "Was there really a conspiracy against Smiley, of the scale that Guillam supposed? If so, was it affected by Westerby's own maverick intervention? Certainly there was a secret understanding between Enderby and Martello . . . Certainly Lacon and Collins, in their vastly different spheres, were party to it."

Reeling from the thrust of le Carré's interrogation, I was totally unmasked when, in the paragraph that followed, he moved in for the kill:

"And did Smiley know of the conspiracy, deep down? Was he aware of it, and did he secretly even welcome the solution?"

You answer him, dear reader. As for me, I'm still sitting on my third floor terrace at the Lang Xang Hotel—watching moonlight on the Mekong.

—SEAN KELLY

A Chinese Puzzle

HERMIT OF PEKING: *The Hidden Life of Sir Edmund Backhouse*, by Hugh Trevor-Roper. Knopf, 316pp. \$10.00

Jacket notes on Trevor-Roper's biography of Backhouse, a British scholar and author who lived in Peking for fifty years (1898-1944), promise sex, scandal and scholarly sleuthing. For those expecting a respectable alternative to Jacqueline Susann, however, fair warning must be given that the emphasis is on the scholarly with only the most discreet doses of scandal and sex.

A second subtitle of this book might well be, "How to Fool All of the People All of the Time." On his death in 1944, Edmund Backhouse, respected sinologist, donor of Chinese books and manuscripts to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and author of two standard works on Chinese history, left to a Swiss doctor two manuscript volumes of memoirs. In 1973 these were given to Trevor-Roper noted British historian and biographer of Hitler. Shocked by the memoir's explicit descriptions of sexual encounters with dignitaries ranging from the British prime minister to the Empress Dowager, Trevor-Roper launched an investigation of Backhouse's life. He uncovered a series of monumental frauds and forgeries

perpetrated by the respected reclusive. Thorough research took him across three continents, tracking down the suppressed and frequently secret activities of Backhouse as he cheated his friends and relatives, businesses, the British government, the academic community, and the general public.

For those interested in a well-written and entertaining glimpse of a charming and convincing scoundrel, this book can be highly recommended. For the promised sex, scandal and sleuthing, though, there are far better sources.

—KAREN LEPPERT FOSTER

The "Good" Old Days

THE CONTENTIOUS CONSUL, by Ross H. Gast. Dawson's Book Shop, \$10.00.

This slender volume (212 pages, including notes and index) is a biography of John Coffin Jones, described as the first United States Consular Agent in Hawaii. Jones, a Bostonian and a Harvard drop-out, was appointed by President James Monroe as Agent for Commerce and Seamen at Oahu on Sept. 25, 1820, and served until replaced by Peter A. Brinsmade on April 9, 1838. His original instructions, signed by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, stated that his duties were to be identical to those of a consul, but that he could not be given that title because the sovereignty of Hawaii was in a "doubtful state." He was, in the author's words, "Commercial Agent in Name, Consul in Fact." As early as July 4, 1821, King Kamehameha I's Counselor, Spaniard Francisco de Paula Marín, recorded in his Journal "This day the American Consul gave a dinner."

From 1820 to 1830, Jones also served as representative of the Boston trading firm Marshall & Wilder. In 1830 he entered the maritime business on his own account, which required him to travel frequently to China, South America, California and even Alaska. This led to some complaints that he neglected his consular duties. These complaints were made by several US naval commanders and were supported by Protestant missionaries, who were vying with him for influence in Hawaii and accused him of moral turpitude, arrogance and disrespect for Hawaiian

traditions and laws. He was, in fact, living openly with three women. Ultimately King Kamehameha III requested his recall in 1838.

An outspoken advocate of gunboat diplomacy, he requested regular naval visits in the hope of strengthening his prestige and authority among seamen, missionaries, businessmen and Hawaiian dignitaries. Ironically this led to his recall, as the naval commanders generally supported his detractors.

Relieved of his official duties, Jones moved his headquarters to Santa Barbara, California, where he had married Manuela Carrillo, of a prominent Spanish California family. He continued to trade with Hawaii, and also went into the sheep and cattle business on Santa Rosa Island, off the California coast. In 1846, fearing an outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States, he and his family moved to Boston, where he lived until his death in 1861. He left a considerable estate to his widow and many children.

Jones's principal contributions were his opposition to religious bigotry and excessive missionary influence in Hawaiian affairs, and his promotion of trade between the United States and Hawaii, California, and Alaska, all destined to join the Union.

An anti-hero in this book is Hiram Bingham, also of Boston, a Protestant missionary whose period of residence in Hawaii coincided almost exactly with Jones's, and who became his principal antagonist in the trader-missionary confrontation. Like Jones, Bingham also spent his last years in their native Boston.

This book, scholarly and authoritative, is based on extensive original research, is carefully documented, and will be of value to readers and scholars interested in the history of the Foreign Service, or in the history and development of Hawaii, California and Alaska. It is not entertaining reading for the general public.

—ROBERT E. WILSON

The Sins of the Fathers

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF ADOLESCENTS IN CHINA, by David M. Raddock. The University of Arizona Press, \$4.50.

From late 1970 to early 1972, the author interviewed 35 Chinese middle school and university students between the ages of 16 and 25 who, a few years earlier, experienced the Cultural Revolution and then chose to swim to Hong Kong from their neighboring Kwangtung Province. By means of these interviews, David Raddock attempts to determine to what extent these adolescents were politically involved in the Cultural Revolution, what motivated them to action or inaction and, at the same time, to shed some light on how Mao went about directing their energy into desired political action. Raddock is serious, sincere and scholarly in his approach to this socio-psychological exercise and the specialist will find some new and useful information emerging from the interviews. But there is the inevitable "but."

In his introduction Raddock anticipates the readers' most likely reservation about the work by admitting the biases represented by his pool of respondents who are all males, essentially urban (only two from rural areas), and the children of "class enemies." Unfortunately, this early reservation tends to get lost in the body of the book, where the sparse caveats make it appear that the discussion covers Chinese youth in general. One of Raddock's main conclusions illustrates this problem. He con-

tends that the decision of Chinese adolescents to participate in the Cultural Revolution was primarily the result of an adverse relationship between the son and the father and suggests that in some cases the decision to leave the mainland was as much a reaction to the individual's father as to the system. This may possibly be the case among most of Raddock's respondents, whose frustrations stem from the stigma of their "bad class background"—a background impossible to shed and for which they blame their fathers; and it may also reflect the unique conditions prevalent in China during the Cultural Revolution.

This book raises a more general point. Publishers (even university presses) continually struggle with the question of whether an excellent dissertation will have the broader appeal necessary to justify (economically, of course) publication. In revising the dissertation for publication there is often pressure on the author to broaden his outlook and generalize his conclusion. Perhaps that is the reason why the attitudes and behavior of some three dozen young men during the three or so years of the Cultural Revolution, who then fled from Canton and from their "class enemy" fathers, became the *Political Behavior of Adolescents in China*.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

IN MEMORY OF DAVID BRUCE

David never explained, never declined.
Fleshed like a child, cherubic, mild,
one could imagine a smile where there was none.
Eloquence, yes, a volcano at rest,
hid in pockets of his discreet vest.
Mostly he raised listening to an art.
He reassured, paid heed, he owned
the patience of a hundred others
none of whom he might admit as brothers.
At tea, there was he, and you,
mostly, one believed you.
He took an encyclopedic diplomatic view.
Wherever there was excellence, he carried it off,
vintaged wines, chairs, bibelots, curios,
a woman with a long neck and silence
in her grace, a delicate oval face.
He made a museum of his life.
Things, yes, titles, honors, esteem,
he never hurried, walked at ease
through his success, in the main stream
and in the byways, the inlets of his course.

KATIE LOUCHHEIM

RADIO DIPLOMACY

from page 22

to get her to return to Caracas for the funeral of her mother, brother and sister. Before we were able to locate her, we involved police, telephone operators, and three hotels in two cities of California. The ham helping me with this grim traffic was operating from Phoenix, Arizona. Tom, in Phoenix, could hear both me and California. Due to atmospheric conditions I could not hear California. Hours of long distance calls were paid for by Tom, who persisted until we located the little girl. Hundreds of hams all over the United States "stood by" until this unhappy job was completed.

Some months later I was listening on my radio one morning when I heard a Venezuelan ham with poor command of English trying to get in touch with Ohio. I asked him in Spanish if I could be of help. My Venezuelan colleague was a doctor, a member of the team of surgeons who planned that afternoon to perform Venezuela's first heart transplant. He was trying to locate

anti-rejection serum to be used after this operation. As he had limited time to spend on the radio before he had to go to the hospital, I offered to take over his traffic for him. Late that afternoon I had located the serum, which was in scarce supply in the United States, and arranged to have it flown to Venezuela. Mike, in Pennsylvania, made long distance phone calls to the hospital in Ohio as I was unable to reach a ham in that state. He was excited as I to be taking a minor part in a first heart transplant.

Not long after that the president of the Venezuelan Radio Club phoned to ask my help. A little eleven-year-old girl was dying. Maria had a rare disease which possibly might be cured by the use of an experimental drug being manufactured in the United States. Her doctors had heard of this drug and were not even sure of its spelling. They were desperate. Maria had twenty abscesses in her lungs, fever, couldn't eat and her weight was down to forty-nine pounds. With the help of Joe, a Coast Guard radio amateur in Washing-

ton, D.C., and Harvey in Venezuela, I went after this drug hammer and tongs. It took two days.

First we had to verify the use of this drug for Maria's illness. This we did by getting in touch with the National Institutes of Health. Then we had to locate the proper authorities at Health, Education and Welfare to get the release of this drug. The permission of the Minister of Health in Venezuela for the drug to be admitted into that country had to be sent to HEW. The authorities in Washington, D.C., had to hear from the doctor, over the radio, the symptoms of Maria. Then they needed this in cable form too. I wrote out the cable and sent it up under my husband's signature. Next they asked for letters from the doctor and the Minister of Health.

During the second day I was still wading through all this preposterous red tape when a ham in Lexington, Kentucky, broke in to ask, "What is the name of the drug and how much do you need, Betty?"

I told him and Smitty said, "I'll

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be back in twenty minutes to let you know if we have it here at the Veteran's Administration Hospital. I'm a patient."

While Smitty was gone, another ham, Jim, who worked at the Veteran's Administration Hospital, offered to help ship the medicine to us if it was available as his friend Smitty, a patient, couldn't leave the hospital.

"We have the medicine, Betty. Jim will put it on the first plane out," Smitty broke in ten minutes later.

Other hams got word to Pan American Airways in Miami to hold their flight to Venezuela that night until the drug reached their pilot. Jim took the drug to an air-force plane. Maria's father met the plane to receive the medicine. Late that night Maria's doctor gave her the first dose of the drug. When I checked with the doctor the following morning to make certain he had got the medicine, he told me he didn't expect her to live until the first of the year. This was a few days before Christmas. We radio amateurs got one of our most

heart-warming Christmas presents, when the doctor telephoned to tell me that Maria's fever had gone; she was playing with her toys; and she had an appetite. In other words, she was miraculously getting well. We had saved her life. And my generous ham friends were so happy for her that they deluged Maria with Christmas cards and presents.

And I learned where to procure experimental drugs in a hurry. When, months later, another little one had burns on over sixty percent of her body, I called Lexington, Kentucky, and got immediate results. Nine-year-old Graciella is still putting up a brave fight for her life due to the help of many warm-hearted radio amateurs.

Hamming isn't usually such a serious affair. Mostly we spend our time on the air making friends with people from the South Pole, Alaska, Nepal, the Ukraine or some other far away place. Often we have visitors in our homes, and we let them talk to their families back home. Frances Howard,

Hubert Humphrey's sister, talked to both of her children while she was staying at our embassy. Milton Eisenhower had great fun joking with a dean at Johns Hopkins while he was visiting with us. Amateur radio has been especially helpful to my own family. My husband and I have chatted regularly with our own two children, all through their years at school.

This friendly hobby has one great drawback. It's like eating peanuts. I get on the air for a few minutes to see what friend is there or what exotic far-away country I can hear, and I find myself still at the radio hours later when I should have been attending to something else. It becomes a vice.

Perhaps I could have used those hours more profitably straightening bureau drawers, playing bridge or making calls. I do know, however, that I've had the enormous satisfaction of making interesting friends all over the world. And I believe that throughout my years of radio activity I've made a few friends for my own country as well, during our life overseas. 

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TRIBUTE FOR TRUCE

from page 9

standing UN resolutions and the Berncastle Report, updated in value. Compensation would also be funded for Jews who had fled Arab states parties to this Agreement. No doubt a part of the expense of compensation to Palestinian Arabs will fall on the long-suffering US taxpayer, who alternatively faces the prospect of Congressional funding for Israel (and perhaps some of her opponents) in the billions of dollars over an indefinite future. Better a large down-payment for peace than a permanent tribute for a fragile truce.

Greater Jerusalem (approximately the *corpus separatum* of 1947 Partition) including the City, would remain forever an open area, not again divided by military obstacles. This principle would *not* be renegotiable, nor would the matter of total accessibility for the contiguous Israeli and Arab population for trade and other peaceful pursuits. Public services would be fully integrated. Jurisdictional boundaries would be negotiated

according to predominance of Arab or Jewish populations.

Jerusalem, the city, would be divided politically into self-governing Arab and Israeli boroughs, flying their respective flags, boundaries to be negotiated by Israelis with Palestinians, or in the last resort, with a Jordanian authority. Police of the city would be mixed (Israeli or Arab by boroughs) but under ultimate Israeli command.

The walled city would have a special status chartered by a United Nations General Assembly resolution, flying a UN flag with provision for oversight of law and order and of protection of and access to all Holy places by a committee of Israeli and Palestine Arab leaders, under the chairmanship of an eminent UN appointee (possibly American) to whom would be granted wide discretionary authority, a mandate, so to speak, from the world. Israeli police commands within the walls would report to him. This paragraph would be up for review after a period of years.

What all of this involves is trial of concessions by each side. Israel

would retain a preponderant security position in Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem for the duration of the first period, but the clear intention, stated in the agreement, would be that Israeli intervention by force could be exercised only in the event of a large-scale threat, such as guerrilla group attack or rocket fire from behind the green (1949) line.

Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem should be discouraged by a provision for reciprocity; i.e., equal right of Palestinian Arab settlement within Israel itself; and could not fall under Israeli jurisdiction.

It would be specified that after several years the agreement would be reviewed to continue, modify or relax restrictions on the Palestine Entity for another period of years, but not a return to Israeli occupation, nor a return to a physically divided Greater Jerusalem. Jordan would have the responsibility of organizing, with Palestinians, to protect the integrity of this arrangement and the prospect of a future relaxation of Israeli security

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controls. Every effort on both sides should be bent toward development of mutual, interwoven economic ties so as to create a profound investment in their continuance and freedom from intimidation by militant rejectionist Palestinians or abuse by either side.

The proposal purports to insure a gradual move to final self-determination by Palestinians of Gaza and the West Bank, free of outside dictation and with a much-needed term of practice in the arts of responsible self-administration. Should they do badly, their self-determination would be further postponed; should they do well, it would be expedited. At the core is abatement of hostility through refugee compensation, cooperation in economic development, and a rising awareness that the future lies in a new start, rather than in a dream of reversing the course of history. A new "justice" will thus obliterate, in time, the "injustice" and grievous errors committed in the past. A just peace cannot be the

foundation of a new injustice. Of all Arabs who can and must learn to live alongside the Israelis, only the Palestinians *in situ* have the experience and the inducement to succeed. They should be free to do so.

The Israelis, for their part, must abandon dreams of sovereignty over an unwilling populace which will never accept permanent subordination. It is sophistry to argue (as Mrs. Meir has done) that Palestinians are not a nation and have therefore no legal claim to statehood. They feel as a nation and, with few exceptions, have for 30 years rejected absorption into other Arab societies, although they carry many passports. What was enough to make Israel a state after 2000 years cannot be expected to be absent from the culture and genes of the Arab diaspora.

Since a West Bank-Gaza Entity cannot be made to absorb the one million Palestinians scattered from Lebanon to the Gulf, nor the million in Jordan, some may protest that here is no solution to the dispersion. After these many years,

neither neat justice nor satisfaction of the hopes of all parties is possible. There is only the prospect of compromise and a new start. The Entity is a political risk and a moral necessity for future harmony on one piece of land claimed by two peoples. In course of time, the Jordanian monarchy (may it survive yet awhile!) will probably give way to a Palestinian Republic reaching to Iraq. If its economy progresses, it can absorb many. When all displaced Palestinians are offered compensation, rejectionists will face their fundamental choice.

As for the United States, its policy has always sought to reinforce the pragmatism long latent, now active, in the Arab World and in Israel. It cannot visibly support the ideology of Eretz Israel as proclaimed by the Israeli Right, nor the All-Palestine secular state of the PLO Charter. Nor can it be expected forever to carry the burden which this intractable quarrel has thrown on the American people and the threat which it poses to our long-term security and that of our European allies.



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AMERICA IN KOREA

from page 16

gone unlearned.

As for Korean reunification, it has been a goal to which the United States has long subscribed but it is for the two Koreas themselves to work out the timing and modalities of such an undertaking and to take appropriate initiatives to reactivate the South-North Coordinating Committee established in 1973 for this purpose.

The transcendent responsibility of the United States in Korea is to help maintain the peace and security on the Korean peninsula and to that end preserve the Korean-American security partnership.

However this will not be an easy task. Both phased withdrawal and continuing congressional investigations into alleged financial and political improprieties by the South Korean government and its agents, culminating in the Tongsun Park affair, have placed serious stress on the Korean-American relationship. And additional questions have been raised in some quarters con-

cerning the continued desirability of maintaining the US-Korean security treaty against a backdrop of public opposition (by wide margins) to future US participation in any renewed outbreak of hostilities in Korea.

Further, even assuming the veracity of these allegations of improprieties—which, if true, can neither be condoned or ignored—they should not be permitted to jeopardize a security partnership of 25 years standing which fulfills a major US security interest in Asia. Rather it would make more sense to attempt to understand these alleged wrongdoings in the context in which they occurred and thereby seek to minimize further damage to US-Korean ties.

It is well to remember that these activities took place at a major turning point in US-Asian policy (1970-1975). US troop reductions in Korea (the elimination of the 7th Division) combined with what may have been perceived as a slackening of the American commitment to Korea aroused great concern in

Seoul. As early as 1971, President Park expressed intense dissatisfaction to former Vice President Spiro Agnew during a visit to Seoul at the impending departure of one US division and the magnitude of the offsetting modernization program. This was also the period when the historic US rapprochement with the People's Republic of China took place. According to knowledgeable sources this helped lay the groundwork for the North-South communiques of July 1972 pledging the two Koreas to work toward political unification transcending political and ideological divisions between them. In short, it was a time of unparalleled change and uncertainty. People often commit wrongful acts when they are subjected to profound stress, and nations are also likely to do so when they see their vital interests threatened or put in jeopardy.

The American people expect, deserve and, in all probability, will get a full and fair accounting of what actually took place and why. Nations, as well as people, must be

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held accountable for their actions, but only to a reasonable degree, taking into account all the facts and evidence.

Korea stands to lose the most, for a protracted inquiry endangers the prospects of congressional approval of a modernization package on which the policy of phased withdrawal rests. And it further erodes the domestic basis for our Korean commitment and the concern of the American people for the security of the Republic of Korea.

But it works to the disadvantage of Washington as well, for the American commitment to Seoul passes through Tokyo. Were the security of South Korea to be put on the line as a consequence of a weakening American commitment to Seoul, it might well trigger a Japanese reappraisal of their defense partnership with the United States. The Japanese view Korea as the barometer of American security interests in post-Vietnam Asia and our Korean commitment as a logical and natural corollary of our commitment to Japan.

Finally, the political outcome in Vietnam furnishes an unfortunate

precedent for Korean prospects. Although there was never any light at the end of the Vietnamese tunnel, Executive branch secrecy, deception and self-delusion progressively diminished popular support for Administration initiatives.

The Korean problem requires precisely those qualities of Executive leadership, initiative and room to maneuver which were the hallmarks of Executive abuse during the last decade. It is, of course, within the purview of the Congress to decide whether to challenge the written expression of our Korean commitment—the US Korean Mutual Defense treaty of 1954. And it will require a maximum of good faith, as well as careful explanation on the part of the Executive of the rationale for the new policy, accompanied by substantive Congressional input in policy design and implementation if this is to be avoided.

Finally, it is important that policy-makers as well as the shapers of public opinion come to view the Korean problem as a political rather than a military one. It is unfortunate that the policy of phased

withdrawal coupled with recent DMZ helicopter and tree-cutting incidents have served to perpetuate the image of Korea as America's last military frontier in Asia while worthwhile diplomatic initiatives, such as the Kissinger UN proposal, are given relatively little attention by the media.

As in the Middle East, American diplomacy holds the greatest hope for breaking out of the impasse which has eluded statesmen for over 30 years. Although it would be wrong to expect movement on the Korean diplomatic front in a time frame at all comparable to the Middle East, with the passing of the generation of Korean leadership now in power on both sides of the DMZ, there is some hope for a limited reconciliation between the two Koreas during the late 1980s or 1990s. To the extent that a continuing American security commitment to Korea helps ensure peace and stability on the peninsula in the interim, American diplomacy will have scored a major success. 

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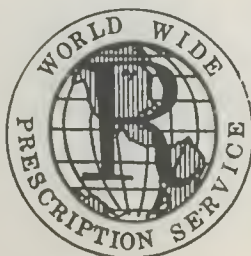
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KOREAN COMMITMENTS

from page 13

six more years, while he rigged elections, persecuted domestic critics, and embarrassed American leaders. He was a troubling symbol for the Eisenhower administration, which publicly celebrated Korea as part of the "free world." In 1960, in preparation for the March elections, Rhee's government sent out "specific instructions to police chiefs throughout the nation specifying the exact plurality by which Dr. Rhee and [his vice-presidential running mate] were to be elected." His high-handed tactics in this election, and the police-shootings of eight opposition party members, provoked a student uprising in Seoul. Branding this disruption "the work of Communist agents," he ordered the police to fire on 100,000 demonstrators and declared martial law.

On April 19, Secretary of State Christian Herter, who had replaced Dulles, Rhee's uneasy admirer, informed the Korean ambassador in Washington, according to a press release, "that the demonstrations

in Korea are a reflection of public dissatisfaction over the conduct of the recent elections and repressive measures unsuited to a free democracy." This public rebuke, summarized in broadcasts to Korea by the Voice of America and the armed forces network, endorsed the demonstrations and thus emboldened the students, who were soon joined by other citizens.

Had the Eisenhower administration finally tired of Rhee and was it signaling support for his deposal? Or did it think that the demonstrations, backed by this rebuke, would compel the senescent dictator to modify his ways? Because the American documents remain classified, definitive judgment is impossible, but there is considerable evidence that American officials refused to help Rhee in this time of perilous trouble and that they sought to end the crisis by ultimately directing him to resign.

Some observers claimed that American officials "played a quiet but significant role [during the early days] in furthering the cause of [the] demonstrators." There were

many reports that embassy officials, acting on directions from Washington, urged Rhee to resign when the violence increased. The United Nations Command, under an American general, did allow the Korean army the use of tanks—but not live ammunition. And the Korean army commander, who may have been wary of offending the Americans, was unwilling to attack the demonstrators. Without the army to suppress opposition, Rhee could not long remain in power.

A week after Herter's statement, on April 26, 1960, President Rhee, then 85, yielded to the mounting pressures and agreed to resign "if the people [so] desire." A few hours later, the National Assembly, though his party still had a two-thirds majority, demanded his resignation. The same day, accepting the toppling of the regime, the American ambassador ritualistically praised the deposed President "as the George Washington of Korea." One month later, Rhee fled to Hawaii, where he spent his last five years living amid considerable luxury.



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Affirmative Action

 AFSA's editorial on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action reflects a serious misunderstanding of those concepts and a lack of understanding of the problems of sex and race discrimination which underlie the recommendations of the Secretary's Task Force. The editorial's distinctive appeal to the reader's emotions does a disservice to AFSA and the Foreign Service. Equal opportunity to us means that women and minorities should be judged and rewarded on the basis of merit without regard to factors not related to their job performance and potential. Affirmative action means positive measures which will place women and minorities in positions equal to their skills and potential, positive action to remedy under-representation when presented with a choice between equally qualified candidates.

These principles derive from the simple notion that prejudice is wasteful of human resources. A system which is free of discrimination is one where excellence and, yes, merit determine one's level of success. Affirmative action and excellence are not inconsistent; they are complementary.

The foreign affairs agencies stand today as monuments to past and continuing discrimination. Take, for example, the Department of State and the Foreign Service:

Approximately 50% of all women and minority employees in the Civil Service are GS-6 and below and more than 50% in the Foreign Service are FSSO-4/FSO-6 and below. Although women make up 37% and minorities 15% of the total workforce, they make up only 4.3% and 2.0% of the senior levels (GS-16/FSO-2 and above). Career women and minority employees are rarely found in high level policy or status positions. They are concentrated in clerical and consular and administrative functions where few top level positions exist.

This pattern does not accurately reflect the skills and potential of women and minority employees (and applicants.) Although there is a dearth of statistics on minority employees and non-FSO women, we do know that in the appointment, training, assignment, evaluation and promotion of women FSOs there is a significant pattern of discrimination. This pattern, based on the Department's own statistics, has persisted for the last ten years.

How did this come about? We do not suggest that this is always the result of conscious discrimination by individuals. The personnel system itself perpetuates discrimination. The system

encourages stereotyping, preoccupation with the FSO-generalist, under-appreciation and utilization of the support staff. In the Foreign Service, for example, assignments are influenced by presumptions about women and minorities that are often just not true. Aren't Blacks more welcome in Africa, Hispanics in Latin America? Not necessarily. Should women be given hazardous duty, posted to Muslim areas? Why not? We have found acceptance abroad less difficult than acceptance by our American peers. Our performance evaluations are cluttered with comments unrelated to our work performance ("she is attractive"). Less open, but equally damaging to our advancement is the failure to envisage women and minorities in non-traditional roles or in leadership positions. One Task Force Committee concluded: "both attitudinal resistance to equal employment opportunity and discriminatory behavior are still widespread in the Department."

What can be done? Solutions do not come easily. We have in the Task Force recommendations a blueprint for internal reform. We can ensure that all our procedures take into account current skills and potential. The keys to the personnel system are hiring, assignment, evaluation and promotion. We know that women and minority employees are under-represented at the officer level and that minorities are under-represented in the F.S. staff corps. Our entry procedures have filtered and continue to filter out a significant proportion of qualified women and minorities. Especially at the mid and senior levels, State is highly unrepresentative. Accordingly, the Secretary has endorsed the recommendation to boost the goal for the two EEO programs to bring in qualified women and minorities at the junior and mid levels. We welcome AFSA's examination of these two programs. We believe that AFSA will conclude, as we have, that they are necessary and support our common objectives of a high quality, broadly representative Department.

Assignments are now slanted to reflect considerations not related to job performance and potential. The concentration of women and minorities in consular and administrative jobs, their virtual absence from such positions as Office Director, Principal Officer, DCM, reflects the failure to give them equal opportunity. The Task Force recommended that qualified women and minorities be given serious consideration for all vacancies and that in the career-advancing opportunities for "stretch assignments" (above one's personal F.S. rank) and "high visibility" positions—from which they have been largely excluded—they should be favorably considered where found to be

equally qualified.

Upward Mobility: There were also a series of recommendations which would institute or improve programs to recognize the potential for advancement of Civil Service and F. S. support level employees and to offer a way out of dead-end careers. These include lateral movement into new specialties, upward mobility programs, better career counseling, training, orientation and position classification. These are designed to make the best possible use of the current workforce and are open to all employees in such positions—not only women and minorities.

In conclusion, the problems afflicting our foreign affairs agencies are real, not imagined. They cannot be wished away or ignored. This emphasis on Affirmative Action means assuring that the merit principle is applied to everyone, including women and minorities in all facets of our personnel system. These improvements will benefit everyone. We invite our colleagues to join with us in working for a better Department of State. AFSA has asked for your views. Write to AFSA/W, State Standing Committee, Room 3664 New State, as soon as possible. Consultations with management will take place in early March. We also hope that you will work to ensure the prompt, full and fair implementation of the Task Force's recommendations.

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Diplomat Among Warriors

 I don't know if the *Journal* intends to carry a piece commemorating the passing of Ambassador Robert Murphy, one of the "greats" of our Service. If you do so, you might find it useful to print the enclosed excerpt from his book, *Diplomat Among Warriors* which, to my mind, contains some wisdom that is as applicable today as when it was written many years ago.

MARTIN F. HERZ

Washington

"What really disturbs American foreign relations is not the sporadic comings and goings [traveling] of the Secretary of State, but the inevitable comings and goings of all the highest officials of the Department every time a new President is elected. The State Department is a mine of information, but its utility depends entirely on how it is used. By the time new men have learned how to take advantage of its complicated facilities, most of them are out of office. The Department always functions below par during change of

administrations . . . Washington associates of the new President frequently are prejudiced against the career officers . . . When an American diplomat comes home from abroad with strange

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problems to discuss, he should be able to go to someone in Washington for understanding consultation. All too often, in the State Department, the career officer finds that he is a professional working under amateurs . . .

"Not all the troubles of our career officers come from without. There is at times a cloistered attitude in the Department of State, a detachment from daily American realities, an expectation that a vague someone will fight the battles of the Foreign Service. I believe it was Dean Acheson who recommended that career officers should take the offensive, and with that I agree. But what is needed most is continued leadership by strong, qualified persons in authority who provide stature, inspiration and a certain fighting spirit to the Foreign Service, persons who know the men and women of the State Department, understand world conditions and problems, who are respected by Congress and by the public, and who are able to insist both on service needs and service discipline in the national interest."

pp. 456/457

Robert D. Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors* (Doubleday, 1964)

AI in Indonesia

 I am writing to respond to the charge made by Edward C. Ingraham, former Country Director for Indonesia, in a letter to this publication (*FSJ*, August, 1977) in which he attempted to discredit Amnesty International's work in Indonesia by stating, "As one of its Indonesian 'prisoners of conscience' Amnesty even chose the wife of D. N. Aidit, head of the Indonesian Communist Party at the time of the bloody 1965 coup attempt, who was herself a member of the Party's Central Committee directly implicated in the coup plotting—all of which Amnesty failed to mention in its public appeals for her release. She was described only as a medical doctor and mother who had no idea why she had been detained by the Suharto Government."

While others can comment on his analysis of the '65 coup attempt, or his implication that to be a member of the then legal Communist Party is in itself a crime, I, as a member of the local Amnesty chapter working on behalf of Dr. Sutanti Aidit, can categorically state that we have not concealed her identity as D. N. Aidit's widow. On the contrary, we stress that her imprisonment without trial for over a decade is probably due to her association with her

husband, and not for any crimes, political or otherwise.

A lively exchange of letters between our group and the State Department followed Mr. Ingraham's charge that Dr. Aidit was a member of the Central Committee of the PKI. We found no support for this allegation in any available lists or from reputable scholars in the field. In letters of June 24 and May 24 Messrs. Ingraham and Bennet revealed their unquestioning acceptance of Government of Indonesia claims on this and other human rights matters. However, after calling upon them to produce evidence to substantiate this accusation, Mr. Bennet conceded, "Such records as we have been able to consult, although these may not be complete, do not indicate that Dr. Aidit was ever officially listed by the PKI as an open member of the Party Central Committee . . . It appears, therefore, that Amnesty International's report is correct in that regard" (Sept. 14). We simply want the record set straight so that Mr. Ingraham will not again so impetuously accuse us of "engaging in misstatements, polemics and seemingly deliberate distortions, and that it even allowed itself to be used by others."

WILLIAM H. FRELICK

New York

Memory of Francis Meloy

 I believe the following tribute to Ambassador Francis Meloy would be of interest to his many friends and admirers in the Foreign Service who were so distressed by his brutal murder in Beirut.

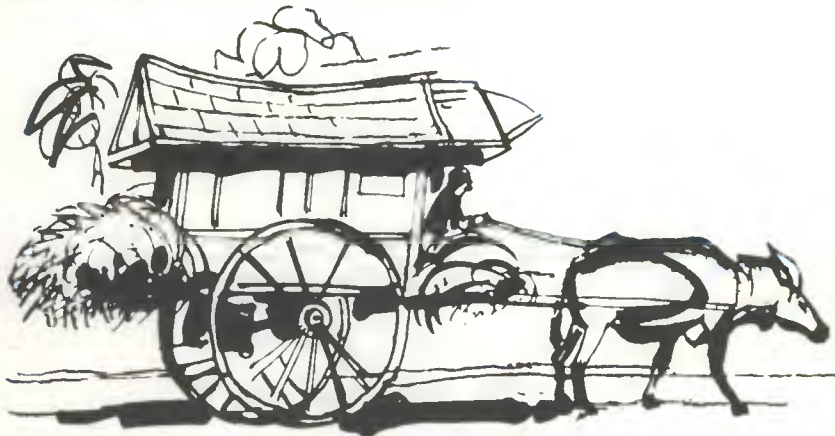
On the occasion of the opening of the new bridges on the Atlantic Highway in Guatemala, which had been destroyed in the recent earthquake, the Guatemalan President, in paying tribute to the young American GI who was killed accidentally during the building of the bridges, deviated from his written text to say that he would never forget—and he wanted all Guatemalans to remember—the unfailing patience and kindness of Ambassador Meloy during the terrible post-earthquake days. It is good to know that Frank is remembered for his outstanding contribution to Guatemala's reconstruction.

RANDOLPH A. KIDDER

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