

FOREIGN SERVICE Journal

NOVEMBER 1969 • SIXTY CENTS

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Death of a Program

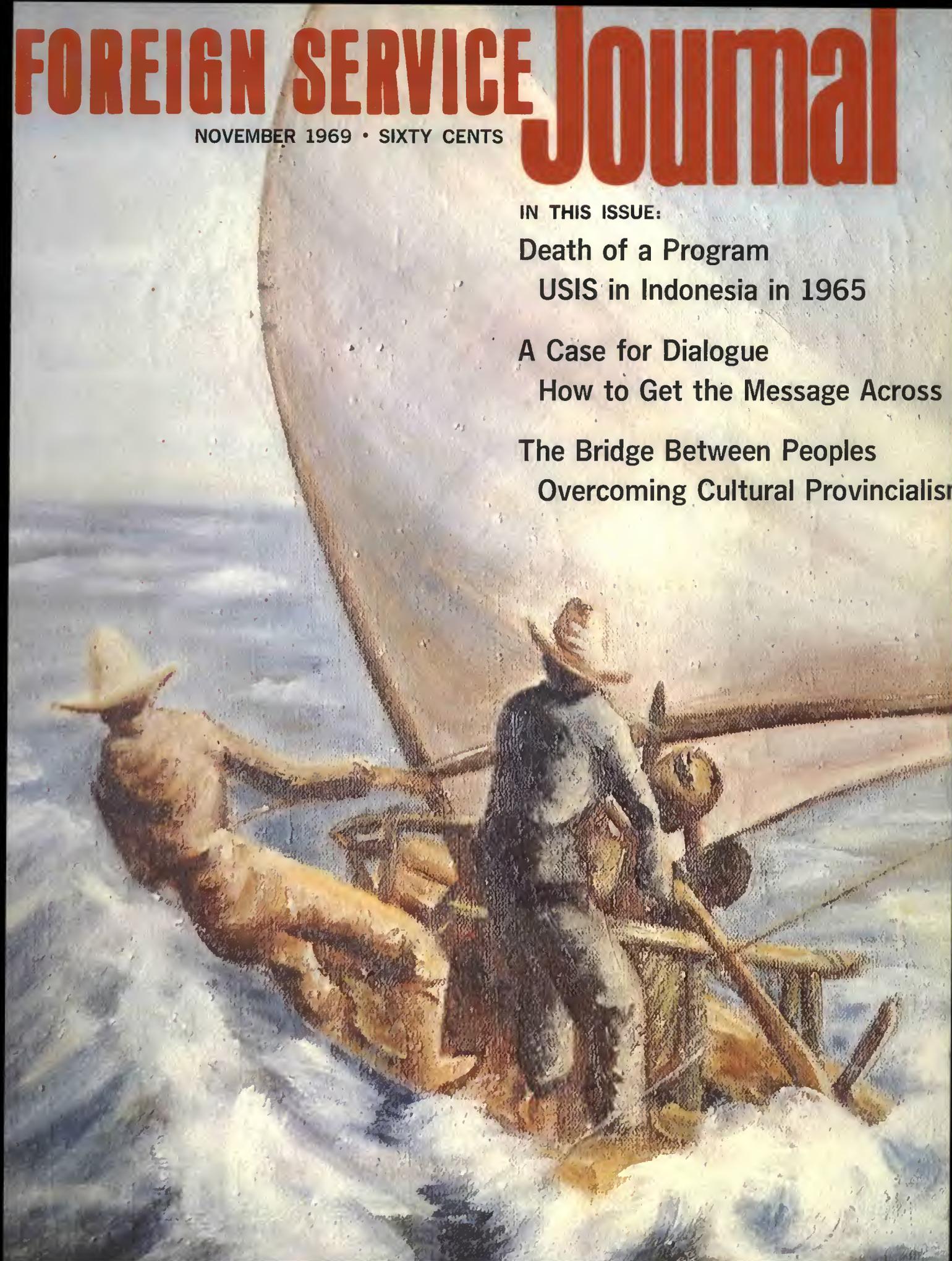
USIS in Indonesia in 1965

A Case for Dialogue

How to Get the Message Across

The Bridge Between Peoples

Overcoming Cultural Provincialism



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McFall Manuscript Contest

The judges of the 1969 Jack K. McFall Manuscript Contest have announced the following winning entries:

- Grand Prize (\$1,000)**—James D. McHale, for *Death of a Program**
- Merit Award (\$500)**—Betty Bernbaum (Mrs. Maurice M.), for *A Foreign Service Wife, an Amateur Radio Operator.*
- Merit Award (\$500)**—The Hon. William J. Porter, Gordon H. Mattison and William S. Farrell, for *The Ides of May—Baghdad, 1941.*
- Honor Award (\$250)**—Calibogue Kaye, for *The Gourmet.*
- Honor Award (\$250)**—Roscoe S. Suddarth, for *Diplomacy in a Yemini Jail.*
- Honor Award (\$250)**—John A. Bushnell, for *Mother Hubbard.*
- Honor Award (\$250)**—James O. Mays, for *Hot Seat in Paris.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—James R. Ruchti, for *Alexander the Great.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Robert A. Hurwich, for *The Cuban Missile Crisis, Three Anecdotes.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Henry S. Villard, for *Jungle Crash.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Zygmunt Nagorski, Jr., for *A Walk on the Corniche.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—J. W. Schutz, for *Ship Afire!*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Peter Bridges, for *A Vice Consul.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Ware Adams, for *The Allied Occupation of Austria.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Robert G. McGregor, for *Tragicomedy in Mexico.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—James D. McHale, for *Assignment in Sam Neua.*
- Honorable Mention (\$100)**—Silvia B. Zimmermann (Mrs. Robert W.), for *To Dance with a Queen.*

* Appearing in the current issue on page 16.

About our cover . . .

The "Jangada" is a balsa raft used by native fishermen along the coastal waters of northeast Brazil. The raft consists of five balsa logs, tied or pegged together, a mast and sail. Jangada fishermen venture as far as 20 to 30 miles from the coast where they remain until their catch fills the straw baskets secured to the mast. Our cover artist, Patricia Rotundo, is the wife of Vincent Rotundo, USIA. She studied fine arts at Skidmore College and oil painting with Brazilian artist Armando Bellonni. Mrs. Rotundo was a guest exhibitor at the University of Para, Brazil, Biannual in 1956; received third prize in mixed media at the State-USIA Recreation Association art show in 1968, and recently exhibited at the Northern Virginia Art League Gallery in Alexandria.

About this issue . . .

Starting with the cover, the November issue features the work of members of the United States Information Agency. The lead article, "Death of a Program," is the account of the Indonesian strategy in 1964-65 and its result, written with a diary-like immediacy. Sigmund Cohen, Jr. and Kingdon W. Swayne attack the cultural/communications gap from different informative angles. Sanford Marlowe agrees in part, but enlarges on and disagrees with some of the points in Alan Carter's earlier article, "An End to Anarchy." And Howard Simpson tells a USIA success story which almost wasn't.

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

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From Ted Olson

Washington Letter



*The melancholy days have come,
the saddest of the year. . .
Season of mists and mellow fruit-
fulness. . .*

Take your pick. Or don't bother. November is the season of quite a few other things, good and bad.

Selection panels, for instance. Of course, they started work 'way back in September, but about this time, or pretty soon, they'll be winding up their deliberations, and the subjects of those deliberations will be entering that quaking stretch of alternate hope and foreboding before the verdict is announced. The foreboding quotient is perhaps a bit higher than usual this year, on account of what one of those subjects listed as Balpa I, Balpa II, Nixon I and Nixon II. Well, good luck, everybody.

Season also of football, college and professional. That industry—the term "sport" long since lost what relevance it may once have had—expands year by year, not least in the fourth dimension, time. By mid-September it's crowding baseball off the weekend TV schedules, and bowl games and superbowl games continue far into the months that once belonged to basketball and hockey. This year there was even a super-super-bowl collision in midsummer. And for weeks the sports pundits were dithering about a fellow named Namath: would he or wouldn't he? He did.

Though in the past Washington's Redskins have been hardly less domitable than the Senators of yore, they had sold out every seat in Kennedy Stadium long before the first kickoff. Our pride-worthy Nats, by contrast, never approached the million-admission goal set by Owner Short. Well, let's see whether Vince Lombardi will do as well as Ted Williams did.

Season also of the annual exhortations to do your Christmas shopping (the merchants) and mailing (the Post Office Department) early. The first Christmas card ads began appearing in the August magazines. About the same time UNICEF announced its 1969 models—beguiling as always—and catalogs from those mail-order houses specializing in gimmickry be-

gan dropping through the mail-slot. For FS folk with acquaintances scattered over several continents, it's already too late to mail early, except at air-mail rates. One used to be able to watch the steamship schedules and figure, with reasonable accuracy, the time required, at least for Europe and South America. But with most passenger vessels diverted to cruise duty a large part of the year, that no longer works. One consequence is that Christmas, like football, stretches over a constantly wider span of the calendar. Last Easter we were still getting Yule greetings from Europe, innocently postmarked in late November and early December.

Why, by the way, doesn't our Post Office Department issue air letter forms with Christmas designs, as some European countries do?

Subway or Mars? The Odds Are Shifting

What this column needs is a "stop press" corner, such as English newspapers use for late-breaking stories. Last month we rashly offered 10-5 odds that men would walk on Mars before anybody traveled by subway in Washington. Well, just as the JOURNAL was going to the printer the situation changed spectacularly. The Congressional road block broke up, the first funds were released, a call for bids went out, and the local papers announced optimistically that digging would start before Christmas.

The first digging will be done right in the middle of town—on a segment extending from 4th and E streets to 10th and G NW, and another from 14th and G to Connecticut and K, boring right under Lafayette and Faragut Squares. By late 1972 or early 1973, according to estimates, a six-mile stretch should be operating from Rhode Island NE to Dupont Circle, via Union Station. Next will come an S-shaped line from the Pentagon to Benning Road and Kenilworth avenue NE, serving Rosslyn, I street and 12th downtown, Southwest Washington and the Capitol East area. By 1980, hopefully, (as misusers of English persist in saying) there should be a 98-mile

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The first tunnel will practically graze the White House premises. Remembering "My Sister Eileen," we can't escape a disquieting vision of white-tie Presidential parties being joggled into momentary alarm by subterranean convulsions.

Kennedy Center's a Bit Behind Schedule

To nobody's great surprise, the directors of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts have announced regretfully that there will be a slight delay in the scheduled opening. Target date was Dec. 1, 1970; now it's been pushed away to sometime in the spring of 1971. The Center's troubles are standard-brand: strikes, design changes, steadily climbing costs. One item that shoved up costs was sound-proofing against the roar of the big jets climbing out of National Airport. They weren't so

noisy or so numerous in 1963 when Edward Durrell Stone made his original estimate of \$38 million. The figure laid before Congress when funds were requested was \$46.4 million. Currently the official guess is \$66.4, but last summer a Senate subcommittee was told that costs were escalating at the rate of 1 per cent a month. A lot of money has yet to be raised, by appropriation and private contributions.

FSJ readers who use the Whitehurst Freeway of the Theodore Roosevelt bridge have been able to watch the structure—630 feet long by 300 feet wide—taking form. A closer inspection isn't easy. Russell Baker of the TIMES wrote wryly: "It is going to be rather difficult to reach for anyone who wants to attend performances there, because it has been situated in the middle of a Gordian tangle of freeways, but it will certainly be an impressive sight to gaze upon as you speed by at 60 miles an hour."

Reston and Columbia: Answer to Urban Sprawl?

At an AFSA luncheon last spring, the urban-planning expert Edward J. Logue chided the Federal Government for failing to give practical support to the town of Reston, Va. Here

was a planned community, he pointed out, one of a very few American attempts to develop a pattern of life and work more rational than urban congestion and sprawl. (Finland's Tapiola is the model that critics usually cite.) Yet Reston's attempts to persuade federal agencies to move in had been rebuffed—this despite the decentralization program that is shifting so many units out of the congested metropolis.

Well, things are looking up. The United States Geological Survey expects eventually to move all its offices to Reston, swelling the town's working force by something like 2,800, according to one informant. Not just yet, though. The closest estimate a Survey spokesman would give the FSJ was "a couple of years."

There seems to be no prospect that Reston residents will be permitted to use the Dulles Airport road for commuting. Their best hope is that the State of Virginia, which has a right-of-way along the expressway, will build them a parallel highway.

Another planned community, Columbia, Md., is doing nicely without federal help. Though only in its third year, it has signed up no less than 26 industries, General Electric and Bendix among them. As the

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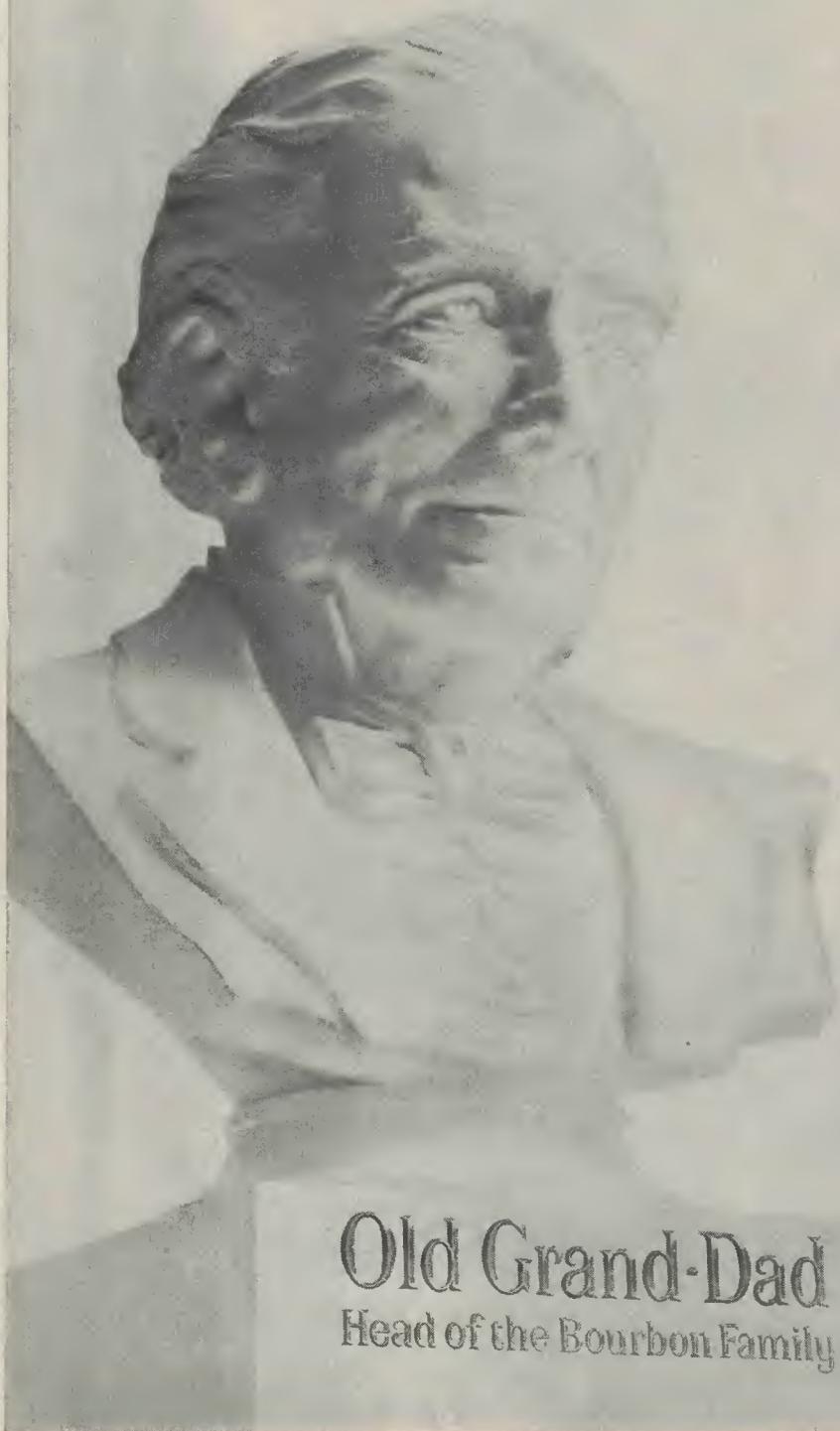


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Washington-Baltimore corridor fills up, Columbia expects there will be more, nearby if not right in town. It also has the Merriweather Post Pavilion, of course.

TV: Old Wine, New Labels, Cracked Bottles

Reluctantly approaching his semi-annual chore of reporting on television trends, your correspondent realizes ruefully that he has nothing like Charles Sopkin's stamina and sense of dedication. You may remember Sopkin—the fellow who tried for one week to look at *everything* on the tube, and survived to write a book. Accordingly we shall resort shamelessly to plagiarism, and let the newspaper critics do our leg-work.

The trend, the *TIMES* says, is against violence—no new westerns or crime series, less rough stuff in the holdovers. Opportunely the National Commission on Violence announced its conclusion that, in spite of what the industry says when it's not trying to sell advertising, TV conduct does affect attitudes and invite emulation. Television, the report states, is "pandering to a public preoccupation with violence that television itself has helped to create." However, the commission does see improvement.

The new season at a glance—which is about all much of it deserves:

Big comeback for what one daytime soap opera calls "the fellowship of healing"—one medical series for each major network. A whole confetti-shower of new programs built around personalities: the Leslie Uggams Show, the Bill Cosby Show, the Debbie Reynolds Show, Jimmy Durante and the Lennon Sisters (they're alumnae of Lawrence Welk), the Jim Nabors Hour, the Dennis Wholey Show. (Dennis Wholey? Who he, as Harold Ross used to scribble irascibly on *NEW YORKER* proofs.) Early returns suggest thumbs up for Cosby and Uggams, thumbs tilting downward for Debbie—cute girl, but no Lucy.

Echoes all over the place. Remember "Route 66?" Now we have ". . . Then Came Bronson," about "a foot-loose free spirit" on a motorcycle. (could it be that NBC got the idea from "Easy Rider?" Remember "Bachelor Father?" Well, John Forsythe is right back where he was in the late '50s, though now he's a professor in Rome, which no doubt offers new variations on the problems of parenthood.

Education is clearly one of the "in" things. Dana Andrews plays a college president in one of the new serials. The script writers should get plenty of ideas by reading the papers.

A cast glittering with aging luminaries—Lana Turner, Ralph Bellamy—didn't save "The Survivors" from a blistering. *The Post*: ". . . the trashy troubles of the very rich. . . piles cliché on top of aphorism upon a heap of triteness."

Plenty of the old favorites are back. They must be favored by somebody or they wouldn't be. One's faith in Darwin's "survival of the fittest" totters, though, when one finds "The Flying Nun," "Bewitched," "Green Acres" and "Petticoat Junction" simpering on long after the delightful "Rogues" were disbanded.

Lean pickings for people who like serious drama. "CBS Playhouse" has four original plays scheduled, NBC's "Hallmark Hall of Fame" and "Prudential on Stage" five each, ABC nothing. "Compared to the so-called 'golden age' of the early '50s, that's pretty glacial"—*TIMES*.

Well, you might try reading a good book.

Concert Halls, Theaters, Galleries: Coming Events

Opera Society (Lisner): Nov. 28 and 30, Dec. 3—"The Turn of the Screw," by Benjamin Britten; with Eleanor Steber and others (Apologies to our excellent operatic troupe for failing to announce its first production of the season, Rossini's "Le Comte Ory," last month.)

National Symphony: Nov. 11-12—Vladimir Ashkenazy, in Beethoven's Concerto No. 3; Leon Barzin, guest conductor; Nov. 18-19, John Ogdon, in Beethoven's No. 2; Nov. 25—Van Cliburn, in Chopin's No. 2; Dec. 2-3—Paul Paray, guest conductor.

Washington Performing Arts Society: Nov. 15—Rudolf Firkusny; Nov. 16—Japan's N. H. K. Symphony; Nov. 30—Daniel Barenboim; Dec. 6—Jerome Lowenthal. In the society's French Theatre Series: Nov. 3—"No Exit," by Sartre, and "If Camille Could See Me Now," by Roland Dubillard; Nov. 14—"Antigone" (Euripides, not Anouilh).

National Theater: Through Nov. 8—"The Price," by Arthur Miller.

Arena: Through Nov. 30—"Edith Stein," by Arthur Giron. Dec. 4-Jan. 11—"You Can't Take It With You."

Ford's Theatre—Cirele in the Square: Through Nov. 23—"Ah! Wildecross"; Nov. 27-Jan. 11—Euripides' "Orestes."

Washington Theater Club: Through Nov. 19—"The Moths," by Raffi Arzoomanian (world premiere); Dec. 3—"The Decline and Fall of the Entire World as Seen Through the Eyes of Colc Porter," by Ben Bagley.

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Comment on "An End to Anarchy"

ALAN CARTER's article in the January FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, "An End to Anarchy," is a very telling indictment of many of USIA's weaknesses: lack of continuity, dependence on clichés and on what might be called "cliché wisdom," meaningless rhetoric, the substitution of semantics for meaning. And I am sure that his proposed "package programs" are useful in the right places and under the right conditions.

This might be a good time to look critically at the Agency from the inside, in any case. It's probably going to be done from the outside anyhow. Maybe we can be more helpful.

Except for the extremely important element of continuity, it seems to me that Mr. Carter has rather overlooked USIA's people in his prescription for success. Surely he will agree that almost everything we do in USIA depends for its success on the calibre and training of our personnel (I realize that this too sounds like, and has been, another of USIA's clichés). But despite the fact that the statement is a truism, not enough thought (and certainly not enough money) has gone into either the recruitment or the training of USIA's staff.

Professor Frederick C. Mosher, also in the January issue of the JOURNAL, makes some trenchant remarks on, among other things, the Foreign Service examination process (in "Association News," p. 23). Regardless of the validity of Professor Mosher's comments on the Foreign Service exam itself, one can make a strong argument against using the Foreign Service examination to choose USIA officers. USIA's work, I submit, is significantly different from State's; even if the Foreign Service Examination is well calculated to choose the very best men (and women) for State's Foreign Service, there is no reason to believe that it will do the same for USIA. If our two roles are so similar that the same examination can pick out the best people for both, there really is no purpose in having separate foreign services and separate agencies.

Many of us believe the roles of State and USIA are different, and that they require different types of people (in temperament, in education and knowledge, and in outlook). If this is so, the same examination can hardly serve both agencies successfully.

Professor Mosher, though talking about State, has put his finger on another USIA recruitment problem. This is the growing emphasis on recruitment from the bottom. Certainly there is an important place in USIA for the Junior Officer Trainees—for officers who come in fresh, or almost so, from the university with very little, if any, work experience and usually with few skills beyond intelligence and an academic education.

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and cultural relations agency it should be if its only recruitment source is that one basket. The United States Government (or at least USIA) is simply not organized to teach or train people adequately in all the different skills and backgrounds USIA needs—in writing, editing, radio, TV and library services, to name just a few. This is most apparent in the cultural field. Foreign academicians, creative intellectuals and artists are rarely willing to discuss substantive matters seriously with foreign bureaucrats (let alone propagandists). Fruitful contacts depend on mutual professional respect; often this respect is granted only to peers, to persons who have proven their ability in an area the audience accepts as professionally valid.

Therefore, we have to depend on outside organizations—the universities, the printed and electronic media, and others—to do much of our “pre-selection” and training for us. A much larger proportion of our new employees ought to come in laterally at all levels, having learned a useful trade—and, we hope, having proved themselves and made a reputation—on the outside.

Further, we need to reconsider our training programs. Language training is an excellent example. An argument can be made that most of our language training is a questionable use of time and effort (not to speak of money) when judged in terms of an officer's ability to do his (or her) job. An S2, R2 (or even an S3, R3) in most languages may help in shopping and in social chit-chat, but it is just not good enough for conducting USIA's business in a foreign tongue. You don't, for instance, successfully discuss US foreign policy with an editor in his language if your knowledge of that language is at an S2 level. If knowledge of foreign languages is important—and of course it is—our system has to be revamped so as to keep a man in training until he is fluent (say, for illustrative purposes until he attains an S4, R4). And then he should be stationed where that language is spoken long enough to repay the government for its investment (ten years as a minimum, let us say).

For the rest, it is worthwhile considering making language training secondary to other areas of professional training which at present have less priority. For instance, training in writing and editing, public speaking, in the rudiments (at least) of radio and TV production.

Related to the matter of training is assuring that our officers have something important to communicate regardless of the language or medium used. This has been largely taken for granted with little done to implement it (except for the *fyi* series). No USIA officer can effectively deal with “those who influence public attitudes” in a country if all they are allowed to do—or are capable of doing—is to parrot policy guidances. Most important academicians, editors or students are not going to be influenced simply by being fed a US Government “line,” even if packaged in multi-media products. They are at least as intelligent as our officers, and very often better educated and more knowledgeable in areas of critical concern to us.

If they can be influenced at all, except by events, it will be by intelligent, open (even if off-the-record) discussions carried on by people they respect over fairly

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long periods of time and supported by equally intelligent media products. To accomplish this, of course, Mr. Carter's element of continuity is essential.

It is equally important that our officers be extremely well informed on a wide variety of subjects, and have the good sense to admit it when they are not. Gaining this knowledge takes time and a willingness to spend it reading, talking and thinking (and officers shouldn't be expected to do it all after work when they should be playing with their children or even sleeping). Much of what we now spend our office hours on—PPBS, CU forms, reporting of many sorts—simply has to go by the board (regardless of how useful each is considered to be) to give officers the time for this *work* of overriding importance.

If USIA is not willing to make the necessary adjustments to accomplish this, then let's stop talking about the importance of personal contacts and confine ourselves to being a group of media technicians. I do not think this point can be overstated or emphasized too strongly.

Obviously, this has implications for the selection, training and assignment of officers. It is also related to the nature and quality of policy guidances. For such guidances to be of use other than as control mechanisms, they should discuss issues in detail, set forth pros and cons and show *why* a given decision was made or course of action taken. In other words, they should help an officer argue a case, honestly and persuasively. Surely, most USIS officers are mature and intelligent enough to be able to protect and further the government's interests even though the process requires admitting that we and our society are not perfect and that there may have been alternatives to a course of action or a decision the United States chose to take.

Obviously, then, I agree with much, probably most, of what Mr. Carter had to say in "An End to Anarchy." I would argue, however, that we need to look at rather more basic areas—at the selection, care and feeding of our colleagues and our colleagues-to-be. For USIA is, as is every communications organization, peculiarly and particularly dependent on its staff. And, with the notable exception of the successful efforts to obtain the legislative basis for a career service, USIA has spent significantly less time, effort and money on developing that staff than on any other major element in the information and cultural program.

SANFORD S. MARLOWE

Hong Kong

Galbraith on the Department

When John Kenneth Galbraith was Ambassador to India, he wrote President Kennedy:

"If the State Department drives you crazy, you might calm yourself by contemplating its effect on me. The other night I woke with a blissful feeling and discovered I had been dreaming that the whole goddam place had burned down. I dozed off again hoping for a headline saying no survivors."

AMERICAN HERITAGE MAGAZINE, October, excerpted from the forthcoming book, "Ambassador's Journal: A Personal Account of the Kennedy Years."

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Demonstrations, confrontations, threats, and finally book-burnings and "incidents" drove the USIS out of Indonesia in 1965.

Death of a Program

I was well-prepared for the Surabaya assignment: six months intensive Indonesian language training in Washington and a prior two-year tour in Djakarta. It was a "direct transfer": Djakarta to Surabaya. It was mid-1964 and "American" was a dirty word in Indonesia. Sukarno was shouting "to hell with your aid" in public rallies. The PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) claimed ten to twelve million supporters and members. Although PKI figures could be debated, the growth had been impressive. It could be seen in "Sukarno's circuses"—mass rallies in the giant, Russian-built Senajan Stadium in Djakarta. The PKI could be counted on to fill the stadium with thousands of the Party faithful—neatly trucked to the gate, flags at the ready, on short notice. No other political organization could match it.

Indeed, communism in Indonesia seemed the wave of the future. The PKI appeared to possess the best-disciplined, best-organized and least-corrupt party in Indonesia. Mr. Aidit and his Central Committee were a ruthlessly efficient, dedicated coterie of revolutionaries with a clear-cut program for Indonesia's ills.

But the PKI faced many serious challenges in 1964. There was the Army, bloated with power, and supported by the bulk of Indonesia's 90 percent Islamic population. And there was Mr. Sukarno—the "dalang" or "puppet master" for the show. Sukarno's feat was impressive: balancing the burgeoning communist grass-roots power with one hand and a half million troops and constabulary led by a half-dozen jealous generals with the other hand.

The drama ranged from high

JAMES D. McHALE

"Death of a Program" is the first prize winner in the Jack K. McFall Manuscript Contest. The author is Cultural Affairs Officer in Singapore and served previously in Burma, South Africa, Laos, Indonesia, Singapore and at the Armed Forces Staff College and with the Voice of America. He received his B.A. from Boston University and his M.A. from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

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comedy to low tragedy. At stake was the destiny of one hundred and ten million Indonesians on 3,000 of the most beautiful, richly-endowed islands of the Pacific. My small role was about to change. From the problems of managing an educational plant in Djakarta I would move to the management of a United States Information Service (USIS) information center in Surabaya, East Java, in the heartland of the PKI.

Surabaya

WE arrived in September, 1964, Anita, myself, our two children . . . ages four and two. Our new home was ready; there were two air-conditioned bedrooms to make sleep possible in the hot, sultry tropical

nights; a den for escape into the world of books and music, a plot of grass and children's swings in front for our young ones to stretch their muscles. The kitchen was "sad" but workable. We were on our own—in an isolated, independent posture—in East Java. Our USIS Center was situated about a mile and a half from our US Consulate and a half-dozen of our American colleagues.

USIS Surabaya was staffed by 40 capable Indonesian employees. A junior American USIS officer would join us later. Each of our Indonesian staff possessed an average of six years experience. I was indebted to an able predecessor who had been an excellent organization man. USIS mobile book libraries and film units toured the towns and villages of East Java, distributing books and showing our USIS films. A steady stream of tens of thousands of pamphlets, periodicals and books were distributed to key officials and institutions each month. A daily news bulletin reached the desks of local editors and officials each morning. A well-used library of 15,000 volumes was another key feature of our information operation. We enjoyed a deep "reach" through a branch operation 500 miles away across the Flores Sea in Makassar, capital of the Celebes; it functioned under the supervision of a seasoned local staff. This reach was further ex-

tended through books and film loans as well as personal visits with officials and institutions in Bandjermasin, capital of Borneo, and Denpasar, capital of Bali. We measured our operation in the hundreds of miles—the equivalent of an entire country program in Europe. Slowly the American “perspective” was becoming known at the eastern end of the archipelago.

Surabaya was calm when we arrived. But the calm was deceptive. Each fiery speech of the “Bung” (“Brother”—i.e. Sukarno) in Jakarta, was echoed with noisy demonstrations of support in East Java. And there was the steady, calculated pressure of local leftist organizations directed against our operation. Surabaya was a special study in the techniques of Asian communists in a unique setting, the sparkling islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Our reception by the Governor, Mayor and lesser officials was a study, however, in diplomatic correctness.

Western influence could be measured by the size of the western community in Surabaya. It was small, and shrinking by the day. A handful of British commercial representatives, western missionaries and Asian and western diplomats made up the sum total. In a month we knew most by their first names and had encountered an occupational hazard under the generic title: “same-faces-night-after-night.” It was, however, a relaxed, likable group of exiles.

Tensions in Surabaya were close to the surface. The mayor, Murachman, was labeled a “hard-core” communist. Supreme authority for East Java’s administration, however, rested in military hands;

the man was General Basoeeki Rachmat, “career soldier” and military commander in East Java. There was also a civil governor with nominal power. Rachmat was considered a “Sukarno man” but, first and foremost, he was a soldier—not a politician. Other key posts in the civil administration were divided between communist and Islamic elements. It was a contest for power between communism and the Army-backed-by-nationalist-Islam.

Surabaya with its two million citizens was *the* city in East Java. Like a jaded beauty, a vanished radiance showed through occasionally—in broad, tree-lined streets, impressive glass store fronts and comfortable, sophisticated homes. An “upper crust” of “blue bloods” who spoke Dutch looked with disdain on the antics of the upstarts from Djakarta in West Java. In its prime Surabaya enjoyed a reputation as a leading port in Southeast Asia. This reputation, unfortunately, had been squandered away in the mismanagement of the Sukarno era—when politics took priority over economics. “I am in love with revolution,” the Bung repeatedly shouted at his fawning admirers.

The United States had backed into the role of “public enemy No. 1” in Indonesia. Sukarno was committed to crush Malaysia, a “neo-colonialist British plot.” Since the United States had not come out in support of this grandiose scheme it belonged in the camp of the enemy—in company with Britain and Malaysia. Sukarno logic embraced the tenet: “If you’re not with me you’re against me.” Malaysia had already given notice it would not be cowed by Sukarno’s angry rhetoric

or threats of annihilation. Sukarno’s frustration was mounting. The bitter tone of his speeches boded ill for us in East Java. Our troubles began before our bags were unpacked.

Demonstrations

THE focal point for our troubles was only a city block away from our downtown Information Center. The National Front headquarters was a meeting ground for a collection of mass political organizations and communist fronts, all with a declared loyalty to Sukarno. To be anything *but* loyal to Sukarno was to invite dissolution in the heady days of ’64 and ’65. The collection of organizations within the Front ranged from “extreme right” to “extreme left,” all tied together by the magic of the Sukarno oratory. The disparate collection could not have coexisted without Sukarno. The appeal of Sukarno was an appeal to the pride of the Indonesian: “We have fought together through our revolution. Now we must stand together or perish. Woe to those ‘elements’ who dare to undermine our revolution!” The threat was enough to enforce caution on the lunatic fringes of “right” and “left.” But the wily Mr. Aidit, head of the PKI, and his Central Committee of dedicated revolutionaries, went on planning for the final day. Mr. Sukarno’s anti-western, saber-rattling speeches tied in neatly with their own program: “Isolate Indonesia from the West—and slowly turn its face towards Mainland China.”

The opening gun in our struggle was sounded a few days after our

arrival in mid-September, 1964. A veteran staffer, our "liaison man" with local youth organizations, reported in breathless one morning.

"They're coming!" His tone betrayed a sense of fear and anticipation.

"Who?"

"The 'Front.'"

"How much time do we have?"

"About thirty minutes . . . They're still making speeches." We made our plans quickly. In the remaining minutes we would "evacuate" our local staff and lock the premises. Our vehicles and everything not under lock and key would be removed. When the demonstrators arrived they would loot, smash and possibly burn. We would leave them the minimum number of targets. The choice would then be theirs—burn down the building or plaster it with their propaganda posters following the usual noisy, anti-American speeches. I judged that our sudden dispatch would be out of character with the slow, "Ramayana-like," classic Asian "political ballet" that would precede our death agony.

Our staff left at once for their homes. Our "mopix" (mobile motion picture) vehicles and office car went next. The drivers would park them at the homes of "friendlies." Later our "friendlies" lost heart and "safe disposal areas" became a major problem. Our warning was received at 9 AM. By 9:30 AM our Center was locked, shuttered and evacuated. Our warehouse and outbuildings in the rear were likewise locked and abandoned. Now it was up to them.

I had been "on the horn" to our Consul at the first warning. Mac kept his "diplomatic cool" when I outlined the situation.

"How about that security guard the General promised?" I added.

"I'll call him and try." He was gone—seeking fulfillment of the local government's commitment to provide security for our property during "civil riots and internal disorders." Our "security" did arrive—half an hour too late to help.

There were four thousand angry faces, waving placards and signs with slogans: "Crush Malaysia;" "Crush the American imperialists;" "Ban USIS." The tunes were familiar. My vantage point was a parked

jeep, a block from the action, in front of our Center. I felt a sense of loneliness and futility and wondered if we had any *real* friends in the city, then remembered our own USIS staff and felt better. Within 15 minutes after the arrival of the mob our one-story, wooden Center was decked with inked propaganda posters from top to bottom. The US flag was torn down and the Indonesian red-and-white run up to the top. Surprisingly, there was little disorder and destruction. All in all, I labeled it a well-ordered-and-controlled demonstration. The piper had piped the tune in Djakarta at the other end of the island.

Our mission in Djakarta sent us cables promising "the strongest protests" to the Indonesian authorities there. But we had already resigned ourselves. We were committed now to the bitter end in Indonesia. We would depend on our own resources. And the end was not far away.

In the week that followed we averaged a demonstration every day—a new record. Each morning our liaison man made his dangerous pilgrimage to the Front headquarters, slipped into the crowd, and estimated our "lead time" before the demonstrators would arrive at our Center. Thanks to him USIS Surabaya enjoyed three extra months of life in late '64. They were bitter months. And the mob was becoming frustrated. Just when I anticipated the end was in sight, the tension slackened. There were no more demonstrations. We had won a reprieve. The word had come down from Djakarta: "Cool it."

We enjoyed the respite. But other pressures continued. The SOBSI (Communist trade union front) commenced a boycott of all shipments to and from our office. Our distribution program shrank to a trickle. The books and periodicals, the vital communication of ideas from America and the outside world to the people in the towns and villages of East Java and the outer islands, were stopped. Our protests were in vain. Indonesian officials listened politely and shrugged their shoulders. Our motion picture crews, who traveled throughout East Java showing USIS films, began encountering ugly, hos-

tile audiences and this program, too, had to be cut back.

I was proud of our USIS Surabaya local staff. At the peak of the demonstrations none abandoned ship. Their patience and courage, their confidence in America, were unmatched. They stayed on through the difficult, closing days of USIS Surabaya.

Our days in Indonesia were numbered. Orthodox diplomatic protests and procedures had led nowhere. I decided that before I packed my bags and left Surabaya I would try a simple, unorthodox experiment.

Debate With the Opposition

OUR liaison man carried my message—a secret "invitation" to the leaders of the Front Pemuda (Youth Front) for an informal discussion of the major issues separating Indonesia and the United States. The debate would take place at my residence. Absolute privacy was guaranteed. The Youth Front was an umbrella organization for all the major youth organs in East Java. The answer came quickly. The Secretary of the Front, together with the leader of one of the largest of the student fronts, accepted. I was surprised. I had half-expected a negative response. We fixed the date for an evening the following week. I would now have the opportunity to test the convictions of two of East Java's key youth leaders. To me their convictions were a key to Indonesia's future.

It was ten PM when they arrived—a late hour by the local custom. They were huddled against the shadows of the wall when I opened the door. To be seen visiting an American official could mean political suicide. I understood their need for anonymity and ushered them quickly inside. I had guaranteed them absolute privacy for our debate. Both leaders were in their mid-twenties but already seasoned political veterans. They appeared tense and nervous. I tried to put them at ease with an air of informality and immediate refreshments. We wasted little time with preliminaries, however.



"The Consulate was now suffering the same fate USIS had suffered . . ."

"I appreciate your coming. I hope we can exchange some views on the differences separating our two countries. I would, frankly, also like to clear up some lingering doubts in my own mind."

"Yes?" The Secretary and the Student Leader leaned forward. Our dialogue was in Indonesian.

"Frankly, I cannot understand why you want to destroy us. What harm is there in our books and films? Are you afraid of our ideas?"

"You are an agent of American imperialism." The Secretary spit out the words.

"Naturally." Humor, I could see, would be wasted. The Secretary continued, slowly and carefully, as though repeating a well-rehearsed speech.

"Your ships are in the Taiwan Straits. You support England which is behind the illegal Federation of Malaysia. You refuse recognition to Mainland China. Your troops are in South Vietnam. Capitalism is a rotten structure. You deprive your Negroes of their rights . . ." I could almost hear the voice of Radio Indonesia in Djakarta. It was time to begin our debate.

"Before we get into details—a brief response to each of the categorical statements or assumptions you have made . . . Our ships are in the Taiwan Straits—providing protection for an ally, Taiwan, which has been threatened with ex-

tingtion by Red China. The Federation of Malaysia and the inclusion of the Borneo States has been given the blessing of the United Nations. On what grounds do you disagree with the UN decision? Our troops are in South Vietnam in response to a plea for help from another Asian ally. North Vietnamese troops are in South Vietnam. Neither American nor South Vietnamese troops are in North Vietnam. Who is invading whom? If capitalism is such a rotten structure how has the United States succeeded in producing an annual gross national product greater than any combination of the other leading powers on the globe? The Federal Government in Washington is working at redressing imbalances in the status of the Negro in America; we are working at the problem we recognize—can you say the same about your Government's attitude towards your Chinese minority? I think we can now get down to facts—and forget slogans . . ." I stopped and surrendered the invisible platform. We would move to the second-deeper level of examination, if this was possible. I found my young protagonists fair and surprisingly reasonable. I had anticipated violent sloganeering and impassioned speeches. Instead, I confronted two curious, badly-informed, naive disciples of Big Brother in Djakarta, ill-prepared to defend their political catechism. From a random cir-

cumnavigation of the globe we rapidly returned to a subject with which they were more familiar.

"Britain and Malaysia are plotting to destroy Indonesia."

"What is the population of Malaysia?"

"Ten million."

"And the British forces in Malaysia . . . shall we say—50,000 . . . as an estimate?"

"So?"

"Indonesia's population?"

"One hundred and ten million."

They cited the figure proudly.

"And how will a nation of ten million defeat and occupy a nation of one hundred and ten million?" The question was a troublesome one—so they shunted it aside and shifted to Vietnam—another popular item. And the shift led to an unexpected climax.

"Why don't you let the Vietnamese people decide their own destiny?" The Secretary's tone was caustic.

"I agree. But is this a contest involving only the *Vietnamese* people? Don't the Russians and Chinese support the invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnam?"

"And *you* support the corrupt regime in South Vietnam."

"Are you suggesting we withdraw and allow the North, with the support of China and Russia, to take over the South?"

"Yes, if that is what the people of South Vietnam want."

"How will we find out what the people of South Vietnam *truly* want—if there is a bayonet at their back?" A pause and a regrouping of our mutual forces. "Why not carry your argument to its logical conclusion and allow the strong states to take over the weak, anywhere in the world? Why not permit the rule of force rather than the rule of law? Why not permit *communism* to take over in Indonesia—if the PKI is strong and skillful enough to do so?" I had unwittingly struck a raw nerve. They winced—visibly. The reaction was swift, spontaneous and emotional.

"Communism will *never* take over in Indonesia. Islam and Communism *cannot* co-exist."

"Then where did the ten to twelve million communist supporters and sympathizers come from in

Indonesia?" I avoided a tone of exultation. I knew I had made a deep penetration.

"These are Indonesians who do not *know*—they have been *duped*. Indonesians support their *President*—not the *Communists*." The Secretary shouted the words. His voice betrayed anger, frustration, disillusionment.

"But your President has openly stated his desire for close ties with the communist world."

"Indonesia will *never* go communist." The Student Leader repeated the Secretary's words. The two-hour debate was at an end. I had learned what I wanted to know. "Sukarno's Thoughts"—like "Mao's Thoughts"—were deified and parroted but lacked a rational base. What rational base was possible for a policy that was visibly destroying the economic fabric of the nation? I had attained a simple objective. I had trapped two young, powerful, youth front leaders in East Java into a rational examination of their own, deep-felt political convictions. A house of sand had collapsed before my eyes. But I was not looking for "over-kill." It was time to end the debate . . . gracefully, if possible.

"I wish you both well. You and Indonesia have a long, painful road ahead. One day, again, we will be ready to help when the slogans end and the time for nation-building is at hand." We had been debating for two hours. I could not resist a final question. "Tell me, how much time do *we* have?" The Secretary looked troubled. The question was too direct and sensitive. After a long pause he replied.

"I am sorry. You must be destroyed—about a month—no more." They both disappeared quickly into the night.

Un-Persons

OUR program was shrinking by the day. Local officials listened politely and shook their heads in sympathy while the boycotts, threats and steady erosion of our effort continued. We could not stop it. It was in the air.

Our social existence was a strange one. Our house parties and cocktail receptions were attended

by the same officials who privately sympathized but publicly condoned the attacks on our office. Finally, the closest of our local friends and colleagues began sending "regrets" to our invitations. We were ceasing to exist officially. Time was running out. Sukarno's speeches had reached a new height of invective and the echo would soon be heard in Surabaya. It was December, 1964.

Surprisingly, the public still came to our Center—hundreds daily—to read the books and periodicals, study the news photos and exhibits. These were youngsters hungry for information about the outside world—about which they learned little from the fiery political speeches of their leaders. Schools had sacrificed education for political indoctrination and youngsters spent as much time in demonstrations on the streets as they did in classrooms. Perhaps these students in the schools and universities did not *really* believe what they were hearing from their leaders. But they came—up to the final day.

The blow came during an evening hour when the Center was open to the public. Two dozen leftist youths stormed past a startled door guard and swept through the Center—looting and destroying. A book-burning ceremony was held in the front yard. Oddly, little spontaneous approval came from a puzzled, gray mass of spectators who watched quietly from across the street. The attackers shouted noisy roars of approval as the books went up in flames and a fleeting recollection of Hitler's Nazi Germany went through my brain. Then, black ashes on the lawn—familiar posters adorning the building—and the "security" guaranteed by the General—a ring of sleepy, local military constabulary—who had arrived with "too little, too late"—as usual.

The Governor and the General were sorry to hear about our "problem." They would look into it at once. But President Sukarno had told the people the American was an enemy in their midst. What *could* the General say? Our "case" would go into litigation between the two governments—one of a number of outstanding issues that included confiscated American business property and other USIS

offices in similar straits.

From the night of the attack we ceased to exist in the eyes of Indonesian officialdom. We had become "un-persons" in a chapter from George Orwell. The best of our local friends hesitated to visit us or even be seen with us. The crowds in the markets and shops showed little real animosity, however. They had gone through all this before with the Dutch. The times had changed and the Americans were now the culprits. Furthermore, how to identify and separate an American from a Dutchman, a German or a western "non-enemy?" The point of confusion on national identities was troublesome for the masses—called upon to transfer their political hatred from one foreign national to another with lightning speed.

A few months after our demise a statement from the Director of USIA in Washington was issued. It confirmed our *de facto* situation. "USIS branch operations in Djokjakarta and Surabaya had ceased to function. But USIS Indonesia would carry on." The Department of State had already made it clear there would be no break in diplomatic relations. In spite of the indignities, harassment and insults—the United States would continue to field a team in the explosive archipelago. But for USIS operations in Central and East Java it was the end of the line. Our office was now the property of the National Front.

It was time for a new heart-breaking decision: "termination of employment" for more than forty loyal staffers in Surabaya and Makassar. It was a painful decision. A handful of our books and films and our vehicles were transferred to our Consulate—the mortal remains of USIS, Surabaya. We took up office space in the Consulate with a few survivors from our original staff. Our "program" was reduced to "skeleton contacts" with officials, intellectuals and community leaders in East Java. We lived in the vain hope that a "dramatic change" might open the door to a resumption of our information activity in East Java.

Our local friends had nearly dis-

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What is communicated, how it is communicated and even by whom it is communicated, determines the effect of our messages overseas.

A Case for DIALOGUE

Some Redefinitions

Greater stress must be placed on how we structure communications objectives. Messages we have; proven techniques of communicating are just beginning to be developed.

BELIEFS firmly held are instilled through a complex process of environmental conditioning over a long period of time. Beliefs about one's family, society, race, and nation are molded from childhood. As they affect one's attitudes about his security, identity, and destiny, they are deeply rooted within us all. "The will to believe is more potent than any mere experience, and emotion is stronger than reason in the vast majority of people."¹ Importantly, the more passionately held a belief, the more it is tied to conditioning.

It is largely environmental conditioning which can enlarge or diminish, emotionalize or rationalize persons' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. A foreign information operation is not normally a part of the environment, unless it achieves a high degree of institutionalization. This seldom happens.

Perceptions of other countries usually are less firmly held. If perceptions of other countries occupy an important place in one's thinking, it is probably because the other country is a threat or benefactor,

SIGMUND COHEN, JR.

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enemy or ally, or because the "other country's" behavior within the prevailing international system could severely affect other nations, near and far.

Messages put forward by foreign information services can occupy but a small portion of an individual's belief system. Under ordinary circumstances it is highly unlikely that such messages can be translated into total acceptance. Moreover, foreign audiences receive a plethora of messages about other nations from a great variety of sources, only a few of which are official. It is doubtful they sort out these messages in order to arrive at an ordered set of perceptions about another society. It is more likely they hold very unstructured, albeit chaotic, views tailored to square with their needs, predilections, and expectations of their own societies.

As much as we wish we could, we cannot fragment or structure the flow of ideas to our liking. Moreover, the chaotic flow of messages portraying the United States to for-

eign audiences is hardly favorable. Films, newspaper coverage, inarticulate official representation often contribute to a picture of the United States skewed in the direction of a materialistic, racist, too-powerful-for-its-own-good society. Reinforcement or diminution of these perceptions continues every day in the way we live overseas, the kind of interest we show in the culture of a host country, and our collective reply to foreign audiences' preconceived notions about us. Certainly, foreign information operations cannot achieve via ordinary means of communication what years of environmental conditioning have achieved.

It is unreasonable to expect foreign audiences to perceive other countries' foreign policy, let alone support it, without first becoming acquainted with a nation's history and social system. While Agency directives have tended to establish priorities placing communicating foreign policy above American society, most officers with even a minimum of experience realize that a society and its attitudes toward other countries (and the way it provides for its security) are inseparable entities.

Presently objectives (as stated in innumerable Agency manuals and instructions) are not treated as objectives. I and officers with whom I have served consider them messages, or better, themes. As such, they are WHAT is communicated, however, not the purpose of the communication effort.

An objective is a stated purpose,

¹ J. A. C. Brown, *Techniques of Persuasion*. Penguin Books, Baltimore, Maryland (1963).

an aim; i.e., what are we communicating for. To persuade? To change attitudes? To inculcate new or different beliefs? We can attempt to evaluate our performances qualitatively ONLY if we know ahead of time the purpose for the communication. We will never know the qualitative effect of our work if we persist in confusing messages with objectives.

Confusion about objectives and messages is most obvious in the case of USIA's operational plans for each country in which we work. Although USIA's Office of Policy and Research puts out worldwide priority THEMES, they are termed "objectives" at the country level. If we take a hypothetical country "X" and list, say, three objectives (or themes) according to a country's operational plan, they would appear like this:

Objective I (The Framework for Freedom)

Provide insights into the American democratic experience and demonstrate, where possible, comparisons with Country "X's" situation and national objectives; further, build understanding of and respect for, the US as a freedom-loving society.

Objective II (Economic Development)

Provide information on US assistance to country "X's" economic and social programs and build understanding of the ways in which the US contributes to less-developed countries' national growth.

Objective III (US Foreign Policy)

Build understanding of how the US has worked for international peace, economic and social progress in concert with country "X's" national interests.

If "building understanding" and "providing insights" stand as objectives, I feel minimum effort goes into their formulation as *levels of persuasion*. The hard thinking goes into the wording which follows, i.e., "into the American democratic experience . . ." etc. It seems as if "building understanding" were included as an afterthought.

Certainly it is important for the Agency, on a nation-by-nation ba-

sis, to develop relevant and credible messages. It is equally imperative that we think in concrete terms about objectives. Do we really want to "build understanding?" Is it a realizable goal? Is it sufficient to just "provide information?" What does it mean to "provide insights?"

Objectives, like themes, can be ranked in some order or priority only after a communicator fully understands the environment (i.e., audiences) in which he is expected to work. For example, if a communicator desires to inform his audience of a particular message, he must first establish his (and his institution's) credibility, as well as his audience's potential receptivity. Only then can he really proceed to communicate.

We can arbitrarily categorize objectives as four levels of communication:

- a. enhance awareness
- b. enlarge understanding and acceptance
- c. inculcate belief
- d. encourage action

In the real world we know the impracticality of establishing such artificial levels. However, levels of communication (or persuasion) have value when we try to reconcile a particular message we are charged to communicate with a particular audience. It is also important when allocating resources—something in which the Agency has become intensely interested. If we assume that x plus 4 inputs will achieve objective "d" (encourage action) and only x plus 1 input will achieve objective "a" (enhance awareness), then a communicator (if his resources are limited) must decide which objective should be attempted.

Five years' experience with USIS in the subcontinent has left me with the impression that we spend more energy and resources sorting out *which* message to communicate than the far more significant concern of *how far* to extend our communication effort. It is my contention that not nearly enough attention has been paid to developing realistic communications goals. Gimmicks we have; proven *modus operandi* based on relative audience receptivity, we do not have.

In practice we have established a kind of day-to-day objective of communicating to foreign audiences "what we feel they should hear or read." While often elegant in presentation to both foreign audiences and Congressional committees, I doubt that this kind of criteria for communications objectives has achieved any high degree of acceptance of our messages among foreign audiences.

**Total Communications:
Symbols, Words, and Deeds**

If we aim to create and sustain dialogue, messages (and media) cannot stand alone. They require symbolic embellishment which stems from our understanding of target audiences.

A USIS library, aid projects, Peace Corps volunteers: three forms of communication, each embodying all three phenomena — symbols, words and deeds—but with varying stress.

The work of USIS relies largely on words; that is, messages which are descriptively self-evident, and straightforward signals, nothing else. Films are not *printed* words in the strict sense, but are representations of messages conceived with a direct purpose in mind. Printed words, spoken words, pictures, and sounds primarily comprise the media of USIS. Each set of words forms a message, or part of a message. Ideally combinations of words either set themselves or other signals in motion to achieve a communications goal. It appears straightforward, but can be elusively difficult. A set of signals must be communicated through a medium, and the medium must communicate symbolically. As McLuhan has written: "The medium is the message." He means that a medium communicates ideas to audiences as much, if not more so, than the message itself. For us in cross-cultural political communications *this is loaded*. For example: translating a book into a vernacular communicates several messages: not only is the message flow facilitated by making the book intelligible to more people (who are unable or do not want to read English), but it demonstrates respect for a host country's vernacular.

The tricky thing about symbols, and to a lesser extent about words, is that we must understand our audiences before we can communicate symbolically, and that means *communicate effectively*. An Indian politician does not go to a village in dacron shirts and pants, he wears homespun clothes. He knows villagers are poor and can rarely afford to purchase good clothes. So he wears what they wear. This accomplishes identification with his target audience. We as foreign officials are not exempt from the need to identify.

What can most effectively communicate is often the unexpected. Audiences expect to see Americans ride in big cars. In India when USIS speakers go to a lecture hall, particularly at a college, in a *local conveyance*, (e.g., a rickshaw), we (1) surprise our audience, (2) create some pattern of identification, and thus (3) initiate a communication flow (or dialogue) before we have even begun to impart the word message.

In some societies it pays to identify, in others it does not. Therefore, we must know whether we will be respected or sneered at if we attempt to create a pattern of identification.

Symbolic communication is also put into effect when we demonstrate genuine interest in something of significance to the host country but of little ostensible interest to us. Attending cultural programs has been for me one means of symbolic communication. It is unusual to see foreigners at such performances, and it pleases host country nationals to know that a foreigner has taken time out on his own to attend a particular event.

The most successful attempt at symbolic communication for the United States in recent years has been the Peace Corps. Some people still labor under the misconception that Peace Corps Volunteers serve overseas primarily to make a contribution to a host country's national development. This is the deed aspect of the Peace Corps, but (at least in eastern India and several years back in East Pakistan) it is a secondary, when realized, goal. What Volunteers really demonstrate is that young (usually) Americans can "rough it," wrestle



with a village or slum experience, work with their hands; in short, identify with the people.

Conversations with numerous Volunteers indicate that involvement in development efforts seldom ranks higher than a second or third reason for joining the Peace Corps. While it is not the objective of this paper to discuss Volunteers' motivations, it is increasingly apparent to me that the total Volunteer input is hardly commensurate with its achievements. However effectively volunteers are trained (particularly "B.A. generalists") and located in potentially effective projects, it seems to me that Peace Corps cannot help but place greater emphasis on *exposure* to Americans than contributing to economic development. If exposure has a higher priority than project completion, then certainly one can conclude that either the Peace Corps has misguided administrators, or is actually conducting its business to show host country nationals the commitment and humanness of Americans. To my mind, it is the latter category.

The Agency for International Development deals mostly with deeds; things which, by the way, symbolically communicate American interest in a host country's economic development and a better way of life for other people. Dams, irrigation systems, steel mills, and seed farms communicate as do tear gas containers bearing "Made in USA" labels. So do those American officials who sometimes think of their host country colleagues as semi-literate a generation away from the jungle. One symbol and usually the negative one will override the favorable one every time. Why? Because such symbols, particularly

in the case of the United States, sadly reinforce negative impressions persons in developing countries already hold of the United States.

In this respect, administrative sections in American embassies and consulates seem to be oblivious of the role they play in the total communications flow. For one thing, our life style overseas too often exudes affluence. Perhaps this is traditionally expected of diplomatic representation, but it nevertheless dredges up the most regrettable set of symbols for audiences, especially those living in developing countries.

If we invite foreign audiences to our cultural programs, supply their newspapers with press files, hope they will listen to the Voice of America, read our books, respect our civilization enough to take university courses in it, then why must we clothe ourselves in an affluence which belies our pioneer heritage, our middle-class egalitarianism, and our deification of the common man; exist in a life style that more often than not is flamboyant, ostentatious, and indicative of a rich life.

Much of what the United States Information Agency does lacks the drama, excitement, and openness of American society. Our publications, films, lectures, and exhibits have often failed to extract EMOTIONAL responses in the way that many opposition (namely, Communist) efforts have succeeded in doing. Granted the "opposition" is usually a political party which ostensibly maintains a not all-too-convincing fiction of separation from Communist bloc embassies. What they lack in substance, however, they compensate for in emotion-evoking symbols.

This should not excuse USIA's overly selective approach to communication. If we want to project the United States as a strong nation, certainly we must be strong enough not to stifle dissent on our library bookshelves (be it Eldridge Cleaver, Michael Harrington, or Senator Fulbright). Certainly IPS yearenders such as last year's (1968) on "The Civil Rights Revolution" should acknowledge black power as a major force affecting race relations in the United States rather than indulge in pious statistical claims.

Too often excessive attention is given to *verbalizing* a message rather than *communicating* it. No matter how exciting a message is, if it is framed in sterile, non-emotion-evoking terms, the dialogue we seek will not occur. This brings me to a basic rule of communication which every politician and adman respects but which more often than not escapes Washington and overseas-based officials of USIA: messages to be understood can be either logical in content or emotional in content; symbols designed to facilitate the communication process must be emotion-evoking.

Thus, the way in which a message is conveyed SYMBOLICALLY can make the difference between word flow and dialogue. Word flow is sufficient for news broadcasting—it is not sufficient when we are charged to make intelligible American society and public policy.

The question remains: How can USIA compete effectively with sensationalist, emotion-evoking media which often is anti-American and which exercises high message selectivity?

Each day USIA in Washington transmits telegraphically to its overseas installations a file of press bulletins in much the same way that international wire services like AP, UPI, and Reuters operate. These are straightforward news items. Once received, they are translated into the local vernacular and distributed as press releases to local newspapers.

As well, USIS posts use the same releases for their own publications and give them much the same treatment *journalistically* as news-

papers. We seem to think that the same symbols which apply to "respectable and objective journalism" apply to publications and other media which are cross-cultural and politically propagandistic in nature. Certainly we should be honest, objective, and authoritative; without these qualities we would immediately lose our credibility. But effective cross-cultural *political* communication demands more in the way of symbols than many well-meaning USIS officers are willing to give.

News (or messages) about the United States which we ourselves inject into the communication flow should have the additional qualities of surprise and relevance to the host country situation. Our communications must be geared to evoking emotional as well as rational responses. Too often messages about the US are more exciting than the media communicating them. Here media dulls the impact of a message because of over-attention to respectability and inattention to surprise and relevance.

If our objective were only to inform, we would not have to be concerned with these additional qualities. Newspapers do not have the objectives of enhancing understanding or achieving support for respectability, news publications will be guided only by those characteristics which will enhance their effort to inform in a wholly unbiased way.

Use of symbolic embellishment is not always required. In times of crisis, for example, words alone will probably suffice. Certain kinds of messages—because of their intrinsic significance—do not require emotion-evoking symbols. A message that audiences urgently want to hear, e.g., reports of extraordinary events, statements by high government officials and political leaders—may be able to stand alone.

Before disseminating a message the effect of which could be dulled or even nullified by the absence of emotion-evoking symbols, potential audience responses must be known. Sometimes USIS makes the grave error of treating one important announcement after another in the same, usually drab way hoping the significance of the message alone

will produce an impact. Thus, we "can" high official statements (for instance, so-called "fast pamphlets") in the same container, in the same publication motif. AGAIN, we make the mistake of communicating for ourselves, rather than to others.

Recently, there has been a great deal of interest in "package programing." Briefly, it involves combining a variety of media (signals) to communicate a message, rather than employing a single medium, e.g., a film, or an exhibit, or a speaker, to tell a story. Used intelligently "package programing" has proven value in upgrading the quality of our communications effort. If, however, field officers do not meticulously tailor programs so that they are relevant to local conditions, and, when possible, evoke surprise, package programing will be reduced to another chapter in USIS' catalogue of gimmicks.

As a technique package programing is the final step in the total communications process. Before launching programs (package or otherwise), a communicator must develop perceptions of his audience with respect to their (1) political inclinations, (2) message receptivity, and (3) esthetic predilections. Once known these data will provide important clues as to:

(1) whether a message has political significance and relevance to a host country situation; (Example: are our efforts to portray the racial situation always pertinent to audiences which themselves are highly stratified and not yet taking measures to rectify injustices stemming from such stratification?)

(2) the level of persuasion at which a message can be communicated; (Example: are we realistic in our well-intentioned attempts to convince "opinion leaders" in traditional societies to adopt pragmatic [or "Western"] ways of doing things when often their only means of remaining in power is by not rocking the boat?)

(3) how a message should be communicated (or how to package a program).

Thus it is imperative that as communicators we understand audiences before attempting the most rudimentary communication effort.

Moreover, we must give increasing consideration to these criteria employed in selection of various audience groups.

Audience Selectivity

We need to establish more flexible audience criteria based on sound social scientific findings and conscientiously update these findings (and criteria) as a host country's political and social situations change.

Unlimited finances, highly trained officers, prime locations for our centers will alone not ensure the quality of dialogue we seek. For the most significant and elusive ingredient—audience—is that dimension of cross-cultural political communications which needs, in my opinion, the most re-thinking—particularly in developing countries. Groups at whom we aim our messages not only reveal much about the makeup of a host country, but as well, are often mirror reflections of ourselves.

The audiences we select demonstrate whether we are (1) lazy, (2) allow our national staffers to do our work for us, (3) rely on judgments of our predecessors, or (4) are capable of (a) making our own perceptions of a host country's social system, and (b) relate effectively to those perceived groups most influential in the total social system.

More than any other factor, the kinds of audiences on whom we annually spend hundreds of thousands of dollars can tell a most penetrating story of American overseas representation.

Too often we have selected audiences by vocation: government leaders, elected student leaders, academic department heads, editors, to name just a few. This traditional method of ranking groups can be attributed to a predisposition to superimpose American organizational patterns on the social systems of other societies and thinking them similar or identical. Certainly this is a convenient (almost gimmicky) approach to audience selectivity, but in terms of qualitatively excellent communications, it has not worked completely. I do not recommend discarding the system, only refining it.

We should establish audience criteria in terms of an individual's and a group's relative spin-off potential, that is, basing criteria, in part, on the degree to which persons influence other people inside and outside their respective fields. In USIS, we call such persons "opinion leaders," but they are usually grouped with other persons who occupy positions of comparable responsibility, but who do NOT influence. The world abounds with such persons—they appear influential because of positioning in formal organizations, but in the informal structure (i.e., the way ideas and influence actually flow) they account for little or nothing.

Audience criteria (and this has special reference to developing countries) must be expanded to include those groups actively or potentially involved in change, but who because of their occupations are not normally listed as "target groups." Present or potential involvement in social and political change should be a prime criterion and take precedence over occupational yardsticks.

In this respect, it seems as if the body of research on communica-

tions has had little, if any, effect on the day-to-day work of USIA. Our methods of operation with particular respect to audience selectivity are generations behind a number of well-defined communications precepts. As stated above, we persist in elaborating lists of "target audiences" in Washington and foreign capitals while work by such social scientists as Irving Janis has established that:

"Responsiveness to different types of emotional and rational appeals is likely to be related to ethnic and national differences . . . ultimately the predispositions of major sectors of the population in each country need to be investigated in relation to each type of argument, appeal, sources and communication medium as well as to type of topic."²

Clearly audience classifications cannot be constructed in Washington, nor in capitals of large, heterogeneous countries. Area-wide categorizations tend to oversimplify this complicated process. Not only does the relative influence of a particular audience vary from place to place, but audience groups are dynamic, not static. In large heterogeneous democracies, today's influential groups may be on the political sidelines tomorrow. If target audiences shift in democracies their relative influence in totalitarian societies is far more fragile. And in developing societies certain groups often enter a kind of threshold of political influence, resulting in an economic and political power ascendancy.

We cannot depend on messages, no matter how exciting, and symbolic embellishment, no matter how emotion-evoking, to attract key audience groups. It is too much of a gamble. It is wiser to conduct talent searches—based in part on sound anthropological findings—and then program, rather than to arrange programs hoping to attract key audiences.

A major problem for Americans serving overseas to ponder is "Where do we 'align' ourselves?" Although we like to think of the



² "Personality as a Factor in Susceptibility to Persuasion" — *The Voice of America Forum Lectures—COMMUNICATION*, p. 37.

United States as an inherently revolutionary nation, we are usually perceived as "pals of the establishment," and either against or uninterested in change.

Perhaps, because of the AID relationship, because indigenous leftist parties perceive and attempt to discredit us as "imperialists," partially a result of our overseas life-style, or the personal predilections of overseas Americans, we often find ourselves communicating with persons who resist change the most. As a result of using traditional methods of audience selectivity and due to our ignorance of local situations and languages, we have yet to be accepted as the real agents or believers in change in many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Americans charged with communicating cross-culturally cannot be expected to carry out their tasks without in-depth orientation to the cultures in which they are serving. Orientation based on solid anthropological evidence, exposure to a host country's literature and fine arts, and honest characterizations of current economic and political trends are only the beginning. If we embark on a search for those persons who may effect change and influence the course of events, officers serving overseas will have constantly to upgrade their knowledge of host country conditions. Orientation courses I have experienced both in Washington at the Foreign Service Institute five years ago and at Delhi University two years ago failed to provide this much needed exposure.

While we continually face the question, "Who counts?" is it not likely that host country audiences (again living in developing societies) might inquire, "Whose side are you on?" . . . those working for change, or resisting it, or as is more often the case, those utterly irrelevant to the struggles going on. Are we perceived as a *status quo* nation? Or are we accepted as a nation committed to helping others achieve what they consider economic justice and social equality? Regrettably all too often foreign audiences see America as a *status quo* power; as such, we are precluded from creating meaningful

dialogues with more revolutionary audiences.

One more point: after two or more decades of economic hardship, social deterioration, and political instability, many newly independent peoples have developed an enormous capacity to endure what to foreigners is an insurmountable array of problems. While some may lack determination and at times the ability to organize solutions to their problems, they are keenly aware that Western nations share the guilt of procrastination in bringing about reforms in their own societies. Further, we in the West have often failed to establish social justice coupled with better living conditions for the economically depressed.

The Ultimate Link— A Case for Dialogue

To achieve dialogue I feel we somehow must demonstrate our implication in the destiny of our audiences. In the end it is each officer—communicating what he perceives as "his own America"—who will constitute the initial and most solid link for enduring dialogues between the United States and other peoples.

When I joined the United States Information Agency, I soon perceived an overuse of agency rubrics—catch phrases found in innumerable office memos tending to neutralize concepts expressed more succinctly by using "street English." One such phrase was "the last three feet" and referred to the three (or two, or one) feet between two people talking with each other. In short, this means dialogue.

Usually, we take dialogue to mean verbal communication between two or more persons. For me the concept of dialogue is vastly expanded. It is any combination of symbols, words and deeds which can produce in the receiver's mind some excitement, some participation. For professional communicators (or propagandists) this is of striking importance for it implies that the entire range of media available should be conceived, designed and exploited in terms of the way it will produce a response from the RECIPIENT, not from the communicator, as is usually the case with Agency personnel.

Too often some officers feel that

by showing a certain film, presenting a particular lecture, we have presented "our side of the story" and *fini*, *x* number of people have been exposed to a message. Accordingly, their response will result in further support for "our side." This is sheer nonsense. All signals, if comprehensible, produce in the receivers' minds responses, even if the response is indifference. The object, however, is to achieve some degree of acceptance. For communicators the job is far greater than arranging events in which audiences are *exposed* to a variety of signals. The trick is to excite—to create a dialogue in which the receiver willingly or consciously produces, first, an emotional response to signals, secondly, an ordered perception, and ultimately, an acceptance of the message.

Given the chaotic flow of communications bombarding peoples (particularly those in developing countries), could we not justifiably inquire whether these people *need* USIS, or for that matter, any foreign information operation? One reply (and an ostensibly fair one) is that we are working for the American people; it is they who *need* us to tell their story to the people of other countries (whether they like it or not!).

This rationalization is plainly insufficient. To be listened to, for our messages to be accepted (not only by those already supporting "our side," but by others as well), we must relate both through interpersonal and mass communications—to the environment in which we work. As Franklin Fearing aptly points out, ". . . communication is not merely the transmission of symbols and words, of ideas and information . . . the communicator and the communicant are interdependent."³ If our audiences (whoever they are) do not respond, as pointed out above, then clearly it is questionable whether communication is taking place.

If we seek dialogue as the major means of communication about the United States, we should employ

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³ Franklin Fearing, "Human Communication," in *People, Society and Mass Communication*, Dexter and White, ed., Free Press, Glencoe (1964) p. 42.



Foreign Service Retirement Legislation

As reported in the October AFSA NEWS Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, in his capacity as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations, held hearings on September 24, 1969, on his Bill H.R. 13876 to amend the Foreign Service retirement system. The other members of the Subcommittee present at the hearing were Representative E. Ross Adair (Indiana), Leonard Farbstein (New York), John S. Monagan (Connecticut), William V. Roth (Delaware), and Vernon W. Thomson (Wisconsin).

Deputy Under Secretary for Administration Idar Rimestad was the principal witness at the hearing and made a strong statement in support of the legislation. Both AFSA and DACOR were represented at the hearing, and a letter from the AFSA Board Chairman was placed on record in support of the Bill. The letter also stated: "The retired members of our Association are understandably concerned that cost-of-living increases in their annuities have lagged behind such increases in Civil Service annuities. H.R. 77, which you introduced on January 3, 1969, provides for increases in annuities payable from the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund. We likewise endorse and support these provisions."

At the conclusion of the hearing Chairman Hays stressed the need for providing the same benefits to participants in the Civil Service and Foreign Service retirement systems as a matter of equity. Representative Adair echoed these sentiments. Although it is a bit early to predict whether H.R. 13876 will be amended to include cost-of-living increases for our retired colleagues, there is reason for optimism in this regard.

Now that the Civil Service Retirement Bill has been sent to the President for signature, we trust prompt action will be taken to modify the Foreign Service Retirement System in an identical manner.

Senator Fulbright Submits Foreign Relations Resolution

In May 1968 Senator William Fulbright told the Senate he planned to introduce a resolution calling for a commission to examine the operations of the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Information Agency. He suggested that the matter not be voted upon, since it was near the end of an administration, but rather saved for the new administration. On October 7, 1969 Senator Fulbright submitted his previous plan as Senate Joint Resolution 157. The text follows:

Whereas there is an obvious need to insure that the United States conducts all aspects of its foreign relations in the most effective possible manner; and

Whereas toward this end, it is appropriate to provide for an independent study of the present operation and organization of the Department of State, including the Foreign Service, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency with a view to determining and proposing needed institutional reforms: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created a commission to be known as the Commission on Organizational Reforms in the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"). It shall be the duty of the Commission to make a comprehensive study in the United States and abroad and to report to the President and to the Congress on needed organizational reforms in the Department of State, including the Foreign Service, the Agency for International Development, and the United States Information Agency, with a view to determining the most efficient and effective means for the administration and operation of the United States programs and activities in the field of foreign relations.

SEC. 2. The Commission shall consist of twelve members, as follows:

(1) Two members of the Commission, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, who shall be Members of the Senate, of whom at least one shall be a

member of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(2) Two members of the Commission, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall be Members of the House of Representatives, of whom at least one shall be a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

(3) Eight members of the Commission, to be appointed by the President, who shall not be individuals presently serving in any capacity in any branch of the Federal Government other than in an advisory capacity.

SEC. 3. The President shall also appoint the Chairman of the Commission from among the members he appoints to the Commission. The Commission shall elect a Vice Chairman from among its members.

SEC. 4. No member of the Commission shall receive compensation for his service on the Commission, but each shall be reimbursed for his travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in carrying out his duties as a member of the Commission.

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, in accordance with the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(b) The Commission may procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed \$100 a day for individuals.

SEC. 6. (a) The Commission shall conduct its study in the United States and abroad and shall report to the President and to the Congress not later than eighteen months after its appointment upon the results of its study, together with such recommendations as it may deem advisable.

(b) Upon the submission of its report under subsection (a) of this section, the Commission shall cease to exist.

SEC. 7. The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information,

suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this Commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality and shall furnish such information, suggestions, estimates and statistics directly to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman.

SEC. 8. There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed \$500,000 to carry out this joint resolution.

Community Action Committee

AFSA's Community Action Committee has begun its second series of discussions, open to all State Department, AID, and USIA personnel, of Washington's urban problems. Sterling Tucker, Vice-Chairman of the District of Columbia City Council, inaugurated this season's Community Action Seminars on October 20 with a discussion of "Washington: A Year of Progress."

In his talk Mr. Tucker cited the special difficulties of the metropolitan area resulting from its multiple functions of local, suburban, national, and international centers. He pointed to the problems of the District, which is governed primarily by Congress and must provide services and other benefits, largely out of its own funds, to tax-exempt institutions and to commuters who pay taxes in the surrounding communities. Mr. Tucker believed that, with the possibility of more local government power and greater taxing authority in the next few years and with the eventual coming of home rule, the outlook for Washington was hopeful. While he expressed his disappointment at the slowness of the pace of change in the District, Mr. Tucker pointed out that no ground has been lost over the past year in solving the pressing problems of jobs, housing, and education, that some hopeful initiatives have been undertaken, and that a climate of stability has prevailed in Washington.

Ballot on Bylaws Amendments

On September 22, 1969, the Amendments Committee counted the ballots cast in connection with the proposed amendments to the AFSA Bylaws and Certificate of Incorporation. The "membership" Bylaw failed to receive a two-thirds majority vote, although it did receive a simple majority. The proposed amendment to the Certificate of Incorporation was defeated. It is perhaps worthy of comment that only slightly more than 2,000 of our active members voted on the amendments.

A revised copy of the Bylaws and Certificates of Incorporation will be mailed to members on request.

Marriages

BUSHNELL-SHEARER. Prudence Bushnell, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Gerald S. Bushnell, was married to Timothy John Shearer on September 13, in Bethesda, Maryland.

WINSHIP-MOREHOUSE. Rebecca Ann Winship, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Stephen Winship, was married to Richard Kenyon Morehouse on August 30 in Seattle, Washington. Mr. Winship is currently assigned to the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Mr. and Mrs. Morehouse will reside in Seattle.

Births

SIZER. A daughter, Laura, born to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Sizer on July 11.

Deaths

ABAJIAN. Albert N. Abajian, FSO-retired, died on October 16, in Washington. Mr. Abajian served with ECA and the Refugee Relief Program before joining the Foreign Service in 1957. He served at Frankfurt, Bonn and the Department before his retirement in 1963. Since 1963 he has been associate director of the International Marketing Institute and senior research associate at the American University for Technology and Administration.

BUCHHOLZ. Ruth L. Buchholz died in June in Berkeley, California. Miss Buchholz joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at New Delhi, Athens, Tehran and Ottawa before resigning. She is survived by her brother, R. O. Buchholz, 2515 Buena Vista Way, Berkeley.

BUCKLE. John F. Buckle, director, Office of Maritime Affairs, died on September 18, in Washington. Mr. Buckle joined the State Department in 1948 and served at Madrid and Lisbon, in the Department and at the National War College. He is survived by his wife of 4943 Quebec Street, N.W., two sons, two daughters and his mother.

CULLIN. Mrs. Winifred Marion Cullin, FSS-retired, died on September 23, in Monkseaton, England. She is survived by her daughter, Mrs. Derek F. Roberts, 106 Cauldwell Lane, West Monkseaton, Northumberland.

HILL. Daniel A. Hill, AID-retired, died on May 30, in Cleveland Heights, Ohio. Mr. Hill entered on duty with AID in 1959 after serving as a consulting engineer, a visiting professor in Taipei and a utilities engineer there. He served at Seoul from 1962 until his retirement. Mr. Hill is survived by his wife of 1633 Compton

Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, 44118.

JONES. Timothy R. Jones, son of FSO Ralph A. Jones, died on August 22, in Nairobi, Kenya. Contributions in memory of Timothy may be made to the National Museum, Attention: Mr. Richard Leakey, P.O. Box 30239, Nairobi, Kenya, to further his work at the Center for Prehistory and Paleontology. He is survived by his father of 921 George St., Penn Argyl, Pennsylvania 18072.

KIRLEY. Louis L. Kirley, FSR-retired, died on September 11, in North Bergen, New Jersey. Mr. Kirley entered on duty in 1928 and served at Budapest, Belgrade, Kovno, Riga, Zagreb, Marseille, Mexico City, Piedras Negras, Salzburg and Vancouver before retirement. He is survived by his wife, of 801 87th Street, North Bergen, New Jersey, 07047.

LANGSTON. Bryant W. Langston and his wife died on September 15 in an airplane crash at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Mr. Langston, brother-in-law of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, was president of the Langston Company, corrugated cardboard machinery manufacturers.

LINCH. Samuel H. Linch, USIA, died on September 23, in Khartoum. Mr. Linch joined the State Department in 1949 and served at Bad Nauheim, Frankfurt and Bonn, in an information and cultural officer capacity. He entered on duty with USIA in 1953 and served at Vienna, the Department, Tehran, Djakarta and Freetown. He is survived by his wife, presently of 1210 North Taft Street, Arlington, Virginia 22201, a son and daughter.

STEVENS. Francis B. Stevens died recently in Washington. Mr. Stevens entered the Foreign Service in 1931 and served at Prague, Warsaw, Paris, Riga, Moscow, Berlin, Frankfurt, Tehran and the Department, before his retirement in 1957.

ZAWADSKI. Casimir T. Zawadski, FSO-retired, died on February 24, in Vienna. Mr. Zawadski entered the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at Munich, Berlin, Belfast, Warsaw, Krakow, Giansk, Poznan, Halifax, Palermo, Cherbourg, Paris, Salzburg and Vienna before his retirement in 1963. He is survived by his wife, c/o American Embassy, Consular Section, 1091 Vienna, Austria.

TURPIN. Adriana deHeus Turpin, wife of FSO William N. Turpin, died on October 5, in Alexandria. She is survived by her husband of 308 Park Road, Alexandria, Virginia 22301, two daughters and a son.

Voluntary Financial Contributions

An AFSA member, who asks to remain anonymous, wrote in a recent letter of his admiration for the work of the association in advancing and defending the career principle and professional integrity of its membership. He went on to say that those who devote their lives to diplomacy as a career must support the organization which stands for professionalism in diplomacy. He commented that some are fortunate enough to be able to give such support by working directly for AFSA in Washington, while others who are far away can contribute in other forms. The form our colleague chose was a check for \$250 made payable to the American Foreign Service Association Fund.

Contributions to the AFSA Fund are tax deductible by the donor, and are needed in greater numbers if your association is to continue to represent its members in all areas of interest to them. Contributions from those who are far away, as well as nearby, will keep your association moving forward.

AFSA Scholarship Program, 1970-1971

Application forms are now being mailed to those who requested material for the 1970-1971 scholarship competition. An applicant is considered for all scholarships for which he is eligible rather than for a particular scholarship. Information requested in the application form is necessary to meet requirements of specific scholarships. Required documents must be received at AFSA headquarters by February 15, 1970.

AFSA Scholarships are for one year only. A new application, including supporting data, must be submitted each year if continued aid is desired.

AFSA Scholarships are granted to unmarried children of parents who meet one or more of the following requirements: current membership in AFSA; current membership in AAFSW; employment in a foreign affairs agency of the United States Government; former employment in a foreign affairs agency of the United States Government but now retired or deceased.

Write to the Committee on Education, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, for application forms. In the initial request be sure to give the student's full name and his mailing address as of November, 1969, and the name and address of parent or guardian.

AFSA's Ballot Box Awaits Your Pleasure

Ballots for the 1969 election of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association will be mailed on November 15 to active members all over the world. The Board of Directors elected this year will serve for the next two years, beginning January 15, 1970.

Nominations closed on October 15. Three complete slates were nominated. In addition, over 100 individual nominations were received by the Elections Committee.

Happy Hour at FS Club

Foreign Service Club members and their guests have been enjoying "Happy Hours" at the FS Club since the new policy was announced in late

September. The Club is serving martinis, manhattans, and highballs "two for the price of one" from 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. on a Monday-Friday basis.

Why come to Happy Hour? Several members have gone to see who was there, and have found old friends from past foreign service posts. Some have brought non-members into the Club to show them the facilities. Others report that they have invited their car pools to liven things up on the subsequent long commute to Fairfax.

For whatever reason they come, all FS Club members and their guests are cordially invited by Club Manager John Scheidenberger and by the FS Club Committee to come to Happy Hour. The Committee has announced that Happy Hour will continue through November, and longer if it is a continued success.



AFSA's Executive Director Edward P. Doby's lunches at the Foreign Service Club with Joseph S. Toner, Director of Personnel, AID. Club manager John Scheidenberger stands ready with menus.

Have Your Next Party at the Club

The Foreign Service Club is ideally located and well equipped for any social affair. The next time you are planning a farewell party, a promotion celebration, or whatever, keep the Club in mind. We also arrange wedding receptions.

Cocktail parties priced from \$1.00 to \$3.25 per person can be easily arranged. The price depends on the type of hors d'oeuvres and whether a bartender and/or a waitress is desired. The Club is open until 7:30 in the evening.

If you want to break away from the cocktail party routine, why not make your next party a dinner? We have a wide variety of dinner menus: 68 of them! They range in price from \$3.95 to \$6.75 for a complete dinner including appetizer, entree, vegetables, dessert, and beverage.

If you are planning a party, call the Foreign Service Club or stop by for a copy of our detailed price list and menus. You can make your arrangements in person, or over the phone by calling John Scheidenberger at 338-5730.



FOR THOSE BACK HOME

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"Rhetoric is the art of persuasion and the ability to persuade is the *sine qua non* of the effective diplomat."

The Bridge Between Peoples

IN SEEKING the reasons for the absence from American diplomacy of a definable diplomatic method for overcoming cultural barriers, we cannot hope to cover adequately all the aspects of cultural differences that affect diplomatic contacts. The relationship of language to culture, the effect of language structure on meaning, differing value systems, differing concepts of the nature of the universe and of man, patterns of interpersonal relations—all are relevant to this inquiry. But space will not permit even the most cursory examination of these areas of concern. There is, however, one aspect of cultural differences and their impact on diplomacy that needs at least brief examination. This is the influence of alien cultural patterns and habits of thought on the rhetorical process. For rhetoric is the art of persuasion, and the ability to persuade is the *sine qua non* of the effective diplomat.

Students of comparative philosophy are inclined to use the term "Aristotelian" to describe everything that has happened in the West since Aristotle. In the field of rhetoric, this adjective is particularly apt, since almost nothing has happened in the West since Aristotle. Though other aspects of his teaching have undergone many

KINGDON W. SWAYNE

The author is a retired FSO, most of whose 20 years in the Service (1946-1966) were spent in the Far East. Mr. Swayne, whose retirement home is in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is traveling in Moscow and Scandinavia at present. This article is an extension of his ideas as outlined in the July JOURNAL'S "Wanted: An American Diplomatic Style."

modifications, his principles of rhetoric continue to this day to dominate the teaching of this art in the West.

Our cultural provincialism inclines us to view Aristotelian rhetoric not only as *the* rhetoric of the West, but as *the* rhetoric of the world. In an effort to correct this impression, there are set forth below comments on the rhetorics of the five major cultural regions of Afro-Asia. These comments are necessarily extremely brief, but may be sufficient to provide some conception of the difficulties involved in effective persuasion across cultural boundaries. No effort has been made to include comments on a possible sixth non-Western cultural region, Latin America, partly because the cul-

tural picture in Latin America is so complicated by social layering and partly because Latin American diplomats and government leaders, the targets of diplomatic persuasion, generally come from the most European layers of society.

1. **Confucianism.** Many branches and schools with conflicting views of rhetorical processes. Some ideas close to those of Aristotle. Main elements underlying all major branches are: a dogmatic concern with abstract and final truth, rather than attentiveness to the particulars of the immediate situation; a belief that decision-making is primarily to be confined to the elite; a strong argumentative turn of mind; a stress on ceremonialism.

2. **Taoism-Zen Buddhism.** Irrationality—a vivid sense that reality is something beyond or other than simple reason. "Empathization" rather than "rationalization" to reach sound conclusions. Suspicion of decisiveness and purposive argument. Stress on peripheral, only vaguely related, phenomena.

To be an effective persuader of Taoists, abandon the dominant rational strain in Western culture and take advantage of the element in our society that recognizes the wisdom and not just the humor in the proverb, "A woman convinced against her will is of the same

opinion still." Don't focus directly and logically on the problem; talk around it. Project yourself rather than your logic. Learn the uses of silence.

3. **Hinduism-Buddhism.** The proper object of inquiry is to find the basic unity that lies within seeming diversity. Essential truth is comprehensive, incorporating within one indissoluble whole all points of view (including communism and democracy). But truth is not easily discerned; for general truth is apparently forever contradicted by particulars. These apparent contradictions require constant and exhaustive efforts at elucidation. Exposition rather than persuasion is the typical Buddhist rhetorical method. Persuasive appeals to emotion may also be useful, but they should be couched not in terms of appeals to selfishness, but from selfishness toward the merging of the listener's individuality into indivisible totality. Rhetoric for Buddhist listeners should be addressed to the elucidation of the relationship of the set of phenomena with which one is concerned to the indivisible totality of all experience.¹

4. **The Muslim World.** The specific most significant characteristic of the Muslim (i.e., Arab or Persian) mentality is the primacy of symbols over objects, and the role of symbols as representing the "true reality" without it being necessary, as in the West, to "objectivate" reality into specific abstractions like "the truth," "the right," etc. Thus the Aswam Dam presently assumes more importance as a symbol of Nasserism than it is ever likely to have as an accomplished objective fact.²

5. **Sub-Saharan Africa.** Black Africa is culturally so heterogene-

ous³ that the only unifying element is change. In the words of one authority, present relations between Africa and the West "make for more communication between different kinds of men, but let no one think it is easier to communicate now than it was in the days when we had each other and ourselves in the fixed focus of the old power relations and the old stereotypes. Everything is blurred now, moving, changing, full of the grimaces of violence and high and deep emotion, and without symmetry, order or sweet reason."⁴

To the extent that the types of rhetoric persuasive to Afro-Asian minds can be identified, the task of the propagandist dealing with a mass audience largely unsullied by Western influences can be vastly simplified. But the task of the diplomat is far more difficult and far more subtle. Once he has plumbed the depths of his Afro-Asian colleague's native cultural heritage, his task has just begun. For his colleague's *personal* cultural heritage may, depending on his upbringing, be anywhere from 2 percent to 98 percent Judeo-Christian. The main task of the Afro-Asian diplomat is acculturating himself to the ways of the West. Some are very good at it, others less so. But all are trying, and are usually well up in the vanguard of Westernization in their own countries. Their political superiors follow them, followed in turn by the common people, far to the rear, but still moving in our direction more than we in theirs.

In using the arts of persuasion, the Western diplomat talking to an Afro-Asian diplomat will often be tempted to employ the rhetoric most congenial to the traditional culture, particularly if the Afro-Asian comes from a country in which the voice of the common people is listened to by the decision makers. But if the Western diplomat decides to acculturate his rhetoric, he must then decide to what extent he should inform his

Afro-Asian colleague that he has deliberately placed his *démarche* in the framework of the traditional culture of the colleague's people. To pretend that he is not doing so might insult the Westernized intelligence of his listener. To go too far in the opposite direction runs the risk of seeming to ask the listener to join in patronizing his superiors and the people he represents, for most educated Afro-Asians are quick to take offense at any implication that they are different from, which to them means "inferior to," the West. This dilemma is present in some degree in all cross cultural diplomatic contacts where any effort at all is made by the Westerner, except in the social amenities, to meet his Afro-Asian colleague part way.

The problem of building bridges between cultures has recently occupied a great deal of attention, but practically all the attention has been devoted to the development of mutual understanding between the two pieces of dry land at either end of the bridge and very little to the shape of the bridge or to the necessity for finding patches of dry land in the morass under the bridge on which to construct intermediate supports. The modern diplomat takes for granted the need to know at least enough of the other culture to avoid social *faux pas* and establish some kind of *rapprochement*. But he will find that the occasions on which he can operate wholly either in his own culture or in the other (if he can do so) are rare. His Afro-Asian colleague has come a long way across the bridge to meet him, propelled by a personal and national drive to Westernize. It is beyond the Western diplomat's capacity to pull his colleague wholly to the Western shore, and any effort on his part to move the meeting ground back to the opposite shore will surely fail. He must resign himself to working most of the time in a twilight zone in the middle of the bridge, with few cultural guideposts to mark the way.

The search for a secure and stable meeting ground in some kind of halfway house is fraught with peril. The danger always exists that one will emerge from the dash across the bridge into one's colleague's culture only to discover that

¹ Robert T. Oliver, *Culture and Communication: The Problem of Penetrating National and Cultural Boundaries*, Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1962. This is a remarkable book by a professor of speech who is also something of an Orientalist. He addresses himself primarily to the problems of the persuasive propagandist, but has much to say to the diplomat who would be persuasive. The first three items of this tabulation are adapted from his analyses.

² Adapted from Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Islam in the Modern World," in *The Arab Middle East and Muslim Africa*, Tibor Kerekes, ed., New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1961.

³ Some sense of the effect of African cultural heterogeneity on communication may be gained from Leonard Doob, *Communication in Africa*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.

⁴ Harold R. Isaacs, *Emergent Americas; a Report on "Crossroads in Africa,"* New York, John Day Co., 1961, p. 105.

the colleague has run past in the other direction. Anyone who has spent any time in Japan is familiar with the homely example of the American who bows low to greet a new Japanese acquaintance, to be rewarded only with a close look at the latter's outstretched hand waiting to be shaken.

The cultural halfway house is built on a morass of tension and insecurity. In generalizing his own experience in the Japanese model of this halfway house, the author divides the Japanese people into three groups. First, there is the one-tenth of one percent who are so thoroughly Westernized that they have reached our end of the bridge. Interpersonal relations with this group are no problem. Second, there are perhaps 90 percent of the people whose physical surroundings have been more or less Westernized but whose thought processes have not been disturbed even by the notion that other people may have different thought processes. For the Westerner who has taken a moderately deep plunge into the Japanese language and culture, personal relations with this group are similarly highly satisfactory, for the Japanese is acting from a secure sense of confidence in his own social mores and the Westerner knows enough to get along. However, the remaining roughly ten percent of the Japanese people are aware that Westerners have a different standard of behavior, which they feel they should imitate without quite knowing how. This insecurity produces tensions, and these tensions are largely responsible for the popular stereotype of the hissing Japanese covering his embarrassment with inappropriate laughter. While inaccurate for the great body of Japanese, this stereotype is all too common in Japanese contacts with the West, for it is this ten percent of the population with which Westerners have most of their contacts. Though the importance Japanese culture attaches to the cultivation of personal relations may breed an unusual degree of insecurity in cross-cultural contacts and make the Japanese halfway house an extreme example, it is nevertheless illustrative of the pitfalls and hazards that accompany the search for a common meeting

ground midway between the safe havens of the respective cultures.

Ralph Waldo Emerson took a look at this general problem in a simpler age and, though he was an eager student of Oriental philosophy, reached this conservative conclusion: "Insist on yourself; never imitate. Your own gift you can present every moment with the cumulative force of a whole life's cultivation; but of the adopted talent of another you have only an extemporaneous half possession."⁵

Emerson's advice has been accepted by most European and American diplomats, except for some acculturation to Afro-Asian social amenities. Afro-Asian diplomats have thus been forced to ignore this advice, for had they too accepted it there would be very little effective cross-cultural diplomatic communication. But Emerson's dictum also raises the question whether it is possible, in his words, to "present your gift" if you have no understanding of the mind of the recipient. These dilemmas of intercultural communication appear to boil down to two basic questions, which are considered below.

First, can we maintain our own cultural integrity and still communicate effectively with other cultures? The answer to this first question must be a cautious affirmative. One certainly does not necessarily put his own culture in jeopardy when he studies the philosophical roots of another (though it has been known to happen!). A thorough understanding of the other culture and, at least as important, of one's own should make it possible to create a rhetoric that will not seem unduly strange to the Westerner but will be comprehensible in the other culture. This new rhetoric may require some changes in the normal emphases of Western culture—on rationality, for example. However, there is also a significant, if heretofore subordinate, nonrational element in Western culture, as well as a rational element in Confucianism, for example, that can serve as a basis for effective cross-cultural persuasion.⁶

Second, and more immediately

⁵ Quoted in Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁶ Professor F. S. C. Northrop, in *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1946), creates a

apposite to the diplomat, does it serve the interests of the United States in its dealings with Afro-Asian nations to require Afro-Asian diplomats to come considerably farther than halfway in the mutual task of bridging the cultural gap? To this question we give a cautious and regretful affirmative for the present, for an effort to find a meeting ground very far from the safety of our cultural shores could only lead to disaster in the absence of preparation for the task far better than the United States now has.

All educated Afro-Asians from the beginnings of their educational careers have been learning about our culture, while in the West there has been nothing but the casual elementary geography course and the lonely little band of academic specialists. In the past 15 years the United States has done much better in this regard, but we are not likely to be equipped to meet our Afro-Asian colleagues halfway until there are as many American students in Afro-Asian universities as there are Afro-Asians in American universities. Perhaps it is in the nature of things that the materialistically dominant culture, however egalitarian its philosophy, will always cause the less well endowed to come more than halfway, if only as the result of the complacent inertia of the dominant and the eager imitativeness of the less powerful.

We can also justify some degree of cultural inflexibility by arguing
(Continued on page 56)

highly ingenious philosophical framework within which effective cross-cultural persuasion might take place with great ease, provided both the persuader and his listener had fully grasped Professor Northrop's philosophic subtleties. His studies suggest that a day may well come when the insights of philosophers will have filtered down to the common man sufficiently to permit the creation of a "rhetoric of all mankind." In the interim, the American diplomat will have to deal with the problem as best he can on a person-to-person level. To prepare himself for this task, he could do far worse than read Professor Northrop's book. Though the proposed synthesis of the philosophies of East and West smacks more of the ivory tower than of the chancery, the analysis of the nature of the problem is sound, and serves as a useful point of departure in developing an understanding of East-West differences to match the normally quite sophisticated concepts of these differences held by our Afro-Asian colleagues.

... Isolationism or imperialism or power politics may obstruct the paths to international peace.—Franklin D. Roosevelt (1945)

The Ghost of Isolationism

TWICE within the memory of millions, American isolationism seemed to have vanished beyond recall. Fifty years ago, as the triumphant Allies reshaped the map of the world at Versailles, it was taken for granted that American aloofness from foreign political involvements had disappeared with the smoke over the Western Front. Yet, profound disillusionment over the results of our intervention in 1917 produced an ostrich reaction to the aggression of the Fascist warlords. But "fool-proof" neutrality laws proved to be no shield against involvement and the United States in 1941 assumed leadership of the Grand Coalition against the Axis.

One generation ago, with the formation of the United Nations, most Americans again believed that collective security, rather than nonentanglement, would henceforth be the touchstone of our foreign policy. There was, moreover, no immediate revival of isolationism following our 1945 victory, since such a reversion would have played into the hands of our new arch-rival, Soviet Russia. Even chauvinism of the paranoid Joseph R. McCarthy sort, creating a new climate congenial to isolationism, was overwhelmed by the powerfully perceived need for "containment."

We are now in the midst of the sharpest debate over foreign policy since the great neutrality struggle of the FDR Era was cut off at Pearl Harbor. A strong, articulate, and respectable body of opinion demands a severe curtailment of our global commitments, and these demands stir responsive chords in the grass roots of American public opinion.

Those who wish to heed the Delphic lessons of history, and who behold this resurrection of isola-

SELIG ADLER

Dr. Selig Adler, Samuel P. Capen Professor of American History at the State University of New York at Buffalo, is the author of a number of major articles in various fields of American history. His latest book, "The Uncertain Giant: American Foreign Policy Between the Wars" (New York, 1965) has just appeared as a Collier Books paperback. Professor Adler is now at work on a project tentatively entitled "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Middle East."

tionism after a generation of the United Nations, must ask three questions. First, why has the isolationist impulse proved so viable? What are the continuities of isolationist thinking across the generations? Second, what are the distinctive features of today's isolationism? That it has been radically altered is suggested by the striking way in which the political parties have changed sides. Internationalism has long been a Democratic shibboleth, sanctifying the memories of Woodrow Wilson and FDR, but in 1969, a President whose Republicanism is unimpeachable warns that we cannot once more become a "world dropout," while the Democratic Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations denounces this White House concern for maintaining global order. Third, what policies, if any, can keep us in a safe channel between isolationism and "the arrogance of power?"

The historical continuity of modern isolationism is strongly suggested by some striking parallels with the inter-war decades. Then, as now, the powerful influences of advanced social thinking focused on internal, rather than external problems.

Millions of Americans have not yet grasped the vital significance of

a world where distance has been radically diminished by supersonic jet aircraft and intercontinental missiles. As a people, we do not yet fully comprehend that our vaunted geographical security no longer exists.

The folk instinct is still for isolationism. Americans retain an ingrained prejudice against what Herbert Hoover termed "the eternal malign forces" generated by the outside world. We are basically a monolingual people, jetting around the earth without acquiring an empathy for alien cultures. Moreover, all too many of us fail to realize that there are no swift or sure remedies for complicated foreign situations. Our persistent tendency is to escape from unpleasant reality by regressing in thought to a period when none but experts knew the precise location of Nigeria or Indochina.

As in the 1920s, our nationalism is intensified by social mobility. An unprecedented acceleration of technological advance, coupled with overstimulation of demand, has pushed countless working families upward in income. The newly prosperous whites, redefining their status, tend to identify with the "Mayflower American" image projected by the wealthy, thus to emphasize their red-blooded American super-patriotism.

The country has become disenchanted with both collective security and its allies. The image of the United Nations, in American eyes, has steadily deteriorated since the banner days of Dag Hammarskjöld. The United States never joined the League of Nations, but Washington's associations with it were at times warm, while our decision-makers of today frequently forget its successor, domiciled in New York City. Relations with our allies now mirror the mutual fault-

finding prevalent during the post-Versailles epoch. Americans believe that all too many nations have relied on Uncle Sam's nuclear umbrella, spending their wealth selfishly instead of lending a hand at peacekeeping and common defense tasks.

The climate of opinion pervades not only political relations, but also economic ones. Not only has grass roots opposition to foreign aid reduced that program almost to a token, but a new wave of protectionism is now sweeping Congress. To be sure, the mounting costs of American products, plus the competition of German and Japanese imports have cut deeply into our traditionally favorable balance of trade. Still, the emergence of protectionist policies resembles the economic concomitant to High Republican isolationism of the Hoover years.

Not only our ethnocentric attitudes, but also our social thinking, bear striking resemblances to ideas thirty years old or more. Then, as now, American isolationism was rooted in dread of war. The agony of Vietnam has produced an assault on the military-industrial complex that appears seemingly parallel to the New Deal indictment of the armament tycoons. Senator Gerald P. Nye's clarion call to harness the "merchants-of-death" is echoed by John K. Galbraith's demand for the nationalization of private industries who sell more than three-quarters of their product to government defense agencies. As in the days of the neutrality fixation of the 1930s, the conviction prevails on Capitol Hill that the President must be tethered by Congress lest some future LBJ lead us into another quicksand adventure on the nether side of the globe. Historically, isolationism was closely coupled with the belief that America's shining example would eventually light the world's path to peace. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., whose scholarly reputation rests on his benevolent interpretation of FDR, now tells us that while a headlong dash out of the cockpit of world politics is impossible, we must henceforth lead by good example rather than by force of arms.

As with antimilitarism, our preoccupation with domestic poverty recalls the isolationist-minded of the Great Depression. They calculated how the folks at home could have benefited from the billions that had gone down the foreign drain in the form of war debts, just as we ponder the bitter fruits of an apparently endless war which has already cost over one hundred billions. During the New Deal Years, American progressives coupled isolationism with the completion of reform, coming to terms with social injustices left over from our rapid industrialization. Today we hear that we are threatened internally by rotting cities, embittered blacks, and alienated youth. In the 1930s, the most severe business slump in history turned the country's attention inward. In the 1960s, unprecedented plenty plus domestic rebellion against an unpopular war produced the same results.

Although both introversionist attitudes and reformist principles underlie our continuing isolationist tendencies, there are limitations to historical parallels. Some suggest that the current mood of the country can be more precisely termed "neo-pacifism" or "pacific liberalism" rather than renascent "isolationism." This does not greatly trouble historians, for they have long recognized that "isolationism" is too simple a label, always needing serious qualification. But the new mood of withdrawal will certainly differ from the old, for some of the forces that supported isolationism have vanished, while the realities of world politics have greatly changed.

Midwestern isolationism, once so central to the general phenomenon, no longer retains any special significance. Moreover, a good deal of anti-international feeling formerly stemmed from the unremitting hostility of certain ethnic groups to close rapport with Britain. Since the Suez War, nativist Anglophobes can no longer castigate London's imperialism, and the vengeful memories of German-Americans have been dulled by existing cordiality between Washington and Bonn. Nowadays, anti-

commitment sentiment is focalized among poverty-prone groups who demand a gigantic rehabilitation of public education and the opening of new avenues of opportunity to the children of our ghettos. Our generation has less forbearance than the victims of the Great Depression; it insists on immediate responses to its needs.

Earlier, the reversal of roles of our two major parties was noted. The American Left, liberals and radicals both, has returned to the isolationist rank, a fold that since 1941 has harbored few save economic reactionaries. The liberal intelligentsia, who for two decades stoutly supported the containment of Communism, believe that this policy is now perverting the fundamental precepts of the Declaration of Independence. While veteran New Deal professors have crossed swords with more radical campus elements in countless rifts over student disorders, both groups demand that Washington eschew the crusade against revolutionary upheavals abroad in order to create the opportunity state at home. Furthermore, while in the 1930s the influence of the (then internationalist) intelligentsia was just beginning to be felt in the Federal government, the growth of technology has expanded the role of this (now increasingly isolationist) group considerably.

The changing politics of isolationism are complicated further by competition between President Nixon and the Democratic-controlled Congress. Neither party can afford to let the other monopolize an issue so politically ripe and attractive. It is an issue that will appeal to the Democratic urban masses who demand the perfection of American society, as well as to rock-ribbed rural Republicans, whose essential isolationism lies not far beneath their hawkish exteriors.

When the guns are finally stilled in Vietnam, the President will be sorely tempted to advocate a sharp curtailment of our overseas obligations as one means of preventing a Democratic White House Restoration in 1973. Critics will call the new departure isolationism; those who approve the switch will find a more attractive term. Nor would it

be surprising to find each party accusing the other of America Firstism, for there have been no self-confessed isolationists in public life since Senator Hiram Johnson denounced American entry into the UN from his deathbed. Such a weird situation is forecast by the contrasting interpretations of the President's Air Force Academy speech. While some informed observers accepted it as a reaffirmation of America's internationalist obligations, less charitable critics accused "the old Nixon" of pursuing domestic ends by smearing his opponents as "the new isolationists."

Besides these alterations in domestic politics, some major developments in *Realpolitik* have provided impetus to the decline of collectivism. Our military alliances with 43 states seemed necessary as long as our nuclear deterrent depended on planes taking off from foreign bases. The deployment of nuclear armed missiles, however, transformed our defense needs. Alliance territory is no longer a paramount requisite for our own security. This strategic change, in turn, has led our NATO allies, especially France and West Germany, to doubt our readiness to defend them with nuclear weapons. The growth of a European "third force," temporarily reversed by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, reduces the atmosphere of confrontation between the superpowers. The possibility of a Communist takeover in France or Italy, which was genuine in the late 1940s, has dissipated.

Furthermore, having confronted the Russians for a generation, we are beginning to understand and take into account their intentions, rather than surveying only their capabilities for destruction. While talk of unilateral disarmament is political claptrap, it is reasonable to believe that the Kremlin's strategists share our awareness that unlimited war has become an impossible instrument of national policy.

Moreover, the split between Moscow and Peking, apparently irreparable, has saved us from having to face the combined resources of the two most formidable Communist powers. China itself remains a

potential danger but her internal difficulties, her close watch on the 4500 mile Sino-Soviet border, and her generally cautious demeanor in the face of superior firepower, limit the probability of a large-scale Chinese lunge for some time to come.

Finally, the problem of the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa has also changed since Truman's day, for most of these fledgling countries appear more interested in immediate gains than in Marxist castle-building. Nationalism is the predominant feature of our time, seemingly invulnerable to the enticing pronouncements of the Communist idealizers.

The emerging American diplomatic blueprint necessarily takes into account the nationalist splintering of the camps formerly at bay, the complex intentions of erstwhile enemies and friends, and the strategic concepts of "invulnerable" second-strike deterrence and of limited war. The new shape of global politics is perhaps the most important factor altering the domestic politics of isolationism.

To summarize, we see that some of the forces supporting disengagement of our global roles are similar to the historic roots of isolationism: ethnocentric attitudes and the drive for internal reform. But the politics of isolationism have changed, with changing internal forces and evolving world relations.

The ultimate result of all this commotion about our overseas commitments could be a prolonged American vacation from power politics. But how can there be, under present conditions, a return to the indifference toward foreign affairs that marked so much of our past? In 1914, the major powers drifted into war because no statesman knew how to prevent the clash of arms. Today, nuclear proliferation is the supreme danger, the multiplication of national atomic arsenals makes it increasingly likely that the world will eventually blow itself to pieces. The human instinct for survival will force us to continue to play a stellar role on the global stage. Regardless of our deep longings to be left alone, we cannot abdicate the leadership in the

search for ways to prevent catastrophe.

Nor can the prevailing anti-war sentiment be equated with a desire to detach ourselves from the fate of the rest of mankind. Campus activists, who sparked the revolt against interventionism, feel a strong sense of kinship with the youth of all lands. They want, Representative Jonathan B. Bingham has noted, "an American presence in the world, but one that is different in kind and degree."

That some sort of presence will endure seems guaranteed in the immediate future by President Nixon's strong warnings against a Fortress America concept, which would concentrate our military might in the Western Hemisphere. An astute politician, Mr. Nixon realizes that such an abrupt strategic reversal would "buy some popularity" among the voting blocs which he must attract to enlarge his narrow 1968 margin of victory. A decision for a phased withdrawal from Asia and Europe would appeal to the young, the blacks and the poverty-stricken, besides touching a "responsive chord with many an overburdened taxpayer." But no matter how the President may have equivocated in his 1968 campaign, he was most specific on the vital linkage that exists between the defense of Western Europe and the security of the United States. Moreover, anxious as he is to lift the Vietnamese albatross from his back, he has, to date, been unwilling to accept a unilateral withdrawal from Southeast Asia or a thinly camouflaged defeat. Hence, in his first important speech on foreign policy beyond Vietnam (June 4, 1969), he pledged that the United States would revitalize its alliances in order to meet immediate and long-range obligations to the free world. "My disagreement with skeptics and isolationists," he said bluntly, "is fundamental."

These defiant words notwithstanding, we are in the midst of a diplomatic revolution comparable to other major shifts of the century. Just as Franklin Roosevelt was forced, until 1938, to heed the regnant isolationist spirit, so Richard Nixon will soon recognize that the

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Ingenuity, innovation and imagination may be the "I"s of USIS officers.

The Great Montpellier Wine Tasting

IT had become a bit embarrassing. The Soviets had built their own elaborate pavilion at the Marseille Commercial Fair and filled it with machine tools, farming equipment, caviar and vodka. They had sent a large trade delegation of well fed glad-handers to talk business with the merchants of Southern France and twinned the cities of Odessa and Marseille. Due to sound practical reasons, reinforced by budget problems, the United States had to be content with a small exhibit on the theme of "Visit the USA," a valiant effort to bring some Fair goers to the United States and thus contribute to an amelioration of the balance of payment problem.

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

Howard R. Simpson is well-known to JOURNAL readers. Over the years he has contributed articles, fiction, poetry and cartoons. After two years at the Naval War College, Mr. Simpson, who has been serving as Deputy Public Affairs Adviser to the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, is going out as Country Public Affairs Officer, Canberra. He is second from the right in the photograph of the Montpellier wine tasting above.

Now, the Marseille dailies bannered the latest Soviet project: a booth at the Montpellier Wine Fair featuring Georgian wines and other vinous products of the USSR. This was too much. As Regional Public

Affairs officer, and wine drinking Californian, my blood boiled like an over-fermented Chianti. The Cold War was one thing but this was too much. The Soviets were overdoing it. If the French were about to taste Georgian wine they should also be allowed to savor the product of American vineyards.

I remembered the bronze statue in a Montpellier square dedicated to the California winegrowers who, years before, had donated vine cuttings to their French colleagues after a plague of phylloxera had destroyed the local vineyards. This was just the "peg" I needed.

But there were problems. It was a question of do it yourself and I

needed the tools. A quick letter to the California Wine Institute brought maps, photos and the material needed for a speech. An American student at the University of Montpellier did some digging in the civic archives that provided more material on the past cooperation of Franco-American enologists.

The Mayor of Montpellier was overjoyed to learn that the United States would be represented and the President of the Fair expressed the belief that no field of Soviet-American competition could be found that would better serve humanity.

After a series of phone calls I put down the receiver and sat back, content. There would be an "American Day" at the Fair. I was guaranteed an audience of curious, if skeptical, wine growers and tasters and, on the personal side, I could look forward to one or more experiences in sublime gastronomy as the purple faced vintners of the region were known for their appreciation of good food.

Then, as so often happens, a gap appeared. It was a serious one. Where was I to find some California wine? It was too late to order it from the United States or even from the Embassy commissary in Paris. What was I to offer to the thirsty professional tasters—men who had figuratively grown up with grape leaves in their hair? I suddenly felt like a platoon commander who had inadvertently attacked an enemy division.

The deep bellow of a freighter pulling away from the Marseille docks provided the answer. I charged into the Consular Section and checked the arrival and departure schedule of American ships. Luck was with me. A passenger carrying, American Flag vessel was in port. One half hour later I was explaining my problem to a puzzled Chief Steward who gave every indication of thinking he was dealing with a demented secret agent. I told him of the challenge of the Soviet participation in the Fair, the phylloxera story, and "American Day." My eagerness to put my hands on some California wine was matched by his obvious desire to get me off his ship as soon as possible.

He took me down to his cave, well below the water line. A small electric fan had been installed to fight the heat but someone had switched it off and a touch of one bottle gave me the depressing feeling that it had just been removed from a pressure cooker.

The steward stood aside, keeping a wary distance, and waved his hand at the bottle bins. "Take your pick," he said, folding his arms.

I examined the bins carefully, reading the labels and holding some of the bottles up to the light of a bare bulb. It took time. Only the clinking of bottles and the impatient sighs of the steward broke the silence.

Finally I had made the selection, eight bottles of varietals, white and red, from different vineyards. I went ashore, my feeling of accomplishment dulled by the nagging fear that at least one, if not all, the warm bottles might be more appropriate for a vinegar judging contest.

The drive to Montpellier from Marseille was pleasant. I passed through vineyard after vineyard. It was warm and the rich smell of harvested grapes was in the air. My carefully selected bottles were beside me, stowed into a large carton and wrapped in a large towel to avoid jarring.

I was greeted upon arrival by the President of the Fair, a jovial, pink faced man, who hustled me off to lunch in one of Montpellier's better restaurants. There, over *écrevisse à la nage* and a bottle of Pouilly, he explained that I could expect some of the best wine tasters of the Region at my presentation. Later, after a pleasant walk through lanes of booths displaying the product of Regional vineyards and temporary outdoor cafés offering cheese and sausage to go with the wines, we arrived at a small auditorium.

The vintners, merchants and tasters were waiting for me. They were a robust, smiling crew, ruddy cheeked and well padded. I was reassured and launched my talk with the confidence born of the glass of Marc that the President had insisted we take with our coffee.

I passed through the history of the California wine makers, the role of the French and the introduction of their techniques, the his-

torical, sentimental link symbolized by the monument to the California vintners, the present volume of production and its variety and the growing appreciation for the product of the grape in the United States. I pointed out, luckily as it later turned out, that California was not the sole winegrowing region in the United States and that vintners from Hungary, Italy, Germany and many nations had helped to build the American wine industry.

Halfway through my talk, one of the President's assistants brought my carefully guarded bottles to the auditorium and set them up behind me on a table in full view of the audience. A murmur of interest, strengthened by thirst, ran through the hall. I increased my pace to match the obvious restlessness of the audience. The talk ended with a flourish as I invited the tasters to come forward and sample the wines. By now, the effects of the Marc had worn off and I was haunted by ominous visions of warm bottles filled with vinegar.

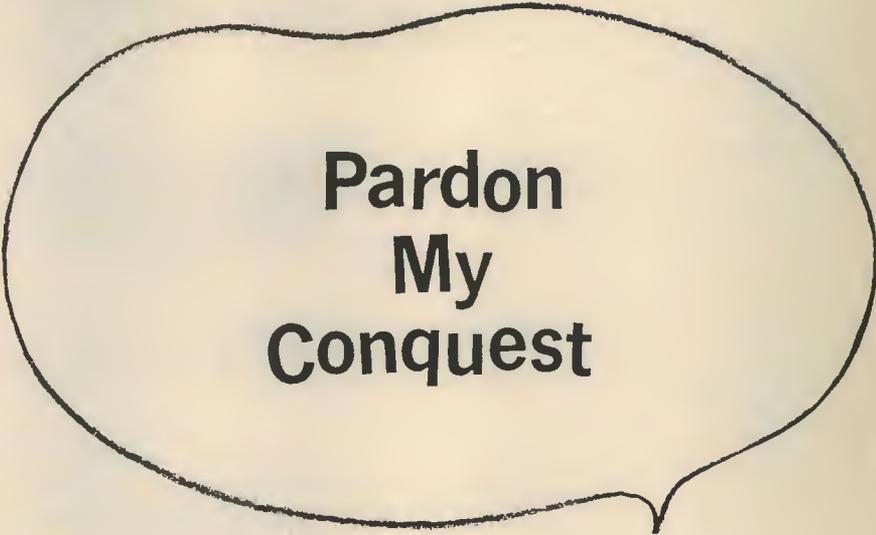
They came forward in a body, shook my hand, and waited for the glasses to be filled. I held my breath. They swished the wine, applied their noses to the edge of their glasses swished it again and shut their eyes. I watched with a nervous smile. They tasted, filling their cheeks like chipmunks, pursing their lips. The President smiled at me and put his hand reassuringly on my shoulder.

The tasting went on, from bottle to bottle. The tasters exchanged murmured comments as they waited for new glasses. Normally the tasters would be spitting out the wine and preparing their palates for a different taste, but this was an informal tasting, a relaxation. Also, they were thirsty. "You see," said the President, "they are swallowing it." It was true. I blessed the hardness of the wine and its ability to withstand mistreatment.

Finally, one of the elder tasters turned toward me. "Most interesting," he said, smiling. "One of the reds is equal to a minor Beaujolais. But the whites. . . ." I held my breath. "They are good. The *terroir* is strange to our palates, but they

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Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones declared war on Mexico in 1832 and made a bloodless conquest which didn't take.



Pardon My Conquest

IT happened in Monterey a long time ago . . . Monterey, California; that is.

The year was 1842. Secretary Daniel Webster's principal concerns in foreign relations were three: the grim and knotty northern boundary disputes with Great Britain; what to do about the unstable Republic of Texas; and related woes with Mexico, including unsatisfied American claims upon Mexico. Regarding the latter, the British as well as the Americans were pressing large, long-standing monetary claims against the weak, impoverished Mexican government. There were persistent rumors the British might secure the attractive Mexican province of California in settlement of their claims.

Mexican-American relations were embittered by the obvious moral support and suspected material aid the Americans were affording the Texans. Nevertheless, our able Ambassador Waddy Thompson was attempting to concoct in Mexico City a delicate soufflé on behalf of Secretary Webster. The Secretary hoped to dispose of two-thirds of his most pressing problems by a tripartite agreement between the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico: Mexico to cede California to the United States, and

K. C. TESSENDORF

Our historically-minded author contributed "Kowtow: Un-American Protocol" to the July JOURNAL. Mr. Tessoroff served as a diplomatic courier from 1952 to 1954. He gave up a successful career in the travel industry a year ago to devote full time to writing.

Britain to be recompensed by American gold; thereby canceling Mexico's obligations to both nations. In addition, Britain and America would settle their northwest boundary on the line of the Columbia River. Webster hoped Thompson could cajole the Mexicans into agreement, and planned a personal mission to London to sell the British on it. Such was Department planning.

The United States Navy's Pacific flotilla was then lying at Callao, Peru, Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones commanding. Jones was a crusty veteran of 37 years of Navy service, a wound-crippled, authentic hero of the War of 1812, further known for a tactless, telling tongue, but professionally respected. The Commodore's instructions as Pacific Commander directed him

to oversee and protect American commerce and citizenry in the vast Pacific regions; and further:

The increasing commerce of the United States . . . along the coast of California . . . together with the weakness of the local authorities, and their irresponsibility to the distant government of Mexico renders it proper, in the opinion of the (Navy) Department that occasional countenance and protection should be afforded to American enterprise in that quarter. . . In effecting these purposes, you will enjoin upon the commanders . . . great prudence and discretion . . . in avoiding all occurrences of exciting the jealousy of either of the Powers having possessions or claims in that quarter with whom the United States are, and desire to continue at peace.

Jones had departed for his Pacific station in December 1841; but it was now September, and he had not the "scrip of a pen" from Navy in the nine months since. An ardent expansionist at heart, the Commodore had worriedly written his superiors back in May over rumored plans of a French fleet to occupy California:

These are questions which do not properly fall within the

sphere of my duties as commander of a squadron. Nevertheless, it is not impossible but that, as one step follows another, it may be necessary for me to interpose, by the assertion of our national commercial rights, in case they are infringed by a Power within the limits of my Command.

While I shall exercise the utmost vigilance in watching over our interests, of every nature, in these seas, I shall be extremely cautious to avoid collision, or in any way disturb the peace and harmony subsisting between our own and foreign governments. . .

The steps impelling the concerned Commodore into assuming a personal role in American policy began in early September 1842 with the receipt of a letter from Consul John Parrott of Mazatlan, Mexico. Parrott enclosed a Mexican newspaper of June 4th in which was recorded an attack by the Mexican foreign minister on alleged continuing United States aid and comfort to Texas. The strongest statement was:

Mexico, though not wishing to disturb the relations which she still preserves with the said United States, will assert and maintain the justice of her cause . . . by doing all that is imperiously required for her honor and dignity.

Parrott gratuitously advised Jones:

From the tone of this correspondence, it is to be supposed that our Minister will be recalled from Mexico immediately on the arrival of the correspondence at Washington, and that it is highly probable there will be a war between the two countries.

On the same day Jones also received a Boston newspaper which claimed "authentic" information Mexico had ceded California to the British for seven million dollars. As the Commodore pondered these ominous omens, the British Pacific fleet, also lying at Callao, abruptly departed under sealed orders just received from London! What to do?

He hustled up to talk things over with our man in Lima—J. C. Pickett. The Consul agreed the British fleet might well be enroute to occupy California. *If* war existed between Mexico and the United

States, Jones's plan to beat the British to the punch seemed wise. Of course, it remained the Commodore's responsibility.

Directly, the American flotilla was crowding sail northward. The Pacific Commander advised his superiors:

My situation . . . is one of greater embarrassment than has ever before fallen on any of our Naval Commanders abroad, but I have not the least disposition to transfer it to the shoulders of another. . . I am without instructions, or the slightest intimation as to your views and wishes. upon what I consider as a vital question to the United States—the occupation of California by Great Britain, under a secret treaty with Mexico. In this dilemma, all that I can promise is a faithful and zealous application of my best abilities to promote and sustain the honor and welfare of our country.

On the long voyage northward, the Commodore squelched any doubts about his zealous conclusions. Approaching Monterey, the provincial capital, he advised his crews: "It is not only our duty to take California, but we must keep it afterwards, at all hazards."

On October 19th, the Americans sailed into the sleepy harbor and seized the several ships in the vicinity. Jones sent ashore his "Articles of Capitulation" calling for the surrender of all to the arms of the United States. Upon the locals, the impetuous Commodore loosed a rich barrage of Manifest Destiny:

Inhabitants of California! You have only to remain at your homes, in pursuit of peaceful vocations, to ensure security of life, persons, and property, from the consequences of an unjust war, into which Mexico has suddenly plunged you.

Those Stars and Stripes, infallible emblems of civil liberty, of liberty of speech, freedom of press, and above all freedom of conscience, with constitutional right and lawful security to worship the Great Deity in the way most congenial to each one's sense of duty to his Creator, now float triumphantly before you, and henceforth and forever, will give protection and security to you, to your children, and to unborn thousands.

The dazed officials of Monterey—being in chronic unmilitary posture—quickly complied; in fact surrendered two hours ahead of schedule. The United States Marines debarked on the shores of Monterey and occupied the fort (site of the current Presidio) and prepared it to resist a landside attack.

Several hundred miles to the south, Mexican General Micheltorena was routinely marching toward Monterey with perhaps 1500 troops. On receiving word of the assault force the General "wished myself a thunderbolt to fly and annihilate the invaders." Turning about, the force fell back on Los Angeles. Letters were dispatched to all the prefects of California urging upon them the opportunity of fulfilling a sacred trust in expelling "estos miserables."

Meanwhile in Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin, a prominent American merchant (and future Consul) suggested to Commodore Jones that the United States and Mexico were not at war. Jones went ashore and read recent newspapers and dispatches which affirmed the peaceable state of affairs.

From this time onward, the old Commodore's diplomatic conduct became impeccable. He quickly ordered the conquest undone; all to be restored, even to the powder expended in salutes, to pre-Jonesian levels. It was in compliance with this order that the only recorded casualty in the Conquest of Monterey occurred. An eyewitness reported:

The officer in command ordered the Commodore's son (Meriwether P. Jones, Midshipman USN) to haul down the flag, which he refused to do, saying he would never haul down the American flag, and immediately drank so much whiskey that he fell over the cliff and nearly killed himself.

The fort was retrieved by Mexico on October 21st, and the cannon on the American vessels saluted the restored Mexican colors. The occupation had lasted thirty-hours. General Micheltorena reported a great success of Mexican arms to his superiors.

The American flotilla remained



Monterey, California (American Occupation, October 19, 1842)

at, or in the region of the California coast for several months. There was much socializing ashore, relations on the surface anyway being very friendly. The Commodore went to Los Angeles and treated amiably and adroitly with General Micheltorena.

Jones of course had to write one of those letters of self-justification which are a familiar device of far-flung civil servants. He pinned it, circuitously, on the Mexicans.

... If I took possession of the country, and held it by right of conquest in war, and there was war with Mexico, all would have been right; then, if the English should come and claim under a treaty of cession, as such treaties do not give title till possession is had, I should have established a legal claim for my country to the conquered territory, and at least have placed her upon strong grounds for forcible *retention* or amicable negotiations. . .

On the other hand, if it should turn out amicable relations had been restored between the United States and Mexico, that Mexico had not parted with the Californias, and that at the time I demanded and took possession of Monterey there was no war, the responsibility of the act, at first,

might seem to rest on me, certainly not upon our government, who gave no orders upon the subject. But if I am right (of which there can be but little doubt) in assigning to Mexico the attitude of a nation having declared *conditional war*, then under all the circumstances of the case, Mexico is the aggressor, and as such is responsible for all evils and consequences resulting from the hostile and menacing position in which she placed herself on the 4th of June last.

The incident of course provoked impassioned protests from Mexico; and the flap raised political dust in Washington. Suspecting sub rosa Administration instructions, John Quincy Adams representing the anti-expansionists, initiated a congressional investigation. President Tyler and Secretary Webster disclaimed Jones's activities, as did Ambassador Thompson without awaiting official word. Eventually, Adams was mollified, though he unsuccessfully sought punitive legislation governing future adventures.

Following a correct interval Mexico officially calmed; but Thompson advised Secretary Webster it was "wholly out of the question to do anything as to Cali-

fornia, and after recent events imprudent to allude to it in any way." Webster, who couldn't get congressional approval for his British mission anyway, resigned as Secretary, believing his options exhausted. Historians have since ascertained the British Foreign/Colonial Offices had no interest in California, despite the proddings of their representatives on the scene.

The Navy tactfully relieved Jones of his Pacific Command. Irked at this, the scrappy Commodore led his successor a merry chase of several months through the South Pacific before relinquishing, and going home. He was later commended by the Secretary of Navy for his intentions at Monterey, and eventually restored to the Pacific Command slot. His career sizzled out in a court martial for borrowing United States funds to speculate profitably in gold dust in the era of the Forty-Niners.

Jones's War did not deflect the course of history appreciably. It was a kind of diplomatic happening arising in conditions of command isolation; and it occurred in a time when the "nuclear trigger" was only a nine-pounder on a sailing ship—fortunately. ■



Special JOURNAL Book Essay on "Present at the Creation"

OBJECTIVITY is beyond my reach in writing about Dean Acheson and his "Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department." Mr. Acheson always evokes a strong reaction. As Secretary of State, he inspired intense loyalty from his subordinates, even those working deep in the bowels of the State Department's bureaucracy. This was not a solicited loyalty, of the "positive" variety. On the contrary, it was the result of Mr. Acheson's fearlessness, grace, and equanimity in defending the integrity of the Foreign Service and the Department of State in the late '40s and early '50s, at a time when those qualities were in very short supply in Washington and were soon to become even scarcer. Mr. Acheson never compromised with himself, never equivocated with his principles, was never furtive with his conscience. He had "contempt for the contemptible," a quality which he shared with President Truman, which bound them together, and helped bring unparalleled trust and confidence between President and Secretary of State. What under the next Secretary of State became euphemistically known as the "morale" problem of the Foreign Service, a description designed to obscure the source of discontent, was non-existent under Mr. Acheson.

Dean Acheson's courage and integrity emerge quite unconsciously but with great force, crackling through the pages of this brilliant account of his service in the State Department.

Here, for example, is a rather extensive part of what Mr. Acheson says about the Alger Hiss episode:

"DA to MAB (a letter from Dean Acheson to his daughter Mary Acheson Bundy, dated January 25, 1950)

"This has been one of those days easy in the intrinsic tasks, but hard and exhausting emotionally because of what was added. Today Alger Hiss was convicted and today I had my press conference. Alger's case has been on my mind incessantly. As I have written you, here is stark tragedy—whatever the reasonably probable facts may be. I knew that

I would be asked about it and the answer was a hard one—not in the ordinary sense of do I run or do I stand. That presented no problem. But to say what one really meant—forgetting the yelping pack at one's heels—saying no more and no less than one truly believed. This was not easy. I felt that advisers were of no use and so consulted none. I understood that I had responsibilities above and beyond my own desires. And all this one had to handle dependent upon the fall of some fool's question at a press conference."

Excerpt from the transcript of press and radio news conference of January 25, 1950:

"Q: Mr. Secretary, have you any comment on the Alger Hiss Case?"

"A: Mr. Hiss's case is before the courts and I think that it would be highly improper for me to discuss the legal aspects of the case or the evidence or anything to do with the case.

"I take it the purpose of your question was to bring something other than that out of me. I should like to make it clear to you that whatever the outcome of any appeal which Mr. Hiss or his lawyers may take in this case I do not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss. I think every person who has known Alger Hiss or has served with him at any time has upon his conscience the very serious task of deciding what his attitude is and what his conduct should be. That must be done by each person in the light of his own standards and his own principles. For me, there is very little doubt about those standards or those principles. I think they were stated for us a very long time ago. They were stated on the Mount of Olives and if you are interested in seeing them you will find them in the 25th Chapter of the Gospel ac-

ording to St. Matthew beginning with verse 34.

"Have you any other questions?"

"After the press conference was over, Mike McDermott, Special Assistant for Press, who had served secretaries since Mr. Hull, walked with me in silence to my door. 'I am going to ask a favor of the Secretary of State,' he said, 'which I have asked only once before in my service. May I shake your hand?'"

THE title of this volume of Mr. Acheson's memoirs is a quotation from Alphonso X, the Learned, 1252-84, King of Spain: "Had I been present at the creation I would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe."

Mr. Acheson did more than give "useful hints" during the twelve almost unbroken years from 1941 to 1953 when he served as Assistant Secretary, Under Secretary, and finally Secretary of State. He was creatively engaged in what history may record as the golden years of American foreign policy, alas now gone. Noble purpose and constructive endeavor! Things to do, and the power to do them. A shattered world to reconstruct, a new one to design. The period of the great European civil war, the collapse of the concert of Europe, the disintegration of Empires, new states, sea change in China, end of the war-time alliance with the Soviet Union, the atom, a reordering of world relationships. These were the titanic events that claimed Mr. Acheson's attention. Even what he calls his period of preparation, his first five years with the Department, was crowded with challenge and excitement—lend-lease, UNRRA, the Food and Agriculture Organization, Bretton Woods and the Fund and Bank, China and the Marshall mission, the Acheson-Lilienthal report, and the Truman Doctrine. Subsequently, we come to truly momentous decisions for us and for the world—the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, resistance to aggression in Korea, a peace treaty with Japan. The recitation of these epoch-changing policies is told with verve and in great detail, with sparkling wit, urbanity, and intelligence (even Molotov was not immune to the Acheson treatment, calling him a "jolly spirit").

While keeping his eye on lofty objectives, Mr. Acheson did not neglect the grubbier side of his job. He was not, like a philosopher-king, above the

battle. More often, he was the battle. At one point he was feeling the pressures on an issue involving a German contribution to European defense:

"I was clearly outflanked and, in the euphemism of wartime communiques, again found it necessary to 'fall back and regroup.' Moreover, this hazardous maneuver had to be executed under some harassment from friend and foe alike. First Louis Johnson and I appeared together at an executive hearing of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, a tricky performance, since an ill-disposed senator could easily engineer a conflict of views. In the course of such an endeavor my faithful enemy, Senator Wherry, began badgering me from directly across a narrow table, finally leaning over it and shaking a menacing finger in my face. I have a reputation for 'not suffering fools gladly.' However—the adverb aside—until that moment I had suffered as many fools patiently as any man. But quite suddenly I had had enough of Kenneth Wherry and was on my feet admonishing him in tones and language far from diplomatic not to shake his 'dirty finger in my face.' He bellowed that he would, and he did. My answering haymaker was interrupted by my friend and colleague, Adrian Fisher, Legal Advisor to the Department and a former Princeton football player. 'Take it easy, boss,' he said soothingly, as he pushed me down in my chair while Senator McKellar, presiding, restored order.

"The next day I called on the Chairman to express regret. 'Not at all, my boy, not at all,' he said. 'Funniest thing I've seen in thirty years on this hill. After you left I called Harry Truman and told him he could pay off the national debt by putting you two on vaudeville.'"

Mr Acheson approached problems with a keen sense of the political realities and in a determined and orderly way. The following paragraph about the Japanese peace treaty gives the flavor, as well as his attitude to the scene along both banks of the Potomac:

"What remained to be settled about a peace treaty when I became Secretary of State was: What kind of treaty, harsh or conciliatory? By whom made? How? And when? In planning content and method, four groups had to be reckoned with: The Communists, the Pentagon, our allies, and the

former enemy. Of these, the Communists gave the least trouble. Their opposition to any tenable ideas was predictable and irreconcilable. It could only be ignored. The most stubborn and protracted opposition to a peace treaty came from the Pentagon. Until a way was found around that, we were inhibited from discussion with both our allies and our late enemy, the Japanese Government. It took until September 1950 to find the detour."

MR. ACHESON mentions George Kennan several times in this book with varying degrees of approval and disapproval, giving him rather short shrift for his contribution to the Marshall Plan. When things were going badly for us in Korea, Mr. Acheson had what he calls a "wise and inspiring" note from Kennan which may, unhappily, still be relevant to our problems. When Acheson and Kennan agree, we should pay close attention. The note reads as follows:

"There is one thing I would like to say in continuation of our discussion of yesterday evening. In international as in private life what counts most is not really what happens to someone but how he bears what happens to him. For this reason almost everything depends from here on out on the manner in which we Americans bear what is unquestionably a major failure and disaster to our national fortunes. If we accept it with candor, with dignity, with a resolve to absorb its lessons and to make it good by redoubled and determined effort—starting all over again if necessary, along the pattern of Pearl Harbor—we need lose neither our self confidence nor our allies nor our power for bargaining, eventually, with the Russians. But if we try to conceal from our own people or from our allies the full measure of our misfortune, or permit ourselves to seek relief in any reactions of bluster or petulance or hysteria, we can easily find this crisis resolving itself into an irreparable deterioration of our world position—and of our confidence in ourselves."

WILSONIAN idealism and Achesonian realism are the two great contrapuntal themes of twentieth century American foreign policy. Both found expression in President Truman's decision to resist aggression in Korea, made on the advice of his Secretary of State. This was action to support the principles of the United Nations and

also to defend the American national interest. Dean Acheson, the principal actor in the drama, didn't see it that way and doesn't assess the American interest in those terms. He sums up his philosophy as follows:

"These lines of policy, which have guided the actions of our country for nearly two decades, were not sonorous abstractions—much less what President Lincoln called 'pernicious abstractions'—written down in a sort of official book of proverbs. Nor were they rules or doctrines. Rather they were precedents and grew by the method of the Common Law into a *corpus diplomaticum* to aid the judgment of those who must make decisions. Its central aim and purpose was to safeguard the highest interest of our nation, which was to maintain as spacious an environment as possible in which free states might exist and flourish. Its method was common action with like-minded states to secure and enrich the environment and to protect one another from predators through mutual aid and joint effort.

"The *corpus* differed from Mr. Hull's preconceptions by relegating to the future the attempt at universality in a sharply divided world. Like our own Constitution, the *corpus* in its order of priorities rated ahead of promotion of the general welfare the insurance of domestic tranquillity and provision for the common defense. It placed the strategic approach to practicable objectives, concretely and realistically conceived, ahead of generalizations, even those wearing the garb of idealism. It developed institutions and means to aid in achieving these more limited and, it was hoped, transitory ends."

Present-day "revisionist" writers, who sometimes tend to judge the decisions of 1949 in terms of the world of 1969, criticize Acheson for having seen the world in terms too black and white (they mean red and white) and for "overreacting" to the Communist menace. Some of the language—at least the declaratory policy—was indeed sweeping and open-ended. President Truman said in relation to Greece and Turkey and in enunciating the Truman Doctrine, "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." In answering a question from Senator Connally, in hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Acheson denied that this was

"a pattern out of a tailor's shop to fit everybody in the world and every nation in the world . . ." At one point in his memoirs, Mr. Acheson discusses the problem of the Communist threat in terms of gaining public support for policy. He says, "If General Marshall believed, which I am sure he did not, that the American people would be moved to so great an effort as he contemplated by so Platonic a purpose as combating 'hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos,' he was mistaken . . . what citizens and the representatives in Congress alike always wanted to learn in the last analysis was how Marshall aid operated to block the extension of Soviet power and the acceptance of Communist economic and political organization and alignment. Columnists and commentators might play with bloodless words and conceptions like projectors of silent moving pictures, but the bulk of their fellow citizens were unimpressed." At another point, Mr. Acheson seems to have second thoughts about the threat, with the benefit of hindsight. He noted that in December, 1950, a German defense contribution was accepted by NATO only "in principal" and that "Six years were to pass before principal matured into fact . . . At the time, however, the danger to Europe seemed to us great and immediate, and these decisions were not being made in the unhurried calm of an academic study." In sum, however, Mr. Acheson defends himself and his perception of America's security needs against the criticisms of the "revisionists," and of others as well. "Even with such help as hindsight gives—which I do not regard as much—I do not agree and I am glad we did not consider the conclusions overdrawn."

Mr. Acheson was acting, and acting boldly, not only on the basis of his own perceptions and judgment but apparently also from the compulsions of responsibility. Unlike the academics, or the revisionists, he was forced to arrive at decisions, as Secretary of State, about the great issues of the day, in the full fury of the cold war. He could not trifle with matters involving the nation's security. He was absorbed by the problems of confrontation.

"Present At The Creation" is not a guide for future policy. The world of 1969 is not the world of 1949. However, Mr. Acheson's book is invaluable in illuminating the past. It will be a prime source for historians and is easily the best of the post-war memoirs. We are again indebted to Dean Acheson. —DAVID LINEBAUGH

PRESENT AT THE CREATION: *My Years In The State Department*, by Dean Acheson. Norton, \$12.50/\$15.00

Mahatma's Life Story

T HIS short biography of Gandhi, replete with photographs and sketches of the man and of his surroundings, attempts to re-tell the Mahatma's life story so as to emphasize the significance of his life and philosophy of action for modern non-violent movements. It does not, as the title promises, deal with his effect on India or on the world today.

After a very brief discussion of contemporary non-violence, the author demonstrates his unfamiliarity with India, its history, and its social structure in a chapter on "India under British Rule." He then goes on to distill and summarize, quite uncritically, events described in the three best sympathetic biographies of Gandhi; those by Louis Fischer, B. R. Nanda, and Gandhi's own "The Story of My Experiments With Truth." For readers who are interested in a brief and uncritical account of Gandhi's life, these pages provide light, fast, and entertaining reading.

Mr. Kytte suggests that Gandhi's most important contribution may turn out to be psychology. But it is in just this sphere that Kytte's book is most lacking in insight. The reader who is interested in an understanding of the dynamics between Gandhi and his followers might more wisely invest his time in Eric Erikson's new work on Gandhi or in the briefer, but very perceptive, treatment by Suzanne Rudolph in "The Modernity of Tradition." The student concerned with Gandhi's impact on South Asia would find Penderel Moon's new book, "Gandhi and Modern India," far more enlightening. —S.J.H.

GANDHI, SOLDIER OF NON-VIOLENCE: *His Effect on India and the World Today*, by Calvin Kytte. Grosset and Dunlap, \$4.95.

The Sam Domino Theory

ART BUCHWALD'S latest book, "The Establishment is Alive & Well in Washington," is not a pornographic book. His efforts to write one have been frustrated, he explains, by the fact that extensive research in pornography so excited him as to prevent his writing, by his inability to choose among such themes as flagellation-sadomasochistic, wife-swapping, *et cetera*, by the baffling question, "Is it literature?," and by the unanswerable query, "Is this something the Supreme Court would want to read?"

What he has written is a collection of satirical essays on a great variety of subjects, the locale of which ranges from Washington to Moscow and from high policy to nuts and bolts.

One of his instructive parables tells how Sam Domino originated the domino theory, "based on the premise that countries in Southeast Asia are like so many dominoes, and if one falls, the next one will fall until every country out there is down and taken over by godless Communism."

In "Back to the Back of the Bus," he describes the happy, congenial meeting of a black militant and a Ku Klux Klanner, who find that they are both, in their separate ways, working for the same ends.

"I've never said this to a black man before, but I like the way you think."

"Thanks, honky. You know I usually won't talk to a white man. But you're different. You're working for the same things we're working for."

In "Custer's Last Press Conference," the General reports, with regard to the Battle of the Little Bighorn:

"We have the Sioux on the run. . . Of course, we still have some cleaning up to do, but the redskins are hurting badly, and it will be only a matter of time before they give in."

Describing Art Buchwald as probably the greatest satirist in English since Pope and Swift, Dean Acheson declares that Art was born with the gift of laughter and the sense that the world was mad. "Furthermore, the world is mad. The combination makes for great satire." His latest work documents this encomium.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

THE ESTABLISHMENT IS ALIVE AND WELL IN WASHINGTON, by Art Buchwald. Putnam's, \$5.95.

The Left looks at Latin America

IT will come as no surprise to the serious student of Latin America that there is considerable dissatisfaction with current United States policy toward that part of the world in the halls of our universities. It is even less surprising that many thoughtful Latins are also extremely critical of our role in the western hemisphere. Two new books offer to the open minded reader a full range of these critical views. Both books are collections of essays and documents and together they cover most of the better known names ranging from the moderate left to the radical left that are now giving serious thought to the problems of Latin America. Both volumes also avoid the major failing of many American anthologies on Latin America—an excessive dependence on United States scholars. Latin America has produced intelligent and articulate critics of its own society and it is rewarding to hear from them. There are also arti-

cles by young scholars who are prominent in the "New Left" in this country.

In addition to the standard critique of the United States role and that of American big business, these books offer valuable and penetrating analyses of the economic and social structure of present day Latin America.

Cost should be no excuse for not reading these books as both are available in inexpensive paperback editions.

—CURTIS C. CUTLER

LATIN AMERICA, *Reform or Revolution?* edited by James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin. Fawcett Publications Inc., 95¢.

LATIN AMERICAN RADICALISM, edited by Irving Louis Horowitz, Josué de Castro, and John Gerassi. Random House, \$10.00 hardback, \$2.45 paperback.

Japan

THERE is so much pure beauty in Japan that it deserves a beautiful book to describe it. Colin Simpson has written such a book and his wife Claire has enhanced it with her decorations. The jacket says that the author is widely known for his evocative and intelligent travel books. Evocative and intelligent they are, but they are more than travel books. The subtitle, "An Intimate View," describes accurately what he has given us. The travel part is mostly an explanation of how he acquired his intimate view.

The enjoyment and sympathy with which this Australian writer goes about his work shows clearly in his lively prose. There are one or two drawbacks which a reviewer feels reluctant to even mention. One is the absence of an illustration mentioned in the text, apparently left out when the ten-year-old version was revised. The other is the conversion of yen only into Australian pounds or pounds Sterling. Neither should stop anyone from buying this book—for himself or as a gift.

—AL STOFFEL

JAPAN: AN INTIMATE VIEW, by Colin Simpson. A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, \$10.00.

Mao—The Hope of the World?

BORN in Ceylon, the author of "China: Yellow Peril? Red Hope?" is described as a writer and speaker on international affairs. There is no mention in the blurb nor evidence in his book of his having had any first-hand knowledge of either the United States or China. He purports, however, to give America's image of China: "a yellow peril," "a massive and brutal threat to man's survival," "a totalitarian monster," and so on. He then

speaks for Communist China in what is not so much an apologia as a glorification of the Maoist regime. The motivation for his labors seems his fear that the United States is bent on China's destruction. He asks: "... will the verbal and intellectual assaults on China be followed through by decisions and actions of military and political powers over whom we have no control?" Another of his fears is that the United States may destroy China because China represents a new and better world order. "But it is one in which there is an end to the oppression of peoples by their own and by other governments; it is a more just world, a more civilized world than that which lives by the mighty dollar and the nuclear threat; a world of peaceful cooperation of peoples; a United Nations Organization not controlled by one power or group of powers."

Further alarming him is his belief that American (and British) policies towards China are formulated in a milieu of utmost ignorance: "Neither in the United States nor in Britain, for instance, is there a centre of research and discussion or a serious journal which approaches a focus for the questions, the issues, the problems, the aspirations and achievements of different peoples."

Hensman points out that his book "does not pretend to be a work of 'objective' scholarship." Amen.

Essentially what he has done is to process selectively a number of secondary sources in order to fabricate strawmen. Uncle Sam is not Dr. Strangelove, nor is Mao Tse-tung the Hope of the World.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

CHINA: YELLOW PERIL? RED HOPE?, by C. R. Hensman. Westminster Press, \$2.65.

Quick Fact Finder

EVERY page in a Washington newspaper contains a dozen expressions that will puzzle the average reader. Some examples, "Biennial Session," "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," "Rio Treaty," "Counterinsurgency." The best way to tackle them is not to fumble with a general dictionary but with a new reference work designed to shed light on politics and government. "The American Political Dictionary" is a model of organization, clarity and up-to-the-minute fact. In addition, a good index provides a way to run down stubborn and obscure facts. It belongs in every reference library.

—GILBERT H. FLAHERTY

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY, by Jack C. Plano and Milton Greenberg. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., \$4.95.



"Ballet of the Unhatched Chick," by Marie Skora.

ISOLATIONISM *from page 36*

country has more global commitments than its people are now willing to carry. Some straws in the wind already point in that direction. Secretary of State Rogers has spread the word in Asia that Washington is about to pare down its responsibilities for peace on that continent. Paul W. McCracken, President Nixon's chief economic adviser, is on record as saying: "The time has come for Uncle Sam to give up the role of Uncle Sam . . . we can't go on as the world's exclusive policeman."

In truth, we seem to be heading for a limited internationalism, which will appear "isolationist" only when contrasted with the global meandering which came as the power vacuums created by the collapse of the Axis drew us into many unfamiliar parts of the earth. As long as the Vietnam lesson remains vivid, we will probably avoid interventions not bearing an overpowering relationship to our vital

strategic interests. Recent events have demonstrated that the United States cannot fight a prolonged war unless its citizens are genuinely persuaded that the national security has been directly imperiled. Yet there will be some armed interferences for no first-class power can entirely avoid them. No American President, for instance, would stand by and let another Castro impose Communism upon a republic lying in our Caribbean area of vital concern. We will be much more selective as to where we intervene, but as Franklin Roosevelt used to say, every once in a while it becomes necessary to modify a principle when faced with a hard and disagreeable fact.

The Middle Eastern crisis could become a case in point. Should all efforts to prevent another Arab-Israeli war fail, it seems unlikely that Washington would defy world opinion by allowing the annihilation of Israel, for the survival of that country is pledged in the platforms of both political parties.

The days of the "act now, explain later" Johnsonian diplomacy seem as remote as LBJ's promise to seek no wider war in Vietnam. Future overseas commitments will be carefully weighed lest they outrun the possibilities of our diplomatic and military power. Above the din of party battle one can hear the demand that, henceforth, we separate interests hinged to national survival from those stemming from humanitarian or emotional desires. It has become self-evident that a collective approach to a foreign crisis is more palatable to the voters than American action taken singly. Where a multilateral approach proves impossible we may, as Senator Charles E. Goodell suggests, use a system of "selective responsibility" for regions where the United States must, in its own self-interest, maintain order. This type of disengagement might well prove a workable mean between our rival traditions of isolationist restraint and internationalist involvement. ■

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
Edward P. Dobyns, Executive Director

do have merit." He drank deeply from his glass. This signaled the end of the "tasting." From there on it was simple drinking as the level of each bottle diminished and the volume of conversation rose. The elderly taster, obviously the dean of corps, proposed a toast to the United States and I returned the favor, raising my glass to France. A series of toasts followed. They touched on the brotherhood of wine growers, the defeat of the phylloxera threat, the role of the AEF in World War I and the hope that American Astronauts would soon find wine more fitting a beverage than milk or coffee.

The continuation of toasts was suddenly threatened by the exhaustion of my wine supply. This catastrophe was averted by the sudden appearance of several bottles of a good, solid Côtes du Rhone.

That evening the "America Day" festivities were capped by a dinner of *cuisse de grenouilles*

provençal and *tournedos Rossini* lightened by appropriate wines, salad and cheese. For some reason, the Soviet Delegate to the Fair found it impossible to attend and sent his regrets.

The next morning I drove back to Marseille with a slight headache and the reassuring impression of having shattered the cliché of the American as a milk-sipping milquetoast. I had also found a common ground of understanding and interest among an influential and vocal group of French citizens.

A few weeks later, with the Montpellier expedition fading into pleasant memory, a thick letter arrived on my desk. It was from a non-Californian branch of the American wine industry. In a polite but firm tone it expressed surprise and shock that a government official should be pushing American products on a regional basis—particularly when the region in question corresponded to the official's home state. Enclosed with the letter were copies of similar missives sent to the Director of my

Agency and the Ambassador in Paris. Reviewing the incident from the vantage point of time, it is obvious that the complaint, based on what little information the complainant had available, was justified and understandable.

At the time, however, it was a question of setting things straight with the utmost speed. My telephone and typewriter became warm with overuse as I recounted the situation, the options and the steps I had taken. I explained the link between the California vintners and their Montpellier colleagues, the large participation of the Soviets and the success of our minor project.

Once the facts were known the Agency relaxed, the Ambassador was amused and the complainant sent me a standing invitation to visit the vineyards of his region. Now, I can remember with pleasure the visage of the elderly taster as he savored the product of an American vineyard, smiled and admitted that the whites "do have merit." ■

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DEATH OF A PROGRAM

from page 20

appeared from view. One of the last of the stalwarts was the editor of Surabaya's sole English language daily. His was a lonely echo of balanced reporting and truth in the dark days of '64. It was a dangerous role at a time when nothing *but* the "Djakarta line" was tolerated throughout the Republic.

Mass rallies in support of Sukarno's slogans and manifestos continued unabated in Surabaya. Anti-American sentiment was on the "political" rather than the "personal" level. There was, of course, margin for error. But the children of the small American community continued to study in their Consulate enclave. American wives continued to shop in the market places . . . and American officials continued to try to do business with their Indonesian counterparts. When a Sukarno "message" was particularly venomous Americans remained off the streets a few days for safety's sake. The Consulate

was now suffering the same fate USIS had suffered: repeated demonstrations, "protests" submitted to the Consul by mob leaders and a rude raiment of propaganda posters from top to bottom. Since the Consulate was the sole remaining symbol of the official American presence on the local scene it had become a prime target. Diplomatic immunity was a joke. But our life went on. There were "incidents" and near-misses—hate and tension was in the air—but, incredibly, no American lives were lost.

Occasionally the President's speeches lapsed into a racial tone. When this happened Westerners felt doubly conspicuous on the streets. One of our Russian diplomatic colleagues discovered this one day to his regret. While busily photographing a mass leftist rally he was assaulted by several of the mob. "But I am a *Russian*—not an *American*," he shouted to his attackers. But the attackers failed to grasp the subtle difference and continued to beat him. He escaped

within a hair of his life. The Russians found the East Java environment as treacherous and frustrating as we did. The Sino-Russian rivalry for control of the PKI was intense and the Russians were losing the contest. The Russian consul complained frequently and loudly about the "stupidity" and "irrationality" of the local citizenry and officials.

Our existence as Un-Persons was telling on us. By the spring of 1965 Indonesia's course was set in the familiar phrase: "the Djakarta-Peking axis." PKI chieftain Aidit, President Sukarno and Foreign Minister Subandrio had, indeed, turned the face of Indonesia towards Peking. It was no mean task. Within Indonesia a long-standing bitterness between Indonesians and several million indigenous Chinese continued. Inside Indonesia little was known or understood of Mainland China. There was no precedent and little comprehension of Sukarno's policy. It was a contrived marriage between reluctant partners that would come

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apart at the first serious breach of confidence. But the marriage was made and it remained only to consummate the ritual with cooperative ventures, mutual assistance and a united front against the "common enemy."

In December, 1964 and the spring of '65 there were "air raid alerts." First Djakarta—then, one by one—in an unforgettable, comic pattern—Djokjakarta, Surabaya and even Den Pasar, Bali—followed suit—with imitation air raids and black-outs. Mock British planes overhead were driven off by gallant, equally-mock local defenders. Or so it was reported in the controlled press and radio. But by now the populace could no longer separate sham from reality. We had difficulty ourselves. In May we were gone. In September, four months later, fire and destruction swept through the islands, burning to the ground the strange structure and tissue of lies and deceit so carefully nourished by the man at the top.

Sequel

WHEN we left in May, 1965, the streets of Djakarta were lined with the PKI symbol—huge, red, wooden "hammer-and-sickles"—as the Party prepared to celebrate its 45th anniversary. And a few short months later, in early October, the Party was on the run—following its third disastrous failure at a coup in its 45 years on the Indonesian scene. Overnight the atmosphere changed.

Indonesians applied their own "solution" to the problems they faced in 1965. The "solution" to the PKI problem was drastic and brutal. From half a world away I read the reports with disbelief. Estimates of the number of victims of the anti-communist purge ran as high as half a million. Fish ate corpses floating off the beautiful beaches of Bali. Rivers in East Java were glutted with headless bodies. Who were the victims? How, in the passionate months after the aborted coup, was a "com-

munist" identified? Were the Communists the true culprits in the mismanagement and misdirection that had brought the nation to the brink of economic ruin? How many innocents—how many bewildered, confused peasants, workers, students, soldiers—had been caught on "the wrong side of the fence?" How many grudge cases, bad debts and religious feuds had been settled in the chaos and turmoil of that era? Can an idea be murdered?

I returned to Indonesia in late 1968 and visited old familiar haunts. In appearance neither the people nor their cities had changed. There was *one* significant change: open debate and criticism of the new government and its policies. In Surabaya I was greeted affectionately by several of my former staff. But I could not find my young opponents in the memorable duel of ideas that night in Surabaya. I suppose they disappeared in the bloody aftermath of the coup, sacrificial victims of the gods of ignorance, hate and despair. . . ■

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A CASE FOR DIALOGUE

from page 26

those media which effect participation and rank them more highly than others in our repository of communications techniques. Certainly, meaningful responses are more likely to occur when an audience participates in the communication process.

A word about mass communications: if the essence of communications is dialogue, and the objective of foreign information operations is to achieve some level of acceptance of our messages by foreign audiences, a question remains as to which form of communication—interpersonal or mass—can more effectively change attitudes.

It has been demonstrated that mass communication is more an agent of reinforcement than of change. Audiences tend to expose themselves to what they want to hear, and mass communications (particularly in cross-cultural situations) cannot control those aspects of an environment which are sig-

nificant to their audiences. According to substantial literature on the effects of mass communications, there are rather precise limitations on our, or any, capability to instill among foreign audiences new (and more favorable) perceptions of the United States. In short, audiences can easily exclude messages conveyed through mass communications if they prove contrary to an audience's expectations, wants or needs.

For example, Joseph Klapper has pointed out that, first, the influence of mass communications is mediated by such factors as predispositions, selective processes, group memberships and the like; secondly, he states that the above factors usually render mass communication an agent of reinforcement, and, finally, "these very same factors may under some conditions make mass communication an agent of change."⁴

⁴ Joseph Klapper, "The Social Effects of Mass Communications" *VOA Forum Lectures: COMMUNICATION*, p. 45.

What then is the role of mass communications as it becomes an increasingly significant link among peoples throughout the world? Certainly it remains the most efficient means of transmitting information, information which may, in the long haul, produce a more favorable body of world opinion for us (if we merit it). Whether mass communications can have the comparable effect of interpersonal communications (for example, be so structured that an audience cannot exclude its messages without some conscious effort) is doubtful at this point.

In terms of the message itself, it means an end to silver-lining propaganda; to the credo that everything will turn out for the best. That racial problems, divorce problems, unemployment problems, gun problems will somehow be solved . . . eventually. It means "telling it as it is," not as we would like it to be. Most of our audiences are bored with recitations of American ideals. They know we have problems, many of which will not be solved in



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our lifetime. The era of churchy predictions and happy-ending embellishments is over. It is time to admit we still have to devise equitable solutions for social ills 5, 20, or 180 years in the making. All the optimism we exude will not reverse perceptions developed from non-official means, no matter how effectively we think we can communicate them.

There are several ways by which we might create conditions for more effective interpersonal communications:

(1) *A reactivated language program*—At the time of writing I am the only officer trained in the language of the area serving in the official American establishment in all of eastern and southern India. This indeed is a sad commentary on our government which annually pours hundreds of thousands of dollars into communications efforts linguistically incomprehensible or unacceptable to several hundred million people. Our insistence on using English while India (and I think other Asian countries) move

swiftly and inexorably to vernaculars is narrowing the varieties of audiences *and opinion leaders* with whom we can seek dialogue.

We tend automatically to regard English speakers as an "elite." In reality, this concept has greater relevance to a financial elite than a political one. Such elites are usually on the sidelines of political activity and social involvement. It is my contention that young Asians on the threshold of political power ascendancy will increasingly come from more "grass roots" backgrounds. They will be less disposed to speak English because of (1) their inability, and (2) with few exceptions it is not the language of political persuasion. If we desire to engage them in a dialogue about America, it will be both proper and realistic that the dialogue be in their language, not ours.

While I accept the high cost of intensive language instruction prior to assumption of duties at a post, it is highly preferable to what usually passes as half-hearted attempts at language instruction at the post be-

fore, during, and after office hours. There can be no doubt that language competent officers—serving in USIS and State roles—will have a better understanding of the societies in which they work and be better equipped to involve themselves in the cultural and intellectual life of the community in which they live. With refined perceptions of their host country's social system, their judgments regarding the effectiveness of our programs and relative influence potential of our audiences may result in totally revised audience criteria and more relevant programming.

(2) *Lengthened tours of duty*—At some posts it takes as long as one year before an officer (and his family) are acclimated to living and communicating in a specific cross-cultural situation. Two- and three-year tours of duty are insufficient if we expect officers to "tune in" and know local audience situations well enough to develop effective symbolic embellishment for individual programs. Overseas tours should range from a mini-

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mum of four and to a maximum of seven years. This would ensure the kind of continuity of contact with foreign audiences not now possible with shorter two to four year tours.

(3) The already large amount of research on communications theory seems to have little or no impact on the day-to-day work of USIA. Training for incoming officers should include in-depth orientation to this research. The office of training should actively encourage through dissemination to the posts continued exposure to the latest books and articles on communications, and an officer's performance ratings should in part be based on his understanding and application of this highly significant material.

Once armed with an understanding of communications theory and heightened sensitivities to local conditions, USIS should not only be expected to carry our overseas information programs, but act as communications advisor to our entire overseas presence in each country as well. Besides reporting on psy-

chological conditions we should be required to provide information on such matters as:

(1) the degree of identification in our overseas life style acceptable to a host society, as well as others as elements of symbolic communication; and

(2) the suitability of Embassy or Consulate officers volunteering American collaboration to cultural or civic events which may be marginal or counterproductive.

In the final analysis we must somehow demonstrate to the peoples of the world that we, too, are implicated in the problems, challenges, and day-to-day events confronting them. Without ideologies to export, without political parties to do the exporting, the requirement remains the same: to achieve an increased acceptance of our public policies and concomitantly a deeper understanding of American society. For these objectives to someday be fulfilled we must, through our conduct at home and overseas, create an awareness among foreign audiences that we and they share, among

other things, their concern for bettering conditions and improving the quality of human life. The officer in the field is undoubtedly the key element, the ultimate link, in creating this implication.

As ultimate links field officers must possess the kind of sensitivity which will "tune them in" with their audiences. Additionally, they themselves must hold ideas, criticisms, and perceptions about America. Even though foreign service information officers may be charged from time to time to communicate some not too palatable messages, we cannot help but bring our life experiences into play. Ultimately most messages we communicate to foreign audiences are what we perceive to be "our own America." The sum total of our notions, aspirations, and concerns about the United States become the most honest and human base from which dialogues among men can take place. Such dialogues—now and hopefully in increased measure in the future—constitute the greatness of the Agency. ■

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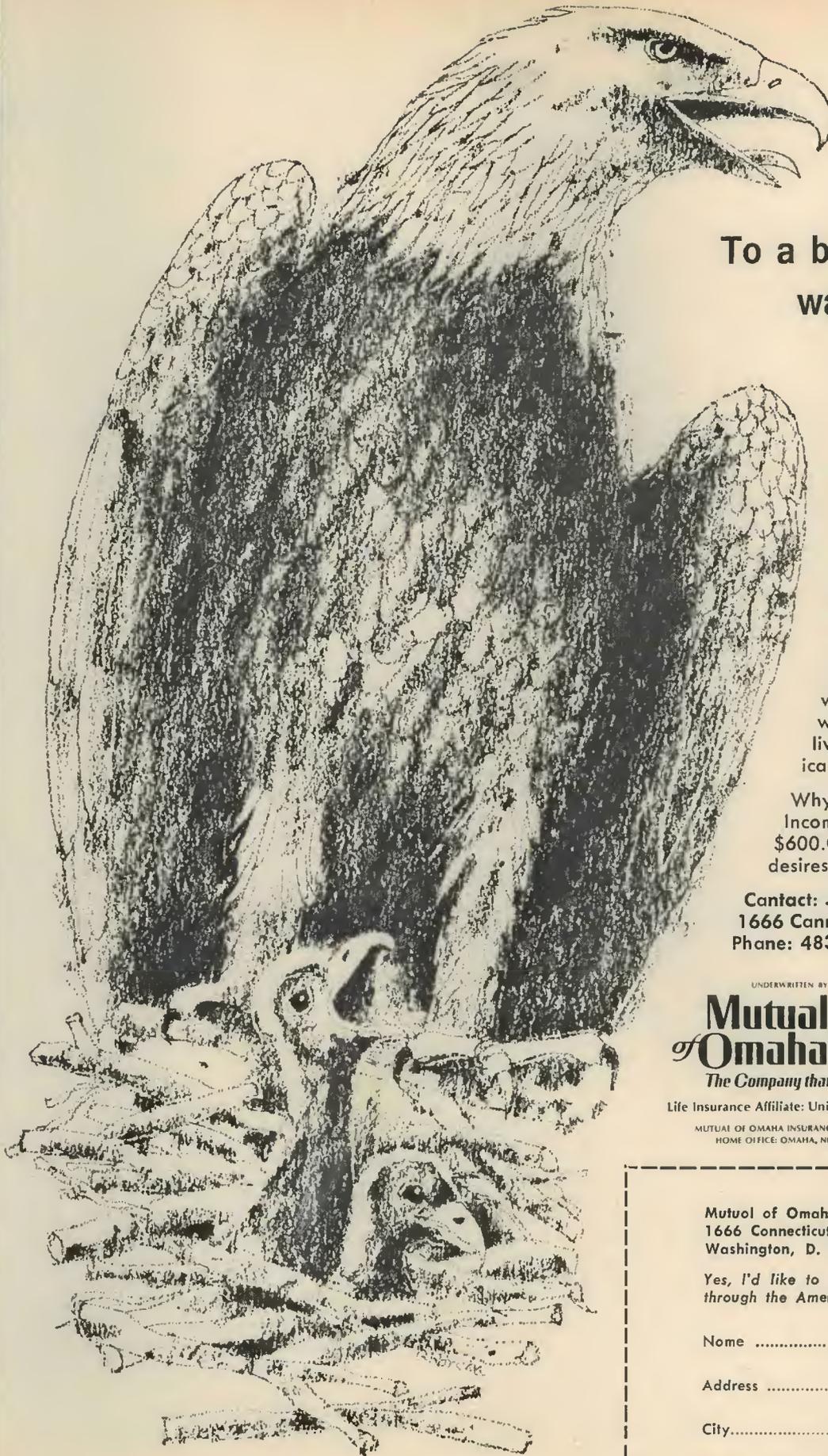
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**LETTERS
TO THE
EDITOR**

Oppression Ltd.

As one who has been listed in the Birchite literature as one of the Department's left-wing subversives—albeit after I had retired from the Foreign Service—I may be an appropriate one to respond to the blast of three students—Dahn, Huey and Gray (“Oppression Unlimited”) in the September issue. At least I cannot be suspected of being an official apologist for the establishment or of bucking for a promotion.

Their explanation of American foreign policy, as illumined by the writings of Marx, Mao and Cleaver, reminded me of a similar exegesis I once heard from an octogenarian and extremely conservative uncle, who explained how the Book of Revelations was an infallible guide to the problems of the European Common Market.

It is fascinating to observe how these young authors handle the problem of trying to accommodate our Vietnam intervention to the Leninist doctrine of imperialism, given the obvious complete absence of United States private investment in the country. They make this the exception that proves the rule. But the trouble is that there are so many exceptions.

I am sure many active officers have had my own experience of encountering indifference on the part of American corporations, where a bit of pressure and support would have been welcomed in an effort to break down discriminatory trade and investment barriers which we knew were penalizing workers and consumers in a developing country.

On the assumption that labor is the only factor of production creating value, Marx and Lenin assumed that capitalists in the metropolises would fall over themselves seeking to invest in lower-wage underdeveloped countries. But a survey in the last issue of FORTUNE revealed that business executives prefer the developed to the less developed countries by a ratio of over 7 to 1 as areas for investment.

Contrary to Marxian doctrine, rates of return in the LDCs are frequently lower. Thus, in Black Africa, net

earnings on some \$1.2 billion of private United States investment amounted in 1967 to zero (gross earnings of \$43 million offset by \$45 million in statistical losses on petroleum). And in this whole area, the country which has received the most substantial US commitment in economic and military assistance—permitting it to resist disruption by secessionists of both left and right—is the Congo, a country where our private investment stake is negligible—possibly one percent of the total foreign investment in the country.

The young SDS ideologues may legitimately question the wisdom of particular US initiatives or interventions, as in Vietnam or Santo Domingo, but they would be hard put to demonstrate that these—at least in the last forty years—had been at the behest of American investors, even in Latin America, where private US investment is more substantial.

Before becoming the dupes of reactionary feudalists, looking for Marxist allies to resist the revolutionary changes that come with freedom of investment and trade, they should examine the aggregate data, not the isolated examples, to see whether they accord with the Marxist scriptures. For such an examination of the historical record, and as a current guide to determining whether Lenin or Kautsky came closer to the truth in their historic debate, I recommend the recent book of Gann and Duigan entitled “Burden of Empire” (Praeger 1967).

ARMISTEAD LEE

Washington

Letter from the Sponsor

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the JOURNAL announcement of the 17 prize winning manuscripts entered in the “Life in the Foreign Service” contest, the writer, as sponsor of the contest, solicits this opportunity to register a fervent “thank you” to all of those in the Foreign Services, active and retired, and members of their families who took the time to put to paper their contributions to the contest.

As stated in the Rules governing the contest, the ultimate purpose of the competition was to provide material for the publication of a book and for possible use in other forms of communication media in order that the public might be afforded a more realistic picture of “Life in the Foreign Service” as it is and not as it has too often been pictured to be by either the uninformed or the biased.

The Staff of the JOURNAL rendered indispensable assistance both as a “clearing house” for the 87 contest

entries and as a facilitating agent in handling the considerable paper work. In judging the entries, the judges gave unstintingly and gratuitously of their time. Each of the six judges read every one of the entries and graded each manuscript, individually, by a point method of evaluation. The sum of the points determined the relative rating of each submittal. As the total point ratings evolved, the prize winning entries fell, without exception, into one of the four award categories thus making it unnecessary for the panel meeting of the judges to resolve any ties in point rating.

What element of success the venture may ultimately hold cannot be answered at this time. Every effort will be made to insure the attainment of the design of the contest by putting to effective use both the prize-winning manuscripts as well as those non-prize winners which are being retained by the sponsor under his discretionary right given in the contest rules. But decisions on the future use of the manuscripts must now await the judgment of others who will consider the question of marketability. If the effort succeeds, the foreign services should become beneficiaries by having attained a greater measure of public understanding and the Foreign Service Association and Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired will benefit by the receipt of all profits from the venture to further their educational and welfare activities, respectively.

JACK K. MCFALL

Washington

Basic Questions for the Career

IN THE July JOURNAL there appeared an editorial “Observations on a Predicament,” re the apparent excess of ex-Ambassadors and other senior officers still on the rolls. The editorial concluded “Should we have it both ways?”—i.e. exercise of power when in Presidential appointments but also security of tenure as bureaucrats after such appointments. The occasion for this question was Ambassador Steeves’ valedictory as retiring Director General, in which he had suggested a new formula to take care of the predicament.

The Foreign Service Act of 1946 was framed to make it possible for Presidential appointees to resume career status (unless dropped in 90 days) and so to be available should the President later desire to reappoint them. This was regarded at the time as protection for individuals in whom the Government had a substantial investment, who had a fund of knowledge and experience and who, having devoted their professional life

to the Service, had risen to senior grade in rigorous competition (as "doers," not just "be-ers"). The Congress evidently thought this protection to be in the national interest.

To ask the question "should we have it both ways" is to suggest that we should not. Indeed the editorial writer finds the Service largely responsible for the predicament of under-employed senior FSOs because of "undisciplined promotions" in the past plus a habit of reinstating former Presidential appointees. Surprisingly, he did not mention that the demand for senior career officers was less than had been, I think prudently, anticipated on the basis of past experience.

How this predicament of the moment is resolved does not seem to me very important except to those relatively few involved. Time will resolve it if nothing else does. What does seem important is the concept that the present leadership of the Association has with respect to the Career.

Professional training and selection in the Foreign Service have as their objective—or so its members think—service to the national interest, ultimately and especially at the Chief of Mission and equivalent level in the Department. Today, when, for the moment, the ceiling for the professional in Western European countries is with but two exceptions at the DCM level, the leadership should be deeply concerned with the implications for the future of such facts as this. I hope it is. Today's middle and upper grade officers are tomorrow's Ambassadors. Will they have those opportunities their seniors had? Or will it be up and out for them? If so, what will it mean for the role and the quality of the Service? And what will be the effect on the conduct of our relations with other countries?

Such questions, it seems to me, are more insistent than, for instance, sudden advocacy of converting the Association into a collective bargaining unit, a trade union of happily co-existing managers and managées more concerned with "pocketbook issues" than with the fundamental question marks which have recently, perhaps menacingly, confronted the professional Foreign Service. There is, I believe, a receptive forum, the revitalized Board of the Foreign Service before which to propound the questions. But let us have the Association, which helped to stimulate the revitalization, give priority to the basic questions.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS

Washington

A Public Member Writes

I ADDRESS this letter to what could be called "the Foreign Service 'Conformity' Syndrome."

A member of your association by virtue of having served as public member on the 1967 Selection Boards, I am bemused by what my college sophomore son would call "a thing" among you about this business of being all alike—Hell! Why not?

Mr. Walker's article in the September issue of the JOURNAL, "Profile in Conformity," moves me to these comments.

Having suffered the ordeal of reading Performance Rating Reports and their sometimes contradictory Developmental Appraisal Reports on over five hundred of you, I feel qualified to report to you that there does indeed seem to be a premium on "getting along." Still, alternatives elude me.

In the course of an assignment to the Under Secretary of State for Administration several years ago, I interviewed the directors of the three principal divisions of the management of the Foreign Service. I recall vividly the response of Mr. Dunnigan of the Junior Division to my question about the similarity of Foreign Service officers. I think I paraphrase him correctly: "Those kids (a recent FSI class) were as alike as peas-in-a-pod.

. . . But my God! What peas!" So take heart.

There is a stodginess about the Foreign Service, a stodginess that probably begs revolt by its few militant youngsters and oppression of them by its more numerous adherents.

I took the personal secretary of a Senator on the Foreign Relations Committee to a soiree at DACOR House three years ago. Her reaction was unkind but merits some thought: "Goodness, what a lot of snobs!" (Of course, none there knew of her assignment, much less that her boss was also a senior member of the Senate Appropriations Committee.)

JOHN T. HINCKLEY

Powell, Wyoming

Author Bites Critic

I HAVE just seen your review of my book "The Rape of Czechoslovakia" which appeared in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL in March. While not wanting to take issue with Helene Batjer, it does seem to me to be unfair to say a book is riddled with errors and misinformation without actually specifying them. My impression has been that later events and more recent, more substantial accounts have confirmed each of the details in the book as accurate.

COLIN CHAPMAN

Sydney

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. Nadler



"Believe me, young man, I only wish I were young enough to be given the opportunity to accept the challenge of being Vice Consul in a dirty, unhealthy, backward, and hostile country!"

BRIDGE BETWEEN PEOPLES

from page 33

that our principal cultural competitor in today's world is not the traditional cultures of Afro-Asia but the Marxist heresy, a subculture of our own Western tradition. If we weaken and dilute our own values in an effort to accommodate ourselves to Afro-Asia, we may find our own already complex image has become so blurred that Afro-Asians seeking to Westernize will have only the Marxist model to follow. We need not only to emphasize our accommodation of diversity within our system of values, in contrast to the Marxist pattern, but also to emphasize that our culture has a coherent, attractive set of values and goals of its own. This argument must be used with caution, however, for it is probably more applicable to the overall image projected by our society in Afro-Asia than to the individual diplomat. The latter must be more concerned with communication at the point of diplomatic contact.

We must grant that intercultural

diplomatic communication will seldom take place on the other side of the bridge or even in the precise middle, where egalitarian theory would put it. But saying this does not solve the problem for the diplomat from the dominant culture. His Afro-Asian colleague is incapable of coming all the way to the Western side of the bridge. The task of the American diplomat is to do his full part to give the section of the bridge chosen for a meeting ground as stable underpinnings and as comfortable an atmosphere as possible. There are certain obvious generalizations to help accomplish this objective: (1) familiarize yourself with your colleague's traditional culture; (2) assess how far he, his government, and his people have moved away from the traditional culture and toward the West; and (3) find a common meeting ground in matters of social mores and personal conduct. Beyond these three generalizations, the varying penetrability of cultural barriers, the varying characteristics of the individual diplomat, and, in

Hindu terms, the recurrent ostensible contradiction of the general truth by particulars, will always make each individual problem a little different from all the others.

These three precepts also say nothing about the task of creating the intellectual equivalent of social rapport. They should serve as helpful guidelines for the creation of a congenial atmosphere in the half-way house, but are of only limited value in giving it solid philosophical underpinnings. In the past, American cross-cultural diplomacy has generally either ignored this problem or sought to build the underpinnings with exclusively Western building blocks. It would be easy to add a fourth precept: "find a common philosophical meeting ground." But this begs the question, for we don't know how to go about finding such a meeting ground. The search for a reliable method, or even a reliable set of concepts, for doing so is an urgent necessity if the United States is to develop an effective cross-cultural diplomacy. ■

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DECLARATION OF PERSONAL EFFECTS

(A) FURNITURE:		(C) ELECTRICAL & APPLIANCES:		(D) MISCELLANEOUS, cont'd.	
Furniture	\$ _____	Radios	\$ _____	Musical instruments	_____
Mirrors, pictures, paintings	_____	Televisions	_____	Pianos	_____
Bric-a-brac	_____	Refrigerators and/or freezer	_____	Books	_____
Rugs & carpets	_____	Hi-fi	_____	Luggage	_____
TOTAL (A)	\$ _____	Typewriter	_____	Bicycles	_____
		Washer and/or dryer	_____	Tools	_____
		Sewing machine	_____	Sports equip.	_____
		Tape recorder	_____		
		Other	_____		
		TOTAL (C)	\$ _____	TOTAL (D)	\$ _____
(B) HOUSEWARES:		(D) MISCELLANEOUS:		(E) TOTAL CLOTHING	
Silverware	\$ _____	Medical supplies	\$ _____	\$ _____	
Glassware	_____	Photographic equipment	_____		
Linen (bed & table)	_____			(F) TOTAL JEWELRY & FURS	\$ _____
Kitchen utensils	_____				
Chinaware	_____				
TOTAL (B)	\$ _____				

TOTAL PERSONAL EFFECTS	
TOTAL A	\$ _____
TOTAL B	\$ _____
TOTAL C	\$ _____
TOTAL D	\$ _____
TOTAL E	\$ _____
TOTAL F	\$ _____
(G) GRAND TOTAL	\$ _____

Of the Grand Total (G) above what amount of personal effects are in storage in the U.S. \$ _____

LIABILITY INSURANCE APPLIED FOR
 50,000 @ \$5.00
 75,000 @ \$6.50
 100,000 @ \$7.50
 No Increase from \$25,000 in Basic Travel-Pak
 The Travel-Pak policy will be prepared with Personal effects insurance written to the nearest \$100 of the Grand total (G) above and with the amount of liability insurance selected above.

TRAVEL-PAK Your Best Foreign Insurance Buy

A modern package policy tailor-made for U. S. Government employees overseas
which insures against the following:

"ALL RISK" PERSONAL EFFECTS INSURANCE



COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PERSONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE

- Breakage
- Shipping losses (marine, air, rail, etc.)
- General average and salvage contributions
- War risks (while in transit)
- Marring, denting, chipping and scratching
- Theft
- Pilferage
- Vandalism
- Disappearance
- Fire
- Lightning
- Windstorm
- Hurricane
- Typhoon
- Explosion
- Flood
- Earthquake

- Bodily injury liability
- Property damage liability
- Employer's liability (servants, etc.)
- Tenants' liability
- Sports liability
- Fire legal liability (liability to landlords)
- Pets' liability

Check these advantages:

① **COMPREHENSIVE COVERAGE.** Broad "All Risk" Personal effects coverage . . . with a \$50.00 deductible and the insurance to value requirement assures you of the maximum benefit.

The only property exclusions are losses of or from moth and vermin, gradual deterioration, cash, currency, bank notes, and war risks. . . . Plus a special international comprehensive personal liability insurance (excluding automobile liability) from \$25,000. to \$100,000. . . . all in one convenient package.

② **SAVINGS.** Special rates for those in Government Service plus the economies of the package insurance concept make TRAVEL-PAK your best foreign insurance buy. COMPARE! Annual rate on personal effects is 1.4%. Premium discounts reduce the effective rate to 1.225% for two-year policies and 1.167% for three-year policies. . . . Renewal premium credits for years in which there are no marine shipments produces still greater savings. Your maximum discount from the standard premium rate can be as much as 39%!

③ **ALLOWANCE FOR YOUR PRESENT INSURANCE.** There is no need for you to wait for your present insurance to expire to apply for this broader coverage. We'll give you a premium credit for any personal effects insurance you already have.

④ **CONFIDENCE.** Your policy will be underwritten by Lloyd's London Underwriters—world renowned for security.

⑤ **BREAKAGE INCLUDED.** Your valuable articles are insured against breakage in transit provided they have been professionally packed.

⑥ **WORLD-WIDE CLAIMS SERVICE.** We offer the promptest possible payment of claims, for TRAVEL-PAK operates through the world's largest personal insurance claims network with claims contact points in over 200 cities throughout the world . . . including Eastern Europe.

⑦ **CONVENIENCE.** TRAVEL-PAK is just one easy-to-understand policy that covers your property and liability needs. You deal with just one experienced firm.

⑧ **NON-CANCELLABLE PROTECTION.** *The Underwriters cannot cancel your coverage during the normal term of the policy except in the case of fraudulent declaration or claim or for non-payment of premium.*

We also have excellent facilities for your Life, Accident, Health, Home, Auto, and Marine insurance requirements—at home or abroad.



SPECIAL RATES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WORLDWIDE

(G) TOTAL VALUE PERSONAL EFFECTS	Annual Travel-Pak Premium	(F) TOTAL VALUE JEWELRY AND/ OR FURS	Annual Premium
\$ 2,500	\$ 43.00	\$ 300	Incl.
\$ 2,700	\$ 45.80	\$ 500	\$ 1.00
\$ 2,900	\$ 48.60	\$ 700	\$ 2.00
\$ 3,100	\$ 51.40	\$ 900	\$ 3.00
\$ 3,300	\$ 54.20	\$ 1,100	\$ 4.00
\$ 3,500	\$ 57.00	\$ 1,300	\$ 5.00
\$ 3,700	\$ 59.80	\$ 1,500	\$ 6.00
\$ 3,900	\$ 62.60	\$ 1,700	\$ 7.00
\$ 4,100	\$ 65.40	\$ 1,900	\$ 8.00
\$ 4,300	\$ 68.20	\$ 2,100	\$ 9.00
\$ 4,500	\$ 71.00	\$ 2,300	\$ 10.00
\$ 4,700	\$ 73.80	\$ 2,500	\$ 11.00
\$ 4,900	\$ 76.60	\$ 2,700	\$ 12.00
\$ 5,100	\$ 79.40	\$ 2,900	\$ 13.00
\$ 5,300	\$ 82.20	\$ 3,100	\$ 14.00
\$ 5,500	\$ 85.00	\$ 3,300	\$ 15.00
\$ 5,700	\$ 87.80	\$ 3,500	\$ 16.00
\$ 5,900	\$ 90.60	\$ 3,700	\$ 17.00
\$ 6,100	\$ 93.40	\$ 3,900	\$ 18.00
\$ 6,300	\$ 96.20	\$ 4,100	\$ 19.00
\$ 6,500	\$ 99.00	\$ 4,300	\$ 20.00
\$ 6,700	\$ 101.80	\$ 4,500	\$ 21.00
\$ 6,900	\$ 104.60	\$ 4,700	\$ 22.00
\$ 7,100	\$ 107.40	\$ 4,900	\$ 23.00
\$ 7,300	\$ 110.20	\$ 5,000	\$ 23.50
\$ 7,500	\$ 113.00		
\$ 7,700	\$ 115.80		
\$ 7,900	\$ 118.60		
\$ 8,100	\$ 121.40		
\$ 8,300	\$ 124.20		
\$ 8,500	\$ 127.00		
\$ 8,700	\$ 129.80		
\$ 8,900	\$ 132.60		
\$ 9,100	\$ 135.40		
\$ 9,300	\$ 138.20		
\$ 9,500	\$ 141.00		
\$ 9,700	\$ 143.80		
\$ 9,900	\$ 146.60		
\$ 10,000	\$ 148.00		
Each additional \$100 value, add \$1.40.			
IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT			
		(H) INCREASED AMOUNTS OF LIABILITY	
		\$ 50,000	\$ 5.00
		\$ 75,000	\$ 6.50
		\$ 100,000	\$ 7.50

Use application opposite

or call or write:

James W. Barrett Co., Inc.
1140 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

202/296-6440



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CANADIAN WHISKY—A BLEND OF SELECTED WHISKIES, SIX YEARS OLD