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17	Q	37	R			39	S	40	R			41	M	42	E	43	R	44	H	45	R	46	H	47	S		48	R	49	G	
50	E			51	D	52	H	53	R			54	U	55	C			56	I			57	K	58	J	59	V	60	Q	61	Q
		62	N	63	J			64	U			65	L	66	H	67	I	68	H	69	Q	70	R	71	E	72	G		73	S	
74	M	53	R	76	V	77	C			78	J	79	F	80	E	81	A			67	I	83	S	84	R		85	O	86	Q	
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101	H			102	V	103	B	104	K	105	U	106	M	112	Q	109	K			109	K	105	U			111	J	112	Q	113	C
114		115	G	116	V	117	A			124	P	119	S	120	H			121	E	122	H	109	K	124	P	125	F	126	P	127	J
128	V	129	M			130	U	131	D			132	J	133	M	134	D	175	F	178	L	138	D	138	D	139	E	170	L	181	D
142				143	I	144	B	149	D			175	F	147	M	149	D			149	D	162	I			151	S	152	G	153	O
154	P	155	L	156	G	157	C	158	J	159	K			160	G			166	A	162	I	163	J	164	M	165	C		166	A	
167	V	168	I	169	S	180	H	186	R	172	R	183	Q			174	E	175	F			138	D			177	G	178	L	179	S
180	H	181	D	182	K	183	Q			184	H	190	D	186	R	187	N			196	D	189	O	190	D	190	D				



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DECEMBER 1972: VOLUME 49, NO. 12

Interstellar Negotiation 10
MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

Into War 15
R. A. BUTLER

Quiet Crisis 17
WARREN MASON

OTHER FEATURES: Old Days at Prague, by P. B., page 4; Why Does Nobody Love Me Just Because I'm a Cackraach, by Lawrence D. Russell, page 23; FSJ Fable, by Robert Ehrman, page 32.

DEPARTMENTS

Letters to the Editor 2

The Bookshelf 20

FSJ Competition 21

Editorials 32

Special Tax Information for Foreign Affairs Personnel 33

AFSA News 36

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Punch That Clock!

■ The recent spate of publicity and emphasis on the employee's rights with respect to overtime and compensatory time leaves me somewhat disenchanted. There has always been reason, of course, for justifiable concern for seeing that employees required to work considerable and consistent overtime are properly compensated for it. And we all agree that something should be done about the boss whose creative abilities only seem to surface about 30 minutes before closing time.

But let's also take a look at the other side of the coin. To start with, we do not punch time clocks. How many employees have you known who just happen to be 15 or 20 minutes late two or three times a week, either in the morning or when returning from lunch, or both? How many times has your boss said okay when you asked for a half hour or so to take care of some errand? How many of the 80 hours in a pay period do you spend just chatting with colleagues, or maybe catching up on some personal correspondence? Yes, some call it goofing off.

The point I would like to make is that if employees are going to insist on all their rights to the letter of the law, then they must also expect that management will feel obliged to insist that employees fulfill all their obligations to the letter as well. This will mean scrupulous attention to attendance records. Unfortunately, the resulting employee-management environment may not be as congenial as it has been in the past. Fact is, those time clocks may be just around the corner!

ROBERT L. DWELLEY (FSS)

Amman

Programed Promotion?

■ Edward M. Cohen's "Rank Injustice" is the best argument I have seen for the semiautomatic promotion of middle grade officers. The proposal obviously merits further study. I fear, however, that the adoption of such a promotion system would adversely affect the quality of new officers entering the Service.

I believe that most officers entering the Department view themselves as slightly better than their colleagues and are anxious to demonstrate that their abilities entitle them to rapid advancement. They believe that in the long run they will be promoted faster than the average officer. This prospect of accelerated advancement attracts capable young officers and provides a constant stimulus to excel.

I believe the prospect of advancing steadily for some fifteen years through the middle grades, in step with one's peers, has too much of the air of dull routine associated with it to attract the competent, ambitious men needed by the Service. Under this system, the real "hot shots" will go elsewhere, where they can try their hand at real competition. The Department will find a subtle change in the type of candidate offering himself for the entry examinations—still reasonably capable, but less ambitious, less energetic, more concerned about security than opportunity.

Mr. Cohen suggests that accelerated advancement could still occur. If it occurs often enough to offset the image of the "semiautomatic" promotion, so as to still attract ambitious young applicants, then it seems we are back where we started: facing the proliferation of the superlative efficiency report, the agonizing wait for the promotion list and the attendant morale problems. Though the present system could stand improvement, it does attract talented young officers anxious to rise rapidly in their chosen field. I hope this point is thoroughly considered before a decision is made to abandon the competitive feature in favor of programed promotion.

CHARLES O. CECIL

Beirut FSJ

AUTHOR'S NOTE: That competent, ambitious men (and women) would abhor the prospect of spending the first 15 years or so of their careers merely advancing in step with their peers is true, perhaps, as regards careers in other bureaucracies, but not, I believe, in the Foreign Service. In other agencies a career is generally spent in one narrow line of work, and in one place. Applicants for careers in the Foreign Service are attracted not so much by a prospect of rapid advancement—most of them are aware, nowadays, that the odds are heavily against it—but rather by prospects of serving in a variety of

challenging positions in interesting parts of the globe. And the competent, ambitious recruits invariably entertain some degree of confidence that they will be among the select few whose talents will lift them above the madding crowd under any kind of system that allows "hot shots" to rise rapidly.

Mr. Cecil's final paragraph says, in effect, that a semiautomatic system could degenerate into something as demoralizing as the present system. Maybe so; but a great deal of applied stupidity and mismanagement would be required on the part of many people, over a protracted period, to make a semiautomatic system as demoralizing as all that. I see no reason to expect that many supervisors would bother to amass the documentation which would be required to prove any of their underlings deserve exceptionally rapid advancement. In any case the documentation would be subject to verification by a reviewing panel, and there would be scant possibilities for any officer to be promoted on the basis of unsupported superlatives in his supervisor's evaluation reports.

Finally, I cannot agree that "the present system . . . does attract talented young officers": it seems to me that, in general, applicants are attracted to the Foreign Service despite, not because of, the present promotion system.

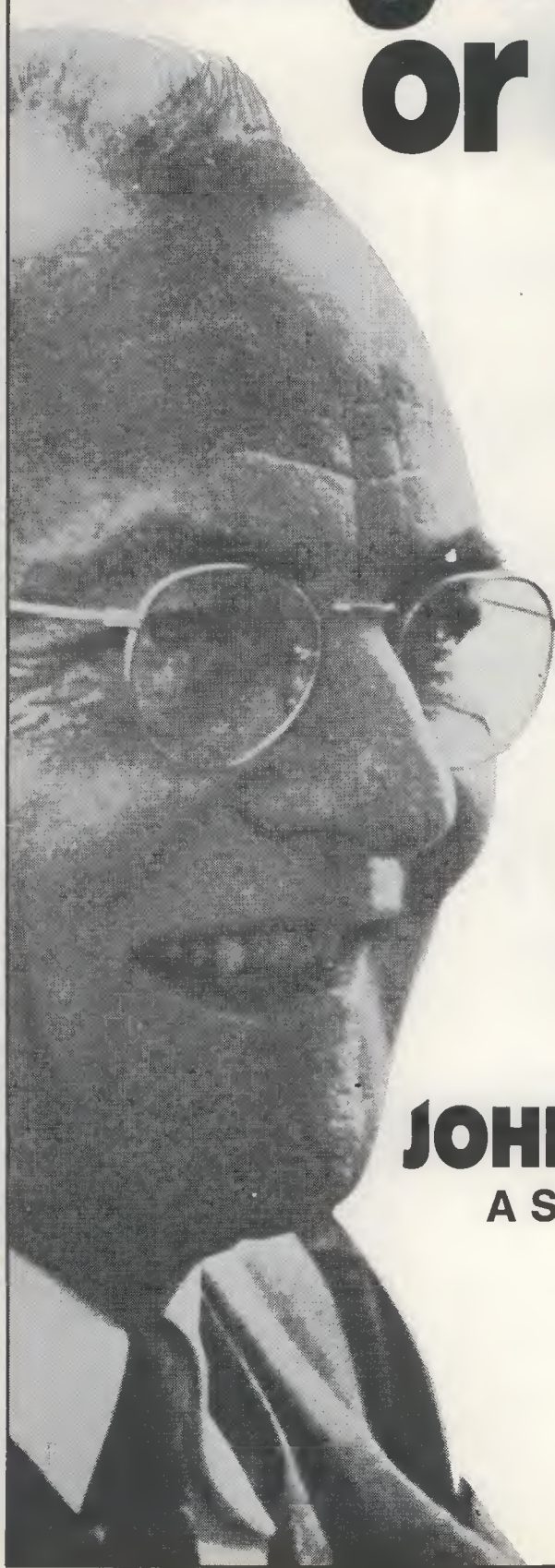
The Foreign Service Ballet

■ The articles by James Huff and Ambler Moss in the June issue do agree that something is wrong, whether it is the "over vaulting pride and insolence" of many FSOs on the one hand or the general lack of a feeling of elitence on the other.

My reading of the literature on the subject of the Department's efforts to do its job well from World War II on shows that Huff has more going for him than Moss. The Foreign Service Illusion, represented in part by the career principle, and assisted by a continuing lack of effective leadership and by faulty organization, has prevented the Department from making fundamental changes required to "hack it" in the real world: Establishment of a single personnel system with no second or third class citizens, strengthening the Secretary's control, striking an effective balance between generalists and specialists, expansion of the Department's responsibilities in the foreign affairs community, maintenance

(Continued on page 31)

Dogmatist... or realist?



John Foster Dulles has frequently been remembered as the archetypal cold warrior or, at best, a statesman with a distorting pair of moral spectacles. Michael A. Guhin disagrees with this appraisal and makes a convincing case for a strikingly different view. The new Nixon policy of détente with the USSR and China gives special timeliness to this important study.

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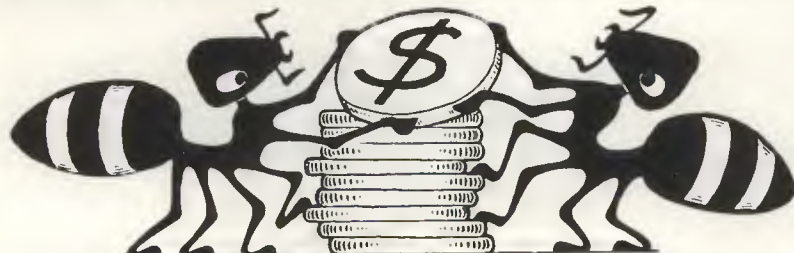
OLD DAYS AT PRAGUE

by P. B.

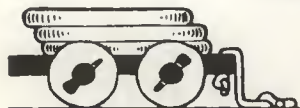
HERE at hand on a smoky winter day in Bohemia is a bound book of flimsy copies of instructions and despatches labeled "American Legation Prague, 1925, Vol. II, Correspondence, Einstein." The Honorable Lewis Einstein of New York was our Minister to Czechoslovakia back then, and this book of flimsies should have been burned years ago, according to approved principles of record-keeping, leaving only the original copies in the National Archives for no one to consult. But we keep this book of flimsies in a secret place in Prague—no Inspector shall know where—and for the boys in POL/EC it is a nice stimulus to thought about the past. And about the future. Particularly in a country where the populace is ordered every decade (sometimes every two) to forget the latest crushing blow to the nation: e.g., the destruction of the Republic by the Nazis in 1938-39 and then more insidiously by the Soviets in 1948, and most recently the 1968 invasion.

Our book begins with a copy of the 1925 Prague Post Report, which itself begins with the list of Legation officers. There were just two: Minister Einstein, salary \$10,000, and Frederick F. A. Pearson, Diplomatic Secretary, whose salary was exactly half his chief's. True, there was also a Commercial Attaché, but his office was downtown at Obecni Dum two miles from the Legation, and being a Commerce Department man he wanted to keep it that way; and there was a Consulate with three officers, also downtown.

Our Legation was then located, as our Embassy is now, in the former Schoenborn Palace on Trziste Street in the Mala Strana district, under Prague Castle. It had been bought from the Schoenborns



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after World War I by Richard Crane, our first Minister to Czechoslovakia whose father was a close friend of Thomas Masaryk and whose sister was for a time the wife of Jan Masaryk. In turn the United States bought the building in 1925 from ex-Minister Crane, for \$117,000—not bad for a 17th century palace with a hundred rooms. As our volume tells us, the Italians were prepared to offer considerably more in order to get it for their Embassy.

In 1925 the Legation contained the offices and the Minister's residence, but Mr. Pearson lived a quarter-mile away. There was no room for him in the Palace, though it fronts a hundred yards on the street, and this because the Legation still sheltered some forty tenants from Schoenborn days, including some Schoenborns. How to evict them is one of the chief subjects in Correspondence, Einstein. One tenant kept a livery stable in the courtyard, which led Mr. Pearson to complain to the Department that "... in warm weather, when the wind sits wrong, I am compelled to close the windows and smoke vigorously to defeat the effluvia from the manure pits." Finally the Minister invited the City Physician, Dr. Klika, to come investigate. He did, but his conclusion was unhelpful: "No sanitary objection can be raised against the livery stable from the public point of view. It is never pleasant in a house and many owners do not like it. But this is a private matter. . . ." One can imagine Frederick Pearson smoking vigorously behind closed windows as he drafted the passage in the 1925 post report recommending against officers keeping a carriage—though he motivated the recommendation on "the steepness of the hills surrounding the town, and the scarcity of good horses." Finally Mr. Pearson, temporarily acting as Chargé d'Affaires, talked to Foreign Minister Benes about the tenant problem and, at Benes' request, sent him a Note dated November 30, 1925 asking the Government of Czechoslovakia to do something to evict the tenants, a list of whom Mr. Pearson enclosed. Mr. Pearson noted in particular that one of these persons kept a stable, "while another lives, in a manner which I trust

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Your Excellency will permit me to characterize as primitive rather than decorous, beneath the apartments of the Minister."

Parenthetically it may be added that behind this list of tenants hovers a ghost, the ghost of Franz Kafka whose name would have been on the list had it been drawn up a few years earlier. There is still at least one person alive in Prague who knew Kafka when he lived in a small, damp, unheated apartment *chez Schoenborn*—damp enough to contribute to his early death, which occurred the year before that of our Correspondence.

It may be added, too, that eventually the problem of the tenants was solved. They moved, or were removed; some are probably still alive, somewhere in Joseph Wechsberg's "mystical city," though the last of the Schoenborns moved to Austria two or three years ago. In any event, although we may have microphones within our walls today at least the livery stable is gone.

Correspondence, Einstein reveals a great deal about the way the Foreign Service was administered in 1925; and one is led to the overall

conclusion that in those days both the members of Congressional appropriations committees and the chief administrative officers of the Department patterned themselves on Ebenezer Scrooge. Take, for example, the Department's Instruction FA-20 to Prague of January 31, 1925, which complained that Prague seemed to have ordered more supplies than it needed, and which requested a report as to what disposition had been made of:

3 shears

12 rulers

6 envelope openers.

The American Minister, who had some weightier matters on his mind including a hundred million dollars of Czech debts and some new prospective loans, nevertheless replied to this Instruction in his Despatch No. 799 of March 2, 1925, one hopes with his tongue in his cheek: "The three shears are required by myself and the two Secretaries at this post. Since Mr. White's departure one pair has been placed in reserve where it is momentarily available. Should the Department so desire it can be returned to Washington but *in view of all the cir-*

cumstances (NOTE: italics added; a masterful touch of mystery!) I cannot, in justice to the Mission, recommend such course."

The stinginess applied also on a larger scale than shears; Minister Einstein was informed by a Department Instruction of June 15, 1925 that the Congress had appropriated \$73,638 less for contingent expenses for Foreign Missions in the 1926 fiscal year than it had for 1925. Therefore Prague's allowance—out of which came normal administrative expenses including salaries of the seven local employees — was being cut from \$7,198 to \$3,888. As Minister Einstein lamented in his despatch of July 28, this was the fourth successive year the allowance had been cut; and it meant that after paying salaries for the first quarter the Legation already faced a deficit.

They finally gave him \$700 more, just before the New Year; and our Correspondence ends there. 1925 may have been a bright year for the young Czechoslovak Republic, but some days AmLegation Prague didn't see it that way. ■

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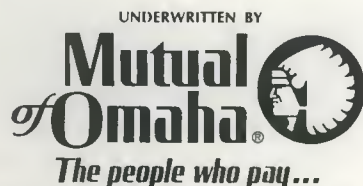
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INTERSTELLAR NEGOTIATION

MICHAEL A. G. MICHAUD

ON March 2, 1972, the fastest object ever launched by man lifted off the pad at Cape Kennedy. In December 1973, the robot spacecraft Pioneer 10 will examine Jupiter with a battery of instruments before being accelerated by the giant planet's gravity into a trajectory that will take it out of the solar system.

Pioneer-10 will be the first man-made object to leave the solar system when it passes the orbit of Pluto ten years from now. NASA, conscious of this fact—and the possibility that intelligent beings might someday find the spacecraft—attached a plaque to Pioneer-10. Engraved on the plaque is a diagram designed to tell any sophisticated civilization the place in the universe and the approximate date Pioneer-10 was launched, and the nature of the craft's builders (see diagram).

Some have asked whether mankind should reveal its location to extraterrestrials who may be more advanced technologically, and possibly hostile. In the case of Pioneer-10, the question is almost academic; even at an average speed of seven miles a second, the spacecraft could not reach the nearest star in less than 80,000 years.

However, the principle involved is important. The Pioneer-10 plaque, modest as it may be, is man's first deliberate attempt to communicate with intelligent beings elsewhere in the universe. Further, more powerful attempts to communicate could open a Pandora's box; proposals for such communication raise profound questions about what we want to say and how we want to say it, and require us to speculate on what the results might be.

Probabilities

Are there other intelligent beings in the universe? While there is no direct evidence as yet, disciplined speculation indicates that the answer is almost certainly yes. Most scientists now writing in this field

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agree that suitable evolutionary conditions could develop on a number of planets, and that it is highly improbable that the only intelligent life in the universe evolved on a planet of an obscure star in an unremarkable corner of a galaxy similar to many others.

In a rigorous analysis done for the RAND corporation, Stephen H. Dole determined the mathematical probability of finding planets suitable for habitation by *man* circling one of the 14 most likely stars (out of 111) within 22 light years of our sun. Even within this sphere, small by galactic standards of distance, the probability of finding one suitable planet is 0.43, or only about 3 to 2 against finding one. Dole estimated that there are roughly 600 million habitable planets in our galaxy. This means that one star out of every 200 is accompanied by a habitable planet. The average distance between a star with a habitable planet and its closest neighbor with a habitable planet would be about 24 light years (by comparison, the nearest star to the sun is 4.3 light years away, and the average separation between stars in the solar neighborhood is 7.6 light years). While such habitable planets would not necessarily have evolved complex living organisms, the variety of possible life forms in the universe would have a broader range of physical tolerances than man.

Perhaps the most thorough examination of this question in a form accessible to laymen is the book "Intelligent Life in the Universe," by Soviet astronomer I. S. Shklovskii and American astronomer Carl Sagan (one of the designers of the

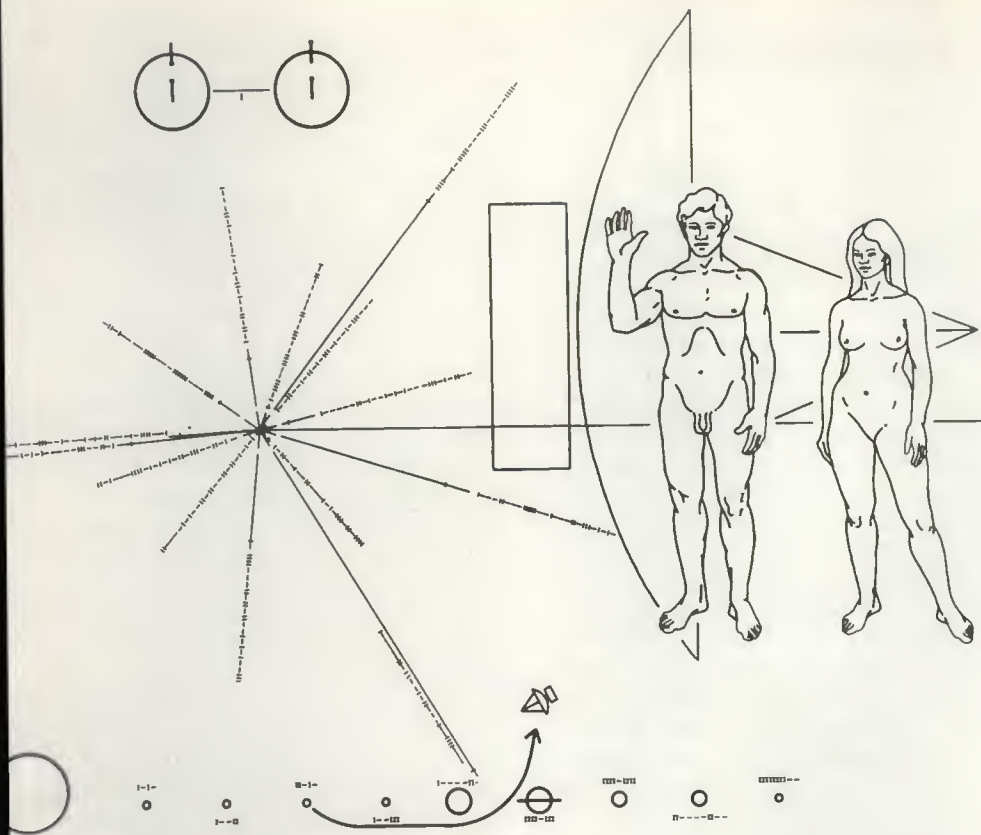
Pioneer-10 plaque). Shklovskii and Sagan conclude that the number of extant civilizations substantially in advance of our own in the galaxy today appears to be perhaps between 50 thousand and one million, and the average distance between technical civilizations is between a few hundred light years and about 1,000 light years.

Dole points out that two out of the three nearest star systems have already been found to have planets. This is strong evidence that all stars have non-luminous companions. The companion of Barnard's star, a red dwarf only six light years away, is almost certainly a planet, according to Shklovskii and Sagan. Given the apparently vast numbers of planets, the universality of the elements and their chemical combinations, and Earth's experience with evolution from amino acids to man, finding intelligent life forms on other planets would appear to be a matter of time and distance, not yes or no.

Communication before Contact

Because the distances are so enormous (one light year is about six trillion miles) and because our technology for interstellar transport is still primitive, it is very likely that we will detect signals from aliens long before we meet them face to face, or that they will detect our signals before they encounter us. Arthur C. Clarke, in his book "Profiles of the Future," predicted that we would make radio contact with extraterrestrials by 2035, and would meet them face to face by 2100.

Suppose, for example, that an



PIONEER MESSAGE TO OTHER WORLDS

Pioneer-10, the first man-made object designed to escape from our solar sys-

tem, carries a pictorial greeting to any interstellar beings who might intercept and have the intelligence to understand intelligent, advanced species existed on a planet 60 light years from Earth. That species could, conceivably, pick up signals from the earliest days of radio on Earth. A signal leaving the Earth in 1920 would reach the extraterrestrials in 1980. If they were listening and chose to reply immediately, their signal would reach us in 2040. Even with such distances, two-way communication with extraterrestrials could begin within the lifetimes of Earthmen born today.

(Shklovskii and Sagan put this another way. Large-scale radio communication on Earth has been in operation for some 45-50 years. Thus, some 45 or 50 light years from Earth, there is a wave front propagating away from our planet, announcing the existence of a technical civilization to those who may be listening.)

Astronomer Frank Drake has suggested that it may be possible to "eavesdrop" on local planetary radio communications of a distant civilization. Drake estimates that cross-correlation techniques can increase

tem, carries a pictorial greeting to any interstellar beings who might intercept and have the intelligence to understand

the distance over which we may detect radio transmission from 300 light years to 3,000 light years. These distances are comparable to those estimated by Sagan and Shklovskii for the average separation of technical civilizations. Shklovskii and Sagan conclude that the prospects for interstellar communication over distances of some tens of light years seem reasonable; over hundreds of light years, more difficult; and over thousands of light years, only possible by civilizations in substantial advance of our own.

It is highly unlikely that we will intercept a communication between two advanced civilizations, as this would be on a narrow, tightly focused beam aimed at a known target. Instead, we will either "eavesdrop" on planetary transmissions not intentionally directed toward us, or we will detect a signal designed specifically to catch the attention of other advanced civilizations.

What would be the content of such a signal? One could begin by considering proposals made for the sending of our own signal. The ini-

it millions of years in the future.

The message is etched on a gold-anodized aluminum plaque, 152 by 229 millimetres, attached to the craft's antenna and protected against erosion from interstellar dust.

The radiating lines at left represent the positions of 14 pulsars (cosmic sources of radio energy) arranged to indicate our Sun as the home star of the launching civilization.

The "1-" symbols at the ends of the lines are binary numbers that represent the frequencies of the pulsars at the time of launch, relative to that of the hydrogen atom shown in two states at upper left with a "1" unity symbol. The energy difference between the two states provides the most precise standard of time known to science. The hydrogen atom, the most abundant atom in the universe, is thus used as a "universal clock," and the regular decrease in the frequencies of the pulsars may enable another civilization to determine the time that has elapsed since the launching.

The figures at right are in proportion to the size of the spacecraft and represent the type of creatures who created it. The man's hand is raised in a gesture of good will.

Across the bottom are the planets, ranging outward from the Sun, with the spacecraft trajectory arching away from Earth, passing Mars and swinging by Jupiter.

USIS Photo—March 2 1972

tial message would have to contain an introduction to interstellar linguistics. It would have to be based on universals to be comprehensible, implying some reference to universally recognized physical standards. One suggestion is to communicate the value of Pi in binomials, or some other recognizable sequence of numbers. Once the two civilizations found a set of universals that both understood, they could relate it to other patterns to gradually build up a language. For example, a transmission in the Lingua Cosmica (LINCOS) devised in 1960 would begin with the most elementary concepts of mathematics and logic, and could then progress to more complex descriptions.

Shklovskii and Sagan believe that the initial message must be a picture. By using dots and dashes to indicate binary patterns, one could build up a two-dimensional picture resembling a rectangular grid. It is possible to arrange the symbols of the message in positions relative to one another so that even the arrangement carries in-

formation. The unit of length could be expressed in terms of the wavelength of the transmission, and all other linear units would either be fractions or multiples of the basic unit. The unit of mass could be the mass of the electron, and the unit of time could be defined in terms of the velocity of light.

Assuming that such a channel could be established, what would be the content of later messages? Scientific writers tend to believe that it would—or should—be a high-minded exchange of scientific information and descriptions of the two civilizations. This is rather optimistic. Would Earthmen immediately give up their most advanced scientific knowledge and describe themselves in detail to a species whose intentions and capabilities were unknown? By doing so, for example, we might reveal how far behind them we were—and how vulnerable.

More importantly, an exchange of scientific information might not be the first concern of either side. Each species would want to know as much as possible about the other's capabilities and intentions while revealing as little as necessary in reply. Each would weigh its response to a message in the scale of survival and, necessarily, relative power.

Here is where the purely scientific approach breaks down. Communicating scientific information would give only partial answers to

each civilization's most fundamental concerns: security and survival.

The Political Dimension

Our own history suggests rather strongly that the kind of social beings who can produce an advanced civilization always create institutions to manage their societies, whether those societies are city-states or modern superpowers. Whether the primary institution is called a government or not, two of its principal functions are to maintain some degree of internal order and to defend the society from external threats. It does not matter whether the threat to a society's internal or external security is active or only potential; the machinery to deal with it must be there. Governing institutions rightly regard the security of their societies as an over-riding consideration when faced with any serious threat.

There is no reason to believe that extraterrestrials would think or act differently. They too would have struggled up the slippery slope from barbarism to civilization, perhaps several times. The over-riding, perhaps instinctive concern for security probably would be as deeply ingrained in their culture as it is in ours, particularly if they too had a history of frequent conflict within the dominant species. The fact that the extraterrestrials might have established perfect internal order under a planetary governing institution would not eliminate their concern with external threats, whether active or only potential.

Some have dismissed the possibility of interstellar conflict because of the enormous distances and the apparent light-speed limitation on travel. In fact, a concerned interstellar power might consider it well worth a 40-year trip to look over a potential threat, and it is possible that alien lifetimes might be much longer than ours. Shklovskii and Sagan note that there are two basic methods of achieving interstellar spaceflight within characteristic human lifetimes: slowing down human metabolic activities and preserving the crew for most of the flight, and the dilation of time produced by velocities near the speed of light. At these relativistic speeds, time would pass much more slowly for the crew than for their planet of origin.

Strange as it may seem, shipboard times at relativistic velocities are very roughly the same to any place in the Galaxy. At a constant acceleration of 1g, it takes only a few years, ship time, to reach the nearest stars; 21 years to reach the Galactic center; and 28 years to reach the nearest spiral galaxy beyond the Milky Way. For a round trip with a stopover of several years to the nearest stars, the elapsed time on Earth would be a few decades; for distant stars, much longer. Over large distances, starship communication at these velocities will occur very nearly as rapidly as, and much more reliably than, communication by electromagnetic radiation. Why, then, should we doubt that extraterrestrials would be willing or able to send military spacecraft in our direction to at least look us over?

Distance, then, does not guarantee security any more than an advanced civilization guarantees peaceful intentions. Aliens from other solar systems are a *potential* threat to us, and we are a *potential* threat to them.

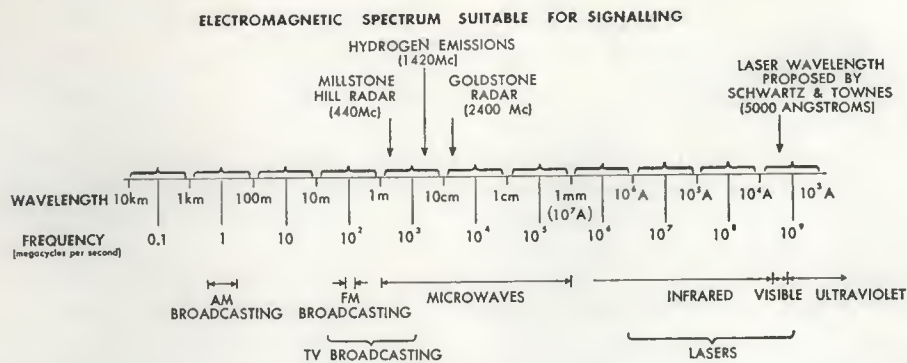
Dangers

Scientists and others have often postulated that extraterrestrial societies more advanced than ours would be less warlike. Regrettably, the stereotype of the benevolent, super-intelligent alien may be as unrealistic as the stereotype of bug-eyed monsters carrying off shapely human females. Even if a species had achieved true peace within its own ranks, it would still be worried about us, and would take the measures it felt were necessary to protect itself. This includes the possibility (not the inevitability) of military action.

Here are just a few possibilities. A species which had experienced nothing but hostile contacts with others, perhaps resulting in military conflict, would be predisposed to be hostile and to make military preparations. A species which had always believed itself to be unique and superior to any other living form might react murderously to a violation of its philosophical and emotional integrity. A great star empire advanced beyond our imaginations might regard us as nothing more than a troublesome infestation to be circumscribed or eliminated. In any



Shown here is the 85-foot radio telescope at Green Bank, W. Va. Through the lens of this giant telescope American astronomers made the first observations of the planet Venus. Photo from IPS.



The electromagnetic spectrum shown here is that considered suitable for long-range signalling. The short-wave end of the spectrum, including x-rays and gamma rays, is omitted on the right. Wavelength indicated in kilometers (km), centimeters (cm), millimeters (mm), and Angstroms (Å).

number of possible situations, the aliens might choose a military response, with the possible long-term objective of destroying the source of the signals—the human race.

The physical dangers to our survival could take a number of forms. In a standard science-fiction scenario, the aliens might use super-weapons to blast us from orbiting vehicles. They might use chemical or biological fumigation. Or they might have the power to trigger an explosion in our sun, turning it into a nova which would fry the Earth.

Given a potential threat resulting from the detection of extraterrestrials or the receipt of a signal from them, our realistic alternatives are to (1) maintain silence; or (2) respond with a planned attempt to identify the interests and concerns of the other side, communicate our interests as necessary, and outline areas of potential agreement and cooperation. In short, begin the process of interstellar negotiation.

The first alternative would be temporary and would accomplish nothing if our location became known to the aliens. Once contact is established, only the second alternative is constructive in the long run. If we are prepared to believe that advanced extraterrestrials are benevolent and peace-loving, we should be prepared to believe that they understand the process of negotiation.

Interstellar Negotiation: Physical Problems

Interstellar negotiation would be

the most difficult diplomacy Earthmen have ever attempted. Some of the physical problems are obvious. First is the time/distance equation: if messages could not be sent at a speed faster than light, an exchange would require a number of years double the distance in light-years, anything from 8.6 years on up. During that interval, political systems as well as leaders and policies could change, making the initial messages meaningless. Events affecting one party but unknown to the other could alter the first party's interest in negotiating. The initial messages might not be comprehensive (or comprehensible) enough, and could lead to misunderstanding of intentions. One possible but very tricky solution is continuous or periodic communication, not waiting for the other side's reply before developing a statement of intentions and interests.

New York TIMES science writer Walter Sullivan argues that a message from a distant civilization would logically be extremely long, taking perhaps years for its transmission. The message might be interspersed with attention-getting signals and "language lessons." However, the longer the message, the more danger there is that an error in transmission or detection, or interference from the interstellar medium, would obscure part of the message. An alternative is to compress the message in time, but the transmitter would have to be powerful to prevent jumbling of the signal.

Another problem is the choice of physical means for communication. Given present Earth technology, the most logical choice is radio. Alien technology might be so different from ours that they would prefer working in another medium. It is also possible that one side might be concerned with the interception of the signal by a third party and would desire an extremely tight beam, or even some agreed-upon code. It could be difficult for each transmitting civilization to focus its transmission tightly on a planet orbiting a distant star, as the planet would be in constant motion. Shklovskii and Sagan point out that the frequency of the transmission could be altered by a Doppler effect caused by the apparent approach and recession of the transmitter as the planet rotates on its axis, though the transmitting civilization could compensate for this.

A related problem is data and linguistic analysis. Alien messages (or ours) might be highly concentrated in time and highly complex in structure, beyond the capacity of individual minds to comprehend. Any interstellar communications system would need a large and sophisticated data analysis support operation to make sense of the incoming messages and feed inputs into the structuring of outgoing messages. This might require some knowledge of alien technologies and, by implication, alien physics. Here the exchange of specific types of scientific information could be highly useful.

Another problem is the almost inevitable difference in physiology and anatomy, resulting from different evolutionary lines. For example, the aliens may be sensitive to an entirely different range of radiations. We and the aliens also might have different frames of physical and temporal reference, based on differing sizes, shapes, metabolic rates, and perceptions of the physical environment, complicating the development of a mutually comprehensible symbolic language.

Another, more remote set of physical problems would arise if interstellar travel made face-to-face meetings possible. Where would they be held? What would be the physical appointments for the two species? Would translating machines exist by then? A whole new proto-

col of physical and communications behavior would be necessary.

Interstellar Negotiation: Cultural and Political Problems

Most obvious and basic of the cultural and political factors is the inevitable difference in historical experience. The aliens' cultural frames of reference, codes of behavior, and styles of social interaction will be different from ours. Only at the most basic and generalized level are we likely to be on common ground (a concern for one's own security being an example).

An equally basic problem is the phasing of development. The spectacular acceleration of Earth's science and technology during the 20th century occupies a tiny percentage of human history; the chance of any other species' technetronic age coinciding with ours is very small. The aliens could be unimaginably far advanced, or backward in some areas and advanced in others, making mutual comprehension more difficult, and increasing the likelihood of a fearful reaction on one side or the other. There is also the possibility that an alien planet would have many cultures at different levels of development, as Earth does.

Shklovskii and Sagan estimate that the average age of a communicating civilization is 10,000 years or more, and that the probability that any given interstellar contact would be with a civilization at the same phase of development as our own is only about 0.5 per cent. This suggests that we are likely to be dealing with a civilization much more advanced than our own.

It is also possible that the aliens would not be unified politically, any more than the human race is. The extraterrestrials might also have competing states, and it would be important to know if the communications we receive represent a unified planetary body politic, or only one state, alliance, faction, or other sub-group (it is even possible that there could be more than one advanced species on a planet). To negotiate effectively, one must deal with a group or individual with the authority to speak for his state, race, species, or planet. More subtle dividing factors such as social and economic structure, ethnic and

linguistic composition could become important as negotiations developed.

The extraterrestrials might not be confined to one planet. An expansionist species might have colonized many planets, creating a far-flung empire or federation. We would need to know if we were communicating with a strong central authority, a weak one losing its grip, or a rebellious colony. We could unwittingly become involved in an interstellar civil war.

As in the era of European expansion, fleets are likely to be a major instrument of power. Rival civilizations might have contesting fleets, outposts, neutral zones, borders, and all the paraphernalia of Earthly empires. Remote sensing might be developed to such a high degree that direct patrolling of vast volumes of space would not be necessary.

These complexities highlight the importance of the first message with political content. By misjudging the image we convey, we could create fear and hostility where none had existed. By conveying an aggressive image, we could trigger a war; by conveying an image of weakness, we could invite expansion in our direction. Since there would be no precedent, our first messages (and theirs) would be crucial.

What Do We Want?

The essence of the negotiating process—or diplomacy—is the adjustment of interests in the light of the best knowledge available. The aliens will have interests, and so will we; but those which can conflict, such as spatial expansion, cannot be maximized by either side. In our first messages, the principles of compromise and reciprocity would have to be explained and clarified. Human history has demonstrated that security can be discussed; in principle, advanced species should be able to comprehend this, even if they do not accept it *a priori*.

Our basic interest would be to protect ourselves from any possible threat to Earth's security. Our second concern would be to assist in developing—or participate in—a stable system of interstellar politics that provides an acceptable level of security for all. Third would be learning from the aliens to advance our knowledge of the universe and

to add to the tools of civilization. The last interest, so often placed first by well-meaning writers in this field, would be meaningless or impossible if the first two concerns had not been satisfied.

The most specific nature of a security threat would be the approach of alien space vehicles to our solar system without acceptable guarantees of non-hostile intentions. If we did not have the capability to intercept or neutralize these vehicles at great distances and did not know the type or range of weapons they might carry, we would have to try placing the solar system off limits by negotiation, perhaps setting up a no man's land between the stars until acceptable rules of visitation were worked out.

Another interest would be some sort of weapons system limitation, at least in the space between the two solar systems. We might work toward agreed numbers of ships that could be in certain volumes of space.

Given the probability that we will be dealing with a more advanced civilization, our posture should be one of calm confidence, so that we appear neither offensive or defensive. Contact with a much more advanced species would suggest a low profile, and extreme caution in diplomacy. We might find it useful to look for a balancer in the form of a rival to the superpower, a technique familiar to many Earthly statesmen. If civilizations on comparable levels of development were to meet, the intricacies of geopolitics could be even more relevant; advances in technology or improvements in spatial position could affect relative power.

With the possible exception of advanced species that are static or confined to their own solar systems, we must expect communicating civilizations to be involved in galactic affairs. Where would we fit in the balance of power? As a newcomer to space travel, the human race probably would not be able to exert much influence beyond its own solar system, but our ability to deny our planets to others might carry some weight. We might unknowingly be one corner of a galacto-political triangle, and should avoid overcommitment to our negotiating part-

(Continued on page 29)

INTO WAR

R. A. BUTLER

WHEN I joined Halifax at the Foreign Office, our military situation was such that Ironside, later Chief of the Imperial General Staff, wrote that "no foreign nation would believe it if they were told."

My first major speech on "The Issues of British Foreign Policy" was made on 9th April to a formidable array of six hundred notables at Chatham House. . . .

The *Anschluss*, I told the assembly at Chatham House, had increased my conviction that "This country must be strong, strong of purpose and strong in arms. We are living in critical times and it is therefore no more than the plain duty of the government to press ahead with our rearmament program so that we may have the strength to back our policy and so that in case of need we shall be able to defend ourselves." Churchill had at last been listened to with rapt attention and respect when he warned the House of Commons that we were confronted with a nicely calculated and carefully timed program of aggression, unfolding stage by stage. There was general agreement and apprehension that the next stage would involve Czechoslovakia. Accordingly the Prime Minister asked

the Chiefs of Staff for a report on the new military situation following the *Anschluss*. They specified that the Czechoslovak frontier of 2,500 miles could not be protected from a German attack, thus confirming Austen Chamberlain's warning in 1936 that "If Austria goes, Czechoslovakia is indefensible." They also advised that Britain was not in a position to wage war, particularly in view of our unreadiness in the air. Later in the summer they reported to the Committee of Imperial Defence that it was of vital importance for us to gain time for the completion of the defense program. The government was therefore faced with a categorical warning that the country was not ready for war, especially if this involved (as was expected or feared) not only a German front, but conflict in the Mediterranean with Italy and trouble in the Far East with Japan.

This was the unpalatable military appreciation which Chamberlain and Halifax gave to the representatives of France—who alone had a direct treaty obligation to the Czechs—when they came to London at the end of April. The main result of these Anglo-French conversations was therefore a decision to make a joint *démarche* in Prague to secure the maximum concessions from President Benes. It has been wrongly assumed that Chamberlain believed such concessions would inevitably forestall a German military invasion of Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, he was fully aware, as were all the best of our diplomatic advisers, that the Sudeten problem might not be the real issue and that Hitler might have ambitions far beyond the restoration of Sudeten rights. Chamberlain felt that this was a situation which would have to be faced if it came, but that a world war could not be fought to maintain inviolate the ascendancy of seven million Czechs over an almost equal multitude of discontented minorities. The

boundaries of Czechoslovakia had been drawn, as Churchill himself testified, in flagrant defiance of the doctrine of self-determination. There is no doubt that the government of the new State kept the three million Germans in a position of political, educational and cultural inferiority, and that bitterness was exacerbated by the economic depression of the '30s which hit the German industrialized areas (the Sudetenland) more severely than elsewhere. These grievances were outrageously exploited by the Nazis and their Sudeten puppet, Henlein; but the grievances were real. In the week of the *Anschluss*, Basil Newton, our Ambassador in Prague, advised us (correctly, as was seen in 1945) that the *status quo* in Czechoslovakia could not be perpetuated even after a victorious war. . . .

I was not myself a prime mover in the complex and dramatic events of the succeeding months. As a junior Minister I was little consulted about their cause or course. My role was sometimes that of a sceptical spectator, as when I stood in the Foreign Secretary's room in July studying the glass-fronted bookcase and heard Lord Runciman accept his impossible mediating mission to Prague with the words, "I am being cut off like a small rowing boat from a great liner." Throughout the fateful weeks of September I was off-stage in Geneva where, however, I conducted two important interviews with the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and of France. The former convinced me that Russia had no intention of coming to the help of the Czechs, even if the Czechs had wanted this, which they didn't; the latter gave me the measure of France's political unreliability. These two factors were interrelated, since a French declaration of war was stipulated by the Russians to be a condition of their own intervention. . . .

More than one of my contempo-

Excerpted from Chapter 4 of "The Art of the Possible" by R. A. Butler, copyright © 1972, Gambit, Inc.

John Kenneth Galbraith writes in his introduction: Lord Butler . . . had a remarkable public career of which to tell. He entered the House of Commons in 1929 from Saffron Walden and remained there, always revealing a remarkable affinity for major office, for the next 35 years. Successively, he was involved with India, . . . education, the Exchequer and the Foreign Office. . . . A good many men have played an important part in or had a strategic view of great events, and they have managed, nonetheless, to say nothing very interesting about them. This is where Butler is the great exception. Uniquely among autobiographers, English or American, he writes to rejoice the reader and not himself.

aries have suggested in their memoirs that the alternative to appeasement should have been for Britain to rally all the League to resistance. . . . However, as was clearly stated by Anthony Eden in January 1938 in his speech at the 100th session of the Council of the League at Geneva, "By the defection of some of its more important members, the League is now faced with the fact that the area of co-operation is restricted and that its ability to fulfill all the functions originally contemplated for it is thereby reduced. We must realize that in present circumstances the League is not in a position to achieve all that was hoped of it." We still believed that the League ideals were noble and worthy of our fullest support, and our attitude towards League reform was always positive. . . . Yet at the same time there were hard facts to be faced. Of the great Powers, the USA never had come into the League; Japan, Germany and Italy had left it. It was no more than a plain statement of truth to say that the League in 1938 could not by itself ensure the peace of the world. If the League were called to deal with the Czech situation, it could do no more than pass some pious but quite ineffective resolution which would do no positive good but rather only inflict on it a still further humiliation. This would prejudice its future, in particular its ultimate reconstruction. Manchuria, Abyssinia and Spain had already brought painfully to light the defects of the League, and by condoning a series of unjust aggressions it had proved that it could not provide automatic security. There was, furthermore, a disastrous fallacy in the attitude of those who clamored for "collective security" yet repudiated any notion of an international force outside British control or, like the Labour Opposition, voted against British rearmament.

Collective security on the eve of the Munich crisis was certainly not something that could exist independently of the policies of Britain, France and Russia; and France and Russia were no more inclined to move than we. The official policy of France was to stand by her treaty obligation to Czechoslovakia: but as Lord Strang, then head of the Central Department of the Foreign Office, recalls a very different impression was given by what French

Ministers said behind the scenes, whether in social gatherings or to foreign representatives. Thus anyone who confines his reading to the published Documents on British Foreign Policy might easily conclude that when Daladier and Bonnet visited London on 28th and 29th April, they wanted a firm stand and were dissuaded only by the logistic pessimism of Chamberlain and Halifax. If, however, one turns to the Documents on German Foreign Policy, it appears that on 27th April (that is, the day before these talks) Daladier told an agent of the German Embassy in London that he hoped the British "would themselves suggest that pressure should be put on Prague" so that he "could acquiesce without seeming to have taken the initiative in the matter." Daladier, however, was a gladiator when compared with his Foreign Minister, Bonnet, whose fascinating memoirs *Défense de la Paix* do not respond to the test of accuracy. Churchill described Bonnet as "the quintessence of defeatism" but only, I fancy, because he had already used up the epithet "boneless wonder" on a fellow-countryman.

On the morning of 11th September, when attending the 19th Assembly of the League at Geneva, I went, on instructions, with Euan Wallace to see Bonnet in his hotel. He at once told us that the situation in central Europe had been made infinitely more serious than before by the TIMES leader of 7th September, written by Geoffrey Dawson, the editor, in which the secession of the Sudeten districts to Germany had been advocated. I am myself convinced that Halifax knew this article was to be written: the two Yorkshiremen were very close and I saw Dawson leaving the Office on the 6th after a long interview with the Foreign Secretary. However, the proposal had been immediately and officially repudiated and I could not see why Bonnet should bring it up now, except that it was characteristic of him to shift the blame for appeasement on to anybody's shoulders except his own. . . . The Russians, he said, "rather than engage in war, were wrapping themselves in League procedure." The Poles had told him that they would try to stay neutral but would definitely resist the passage of Russian troops to assist Czechoslovakia. He

hoped that Britain would come in if Hitler used forcible action against the Czechs, but did not press us to define our position. Instead he drew attention to the likelihood of an Italian intervention. In these circumstances for France to envisage a war on three fronts—Italy, Spain and Germany—would be "equivalent to jumping off the Eiffel Tower." Bonnet made plain to us that France proposed to do nothing of the kind.

Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, was at once more affable and more sinister, but scarcely less negative. On 23rd September, in the Sixth Political Committee of the League Assembly, he said that the Soviet government had no obligations to Czechoslovakia in the event of French indifference to an attack upon her. If this situation arose the Russians might come to the aid of the Czechs as the result of a decision by the League. But no one could insist on that help as a duty, and in fact the Czech government, out of practical as well as formal considerations, had not raised the question of Soviet assistance independently of assistance by France. This didn't take us very far, and Halifax instructed me by telegram to try to obtain a precise indication of what action the Russians would take if Czechoslovakia were involved in war with Germany, and at what point they would be prepared to take it. . . .

Litvinov began by saying that, since the terms of the Soviet-Czech Pact postulated prior French military assistance, the Anglo-French pressure on Prague to "capitulate" virtually rendered the Pact a dead letter. Nevertheless if France were to honor her obligations and fight, the Russians "would take action." I asked him to develop this further and in particular to say at what stage Russian intervention might take place. Would he raise the matter at the League (which was substantially what the Soviet-Czech Pact provided) and, if so, did that mean that action would be suspended while the League discussion was going on? Litvinov, however, refused to budge an inch from his original generalization. He said his government "might desire to raise the matter in the League," but this did not alter the fact that the Pact would

(Continued on page 27)

QUIET CRISIS

diplomatic careers in tension with bureaucratic roles

THERE is a perceptible and erosive tension within the modern State Department arising from the incongruity between the background and career experiences of its personnel and the roles they are called upon to occupy within the Department's bureaucracy. The situation is paradoxical because the rationalization of bureaucracy, which the Department of State sees as essential to its continued efficiency, is exactly the thing which many Foreign Service officers tend to see as a threat to their effectiveness. The difficulty arises partly from the type of individual and unusual career pattern required by the organization's diplomatic mission. In a more immediate sense, however, the tension within the State Department seems to have increased as the role and character of the institution itself have evolved. In particular, the infiltration of technology and the technocratic mentality into Washington's bureaucratic establishments has had the effect of forcing Foreign Service officers into an increasingly refined bureaucratic mold. The complexities of international politics no less than the pressures of Washington's political life seem to demand this kind of change. Yet, it may well be that

A native of Minnesota, Warren Mason took his B.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Political Science from the University of Minnesota. In 1962-63 he did graduate work at the London School of Economics and Political Science under a research grant from the Social Science Research Council of New York. On the staff of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, since 1963, he now is associate professor of Political Science in Miami and the author of several articles on politics in highly industrialized societies.

some modification of the bureaucratic formula will be required if the individuals who staff its officer corps are to perform effectively in implementing the goals of the Department. The alternative is a radical redefinition of the nature of the Foreign Service and the kind of career pattern which has been characteristic of it.

The tension between the expectation of Foreign Service officers and the requirements of their roles within the organization is chiefly a reflection of one central fact: the Department of State in the decade of the 1970s is an immense, complex and highly organized bureaucratic structure. As in any complex organization, the particular individuals who happen to be filling its many thousands of roles tend to be submerged within and dominated by the structure itself. Even when the individual's involvement with day-to-day management and administrative detail is intense and important, a premium is placed upon the officer's ability to harmonize his activities with those of his colleagues on the bureaucratic team.

There is nothing mysterious or even surprising about the bureaucratization of diplomacy. It has been the natural and gradual consequence of the growth of America's global commitment and the refinement of the techniques of managing both large-scale organizations and the vast quantities of information that go with them. But as the size and complexity of its activities have grown, the State Department has experienced an equal and opposite re-

action in the form of declining morale among those who staff the diplomatic bureaucracy. Journalists and academics as well as Foreign Service officers themselves regularly call attention to the *malaise*. Morale, it is sometimes said, has rarely been lower because the White House staff—the National Security Council and Dr. Kissinger—has seized the star role in policy formation, or because Congress has turned sour on foreign commitments, or because economy moves and reorganization within the Department have created a surplus of officers. Many State Department people appear to feel that they have been shunted aside and somewhat victimized, on the one hand, while being constantly subject to the anxiety of a rigorous career evaluation system on the other. Congress is feared, the White House is resented, the Department of Defense is envied.

While all of these factors have undoubtedly had their impact on morale and operational effectiveness, they tend to mask the more basic tension that has emerged within the Department. The simple fact is that the average Foreign Service officer has a background and career pattern that ill equips him to operate effectively within a bureaucratic context. While this is a difficulty which affects the entire service, it is more clearly apparent among those officers serving in Washington where the bureaucratic characteristics are most highly developed. In general, what seems to have happened is that the organizational context of the State Department has become a less

and less congenial working environment for the types of individuals characteristically recruited by the Foreign Service.

At least a part of this incompatibility between personnel and structure can be traced to the relatively elite educational backgrounds of State Department personnel. The academic attainments of Foreign Service officers at all levels of the hierarchy compare favorably with those of employees of other large-scale bureaucracies. It is doubtful if the corporate world or the military, for example, can boast so many staff members with distinguished undergraduate academic records, so many with graduate school training of one kind or another, or so many with advanced degrees. Moreover, State Department personnel include more than an average proportion of graduates from "prestige" schools. They are men and women who, in many subtle ways, have come to think of themselves as "top people," and whether or not they consider themselves to be intellectuals, they are likely to be people with active academic and cultural interests. More often than not, they are "generalists" with wide ranging interests in the humanities and social sciences.

The point to be stressed here is that the background, training and interests of Foreign Service officers do not make them particularly well suited to work effectively within an organizational structure which tends to be segmented, impersonal, and strictly hierarchical. Nor are they ideal recruits for a system in which decision-making tends to be incremental and individual roles tend to be defined by a highly developed set of regulations and operating procedures. It is true that in recent years the Department has attempted to soften the impact of bureaucratic uniformity by providing specialized training while, at the same time, it has tried to recruit more officers with administrative interests. Yet these measures probably have not come soon enough or in large enough doses to affect the internal operations of the organization in a major way. Moreover, these attempts at reform are likely to be swamped by the very experiences that place a diplomatic career somewhat outside the usual bureaucratic

mold.

The career motivations of Foreign Service personnel add another complication. One hardly needs depth interviews and elaborate surveys to suggest that recruits are drawn to the Foreign Service by motivations which set them somewhat apart from many other types of bureaucrats. With many in the business community, they share a certain impatience with theory and a desire for action and involvement. Coupled with this, however, is often a genuine desire to serve the polity and to achieve significance or even greatness through association with enterprises of more than mundane significance. To this must be added a taste for the high status and glamour traditionally associated with the Foreign Service. The lingering tradition of the cultivated amateur, the Foreign Service gentleman, is another attraction for those who perceive an opportunity in the service to continue their intellectual interests while they pursue their career. Yet, such expectations and motivations are in tension with the increasing specialization, complexity and anonymity of the State Department organization.

The career pattern of most Foreign Service officers substantially reinforces the incongruity between the personal characteristics of the staff and the organizational requirements of the Department. For example, a normal career consists of regular transfers among posts with the result that administrative effectiveness and even substantive expertise are often poorly developed with respect to any given tour of duty. An officer need not adapt more than formally to the operational norms that characterize a post or to the interpersonal relationships that grow up under a particular ambassador because these things are likely to be of little relevance at the next post. The same is often true of his mastery of languages and local affairs. In spite of the fact that more country and area specialization has been encouraged in recent years, the dominant psychological reality of a good many Foreign Service careers is still frequent change in geographical location and working environment. As a result, the Foreign Service officer must maintain a more detached and uncommitted attitude to-

ward any particular assignment or post than would be true of the typical employee in most other governmental bureaucracies.

It is worth emphasizing that an officer is likely to spend most of his career abroad as part of a US embassy or agency, and as many officers observe, the role carries with it a heightened sense of personal significance and individual freedom of action. There are relatively few Americans abroad and frequently an officer will be America's sole representative in this or that capacity. Not only is the bureaucratic context of the embassy smaller and less restraining than that of the State Department in Washington, but the more intimate working environment of most American foreign missions is also likely to convey the sense that one is participating significantly in policy formation—a feeling more difficult to sustain without cynicism in the carefully cross-tabulated environment of State's Washington headquarters. The incompatibility is clear: the career experiences of the officer lead him to stress the relative independence and significance of his role within the system while the bureaucratic procedures of the State Department stress the dependence and interchangeability of staff and the relative unimportance of any particular role within the overall diplomatic system.

Both in Washington and abroad, the life style of Foreign Service officers further subverts their commitment to bureaucratic norms of thought and behavior. This is partly due to the fact that they expect their stay in any one place to be only temporary, a circumstance which makes it unnecessary, even impossible, to make a complete adjustment and to sink very deep roots. An additional result of this pattern of transfer is that Foreign Service officers gradually acquire a "society of familiars"—people whom they have come to know as a result of having served together here and there. As a consequence, officers develop informal contacts within the bureaucracy and often outside the normal hierarchical channels. Moreover, regular contact with foreign embassies, dignitaries and those close to important decision-makers inevitably reinforces a self-image of personal importance within the ma-

chinery of the Department. While few officers would admit to feeling either independent or important, their experiences must be viewed alongside those of role holders in other bureaucracies. It seems fair to say that, if the obvious differences in career pattern and life style have any effect at all, it is in the direction of increasing the officer's sense of frustration as he seeks to operate within the organizational constraints of the Department.

These incongruities between the realities of bureaucratic procedure within the State Department and the role socialization of Foreign Service officers place a constant stress upon the conduct of the daily business of American diplomacy. One of the procedures of the organization which brings this strain into the open is the system of career evaluation and promotion. Here the crunch between individual and institutional expectations sometimes becomes audible. The process by which superior ranks inferior with respect to his work and personal style emphasizes the strict hierarchism of the bureaucracy and the dependent position of the individual officer. Whether an officer's career is progressing normally or not, the evaluation process is not usually far from his awareness. He knows that what really matters is how one's superior at the moment views the effectiveness with which one's current job within the organization is performed and the skill with which that work is blended with that of others in the immediate bureau or group. A consciousness of elite status, a sophistication bred of successful encounters with a whole spectrum of different assignments and foreign environments, and a sometimes dramatic sense of involvement in important enterprises all seem to conflict with the idea that one's evaluation should be based upon performance in a particular (and temporary) administrative post. Often there is resentment and even a mild sense of betrayal that the Department does not seem to value the personal qualities which the officer thinks significant and which seem to win approval within the informal culture of State Department life. While some changes in the evaluation process have been pushed forward in an attempt to ease this situation, it is difficult to

see how these changes can come to grips with what appears to be a basic difference in perspective between the institution and many of those who work within it.

These tensions within the diplomatic establishment do not merely have the effect of producing frustration among the ranks of the Foreign Service officer corps—the effectiveness of the entire organization is inevitably affected. Most serious from the perspective of the State Department (and most difficult to counteract) is the officer's lack of longterm commitment to a particular role or post. This, in turn, has a subtle and negative effect upon the way in which that role is treated. Even with good will on the part of the officer, his attention is likely to be focused upon the immediate and operational detail of his area of responsibility. Carefully prepared reports of the research division often become part of the files rather than a part of the active frame of reference of the officer. The reasons are not difficult to find: time is short, pressures are great, and there is little reward for the kind of detailed analysis which an officer might bring to his work after laborious study and research. But most importantly, he knows that in a rather short time, he will be working on different problems, with different people in what may be a wholly different cultural or functional context.

Another negative impact upon the Department's performance is a marginal tendency (which can be important when multiplied throughout the organization) to avoid making the compromises of individual style which are often necessary in order to function effectively with one's colleagues. When one's tenure within a bureaucratic establishment is likely to be an extended one, it is essential to find a *modus vivendi* which will hold up over the long term. Personal happiness and operational effectiveness require it and the individual is under some pressure to make the necessary accommodation. These mechanisms and pressures are weakened when officers know they will work together only for a rather short period. As a result, effective working arrangements may not be fully developed and incompatible personalities and working styles may simply go under-

ground for a while. The aggregate result is likely to be an erosion of operational effectiveness and the reinforcement of that tension between organization and personnel to which we have been referring.

The personnel problem of the State Department is not new. It has always recruited a class of somewhat privileged and intellectual officers and it has always put them into a bureaucratic structure which has imposed restraints and enforced conformity. It could hardly have been otherwise in the process of trying to balance creative on-the-spot problem solving with the need for coordination and discipline in the implementation of policy. Our argument is simply that the increasing size and complexity of the diplomatic bureaucracy (as well as that of the larger Washington bureaucratic environment of which it is a part) has produced a qualitative change in the working environment of the Foreign Service officer which has accentuated the tension between the man and the structure. Decision-making is centralized as never before and the momentum of a large, computerized bureaucracy exerts a constant demand for the elimination of the unpredictabilities and idiosyncrasies generated by men and places. And with every additional twist of the bureaucratic screw, a greater pressure is placed upon the officer corps. The irony is that as tension has its impact upon both effectiveness and morale, further refinements of bureaucratic procedure are often thought to be the necessary corrective. Ultimately, the only solution seems to lie in a still more careful coordination between the way in which personnel are recruited and trained by the Department and the actual requirements of the roles they will be expected to fill in the course of their careers. As military tensions are reduced among developed societies and contact among them becomes more and more intense, the State Department is likely to play an increasingly prominent role as both the architect and the agent of American policy. A solution to the tension between the organizational structure of the Department and the role orientation of its officers is essential if it is to be effective in meeting the challenge of its expanding obligations. ■

Pre Ping Pong

PEACE WITH CHINA? *US Decisions for Asia*, ed. by Earl C. Ravenal. Live-right, \$7.50.

IN September 1970, the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington held a conference to discuss and critique American policy in Asia, in general, and in relation to the People's Republic of China, in particular. This book is the product of the conference. It presents papers by the 18 participants—almost all of whom have, at one time or another, occupied positions in the national security establishment—followed by a discussion which is often provocative and quite sharp in tone. In addition to an Introduction and an Epilogue by the editor, the book is divided into four major sections: The Nixon Doctrine: Disengagement or Confrontation?; Decision-Making for Asia: Options or Compulsions?; Economic Stakes: Profits or Losses?; and Approaches to China: Accommodation or Containment?

The conference was held during a period of rapidly changing US-China relations—before the visit of the American table-tennis team to China, before the seating of Peking in the United Nations and before Nixon's historic visit to China. It is a credit to the authors that these developments did not make the book obsolete. For the most part, the questions raised and discussed are just as valid now as they were then. Because most of the papers go beyond policies themselves and tackle the more general questions that relate to the process of policy-making, Ravenal's collection should make stimulating reading even for those who might disagree with the essentially critical approach to the Nixon Doctrine in Asia.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

A Classic Revised

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, by John King Fairbank. Harvard University Press, \$2.95 (paperback).

WIDELY regarded as the *doyen* of America's Sinologues, Professor Fairbank has again revised his highly acclaimed, classic work on US

relations with China. This standard work, sure to be found on almost all required reading lists for college courses on China, is lauded by *quondam* Ambassador to Japan and Harvard colleague, Dr. Reischauer, as viewing "the Chinese people and the great flow of their traditions, and their current hopes and anguishes as a whole, clarifying what has happened in the past and making more understandable what may transpire in the future." This book is a real bargain—no one interested in China should be without it.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Woe in Calcutta

CLASS STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: *India and Pakistan Since the Moghuls*, by Angus Maddison. Norton, \$7.95.

THREE hundred years ago Moghul India produced as much as all of Western Europe, and travelers marveled at cities which surpassed in richness the European capitals. The opulence of the Moghuls was a model for emulation by European courts. Today, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh together have a population double that of Western Europe, but production and consumption at only a fraction of European levels. Leading cities of the subcontinent are visited by foreign travelers to savor urban disaster.

Mr. Maddison's book gets at some fundamental measures of what has been happening in the subcontinent in the last three centuries. Consumption shares changed somewhat under the British. In Moghul days an urbanized elite (about 18 percent of the population) consumed just over half the available income. After World War II the top 18 percent, still largely urban, shared about 44 percent of national income, with British officials and businessmen in the place of Moghul officials. Per capita conditions, Maddison suggests, were little improved, though with expanded population, production too was larger in the aggregate.

One generation after independence, he finds scant change despite persuasive egalitarian political rhetoric. The rate of production growth seems to have increased somewhat, with the rate of increase grading upward as one moves west from

Bangladesh. Population too has grown. The top fifth of population, almost entirely urban, continues to receive close to half of all income. British officials and businessmen have been replaced by a still burgeoning indigenous bureaucracy.

In these three countries the United States has granted and loaned about the same quantity as to all the republics in the Western Hemisphere. Key advocates of high aid levels to the subcontinent argued for it both as a buttress of democracy and a way to move 20 percent of the world's population away from grinding poverty. Maddison's compact book shows how stony the path remains. He concludes that for this area "there is no point in writing blueprints for social change, unless the bureaucracy itself is reformed."

—DAVID R. RAYNOLDS

The Valley of the Gambia

MANDINGO KINGDOMS OF THE SENEGAMBIA: *Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*, by Charlotte A. Quinn. Northwestern University Press, \$10.

SUPERFICIALLY, this is a study of political change in the Gambia river valley of West Africa. "Another African book," you may think, "probably turgidly written, smacking of local history to the world at large." If this be your reaction to yet another in the flood of academic studies pouring forth from the once-dark continent, this small, readable volume may offer you, as it did me, a pleasant surprise.

In West Africa, the 19th century saw a violent attack on traditional ruling elites in the small kingdoms and city states by Muslim radicals out for political power and economic gain as well as for the conversion of the heathen. As this struggle was going on, European traders, missionaries and soldiers tried to expand their coastal footholds into a predominant position in the interior in order to secure the peaceful stability they felt was essential to their special interests. In the rich Senegal-Gambia river system this three-fold confrontation focused on the holy wars of a charismatic Muslim priest named Maba who created a new political order while turning out of the country a decadent ruling class with long-established ties with

the Europeans.

The Mandingo, who dominated the Gambia, were a virile, active trading group and provided many of the brilliant aspects of African history now coming to be appreciated by the western world—the empire of Mali and the brutal exploits of Samory Toure, for example. Their drama, in the setting of this book, is one of confrontation between cultures, of small and large “powers”—and the often horrid results of benevolent intervention from abroad. In the Senegambia, as in 19th century South Africa and 20th century Vietnam, interference in processes of political decay and renewal by European or other alien activists, committed though they were on paper to a role of “non-intervention,” resulted in strikingly similar patterns of weakness and disorder within the indigenous society. Support of one side of the local struggle brought in its wake an enervating dependence, coupled with a blatant opportunism—and a lengthy delay in the evolution of a new order from within the

Solution of Ruth Nalls' Diplomatic Acrostic

In a diplomat's soul you may find iron ore, but it is usually oil—and in a whale of a diplomat you'll find the whole equipment—the blubber of charity, the whalebone of flexibility, the oil of commodity. A great diplomat is a regular Moby Dick.

Author: (Francis) Hackett
Work: (Review of) Robert B. Mer-
tman (From Suleiman the
Magnificent) New York
Times, January 4, 1945

- A. Fuddy-duddy
- B. Half a loaf
- C. Annihilate
- D. Colombia
- E. Know-it-all
- F. Equipoise
- G. Trepidation
- H. The millennium
- I. Rapport
- J. Off the cuff
- K. Got away
- L. Exodus
- M. Rambouillet
- N. Buoy
- O. Midway
- P. Embellish
- Q. Rule the roost
- R. Rabalais
- S. Ichthyology
- T. Mime
- U. Abolition
- V. Nobility

society itself. No one, of course, won in the Gambia and the world was left with a magnificent waterway politically segmented and economically annulled.

For the Africanist this is a groundbreaking study of an important political system during the period of the 19th century jihads. The author, who did field research in the Gambia, has carefully synthesized oral history and written source materials in West Africa, London and Paris, and has presented them in a well thought through whole.

—STEPHEN VILLIERS

A General's Memoirs

SWORDS AND PLOUGHSHARES, by General Maxwell D. Taylor. Norton, \$10.00.

SWORDS AND PLOUGHSHARES is the memoir of America's most distinguished living soldier-statesman: paratroop commander, Army Chief-of-Staff, personal military representative to President Kennedy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Ambassador to Saigon, consultant to three Presidents.

As might be expected by everyone who has had the privilege of knowing or serving with him, General Taylor's book—obviously written by his hand alone—is a crisp, factual and gracefully literate account of his long years of military and diplomatic service.

From a historical standpoint the most significant parts of the book concern the author's role during the Kennedy and Johnson years. To this day few persons not privy to the inner councils of government in the 1960s are aware of the enormous influence exercised by General Taylor over these two Presidents. Especially interesting are the accounts of the Special Group (Counter-Insurgency), the famous November 1961 survey trip to Saigon, the planning leading up to the decision to escalate in Vietnam, and the Cuban missile crisis.

Naturally General Taylor takes the view that the policies that he advocated, and the decisions he participated in, were the right ones in the circumstances of the time. He makes no apologies for being a hawk, except that of being a rational and prudent one, adhering to the maxim of Hotspur that out of this

nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety. Where he runs into difficulty is in his explanation of how and why these carefully thought-out policies ran into trouble, especially in Vietnam.

It is unfortunate, though perhaps inevitable, that General Taylor should fall back on condemnation of youth and the news media to explain the refusal of the American public to support its leadership indefinitely in the bloody entanglement of Indochina. General Taylor turns a blind eye to the revulsion of the thinking American public at the annihilation of the civilian population of Vietnam. He cannot see that the policies he advocated were in fact the direct cause of the mass disaffection that he deplors. One of the many melancholy consequences of this dismal decade is that the career of this great soldier and gentleman should end on so unhappy a note.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

FSJ COMPETITION

The August competition asking for clarifying remarks for famous and infamous historical statements elicited the following:

“Apres moi le deluge.”

“Good afternoon, Mrs. Jones, I'm . . . What's that? You say you've been expecting me? How did you . . . Yes, I'll be happy to come in . . . You want me to see your bathroom? O.K. . . . Oh, I see, it's about to overflow. Well, do you have a wrench? . . . Yes, of course I carry the tools of my trade, but wrenches aren't among them.”
(Pause). “There now, it's fixed . . . How much do you owe me? Well you see, Mrs. Jones, I'm not the plumber. I'm your candidate for Congress. You owe me one vote.”
(Thought to self): Now get the hell out of here before she hears that gurgling again!

“I'm tired of having to go to the airport to meet visiting Congressmen.” Setting: a bar in Abidjan. FSO talking with an American he met over a scotch and water.

“I'm tired of having to go to the airport to meet visiting Congressmen. Last post I was in, there was this Congressman who flew half way around the world just to shoot ele-

phants—he was a Democrat. Then there was one who wanted to hunt flamingoes—he had once been the American Party's candidate for President, and thought anything that red just had to be Communist. Then there was the one who wanted to send a Masai spear back in the diplomatic pouch. And the group who arrived at 4 a.m. and wanted to find a bar. 'No briefing,' they said, 'We don't want to be brainwashed.' . . . Did I meet this last group that came in? No. I was upcountry . . . You were there? . . . You are? . . . Waiter, another round for the Congressman, and give me the check."

At the Court of Versailles the Bureau of Public Enlightenment and Fuller Clarification issued the following press release concerning the statement attributed to His Majesty, Louis XIV: "*L'état, c'est moi.*"

In remarking that "I am the State," His Majesty resorted deliberately to hyperbole to underline and highlight his point, viz: His Majesty, you, and I, *we*—all of us—are the State. "This land is your land, this land is my land," as the song goes.

Or, as the Quaker poet, Walt Whitman, wrote: "I celebrate myself, and I sing myself / And what I assume you shall assume / For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you. . . . I am large, I contain multitudes."

On dit that, in a background (not for attribution) briefing, the Court spokesman disclosed to a few trustworthy members of the Fourth Estate that His Majesty, vexed upon learning how his comment had been misconstrued, muttered: "The bane of my life has been literal-minded people. What do they want of me—that I should draw them a picture? I am no maker of sketches. I am *Louis Quatorze, Le Roi Soleil—l'état, c'est moi.*"

Ten dollars to Marilyn Dexheimer, legislative assistant to Senator Edward Brooke, for her imaginative double entry and our congratulations to Robert W. Rinden for his inspired "Bureau of Public Enlightenment and Fuller Clarification."

The December competition is set by William N. Turpin, who writes: "A cable from one of our missions crossed my desk the other day, con-

taining two (Freudian?) slips which should not be allowed to vanish into our computerized Lethe. Paragraph 2 said, 'British rep. in philosophic vain' and a couple of sentences later on, paragraph 4 quoted IBRD President McNamara as saying the Bank had *dispersed* over \$10 million in some country the name of which doesn't matter.

"Not, so far as I can remember, since an unfortunate British vice consul, shortly after the first World War, visited Mount Athos to investigate rumors of unrest, and reported that the monks were violating their vows, only to have it reach London as 'cows,' have we had one like this. I only wish I could cap Harold Nicolson's minute, 'Sounds like a case for a papal bull.' But I reflect on that statesman's advice never to write a funny minute and stop trying."

Surely others in the Foreign Service have collected similar items which they would like to share. Ten dollars to the best example, entries by February 15 to FSJ Competition, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Steve and Martha make wicked martinis.



How can you get off Steve and Martha's guest list?

You have friends like Steve and Martha. You go there for dinner and they start pouring the biggest martinis around. And the strongest.

One of theirs does what two martinis usually do. Because there's twice as much alcohol in every drink.

And you get a sort of glow—right now. Before long everybody's forgotten all about dinner. And to your surprise, you're—well—smashed.

Then good old Steve just wanders off to bed. Leaving you to find your way home. To drive when

you know you shouldn't.

Here's something you should know about Steve and Martha. They invite people over so they can do some good heavy drinking and call it social drinking.

How do you get off Steve and Martha's guest list? Say no, thank you.

If they press you, explain that you just can't drink that way. Hard feelings? Maybe. But let's face it. Steve and Martha have a problem. Don't let them make it your problem.

If you need a drink to be social...that's not social drinking.



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FOREIGN POLICY

NUMBER 9, WINTER 1972-73, \$2.50

3 Four More Years—
Of What?
David Watt

THE SEA BELOW

132 Who Gets What
On The Seabed?
Evan Luard

THE PRIMACY
OF ECONOMICS

148 Seabeds Make
Strange Politics
Ann L. Hollick

18 Trade Policy
Is Foreign Policy
Richard N. Cooper

171 Japan's Security:
Balancing After
The Shocks
Albert Wohlstetter

37 Power and Peace
Robert E. Hunter

55 Foreign Policy For
Disillusioned Liberals
Lincoln P. Bloomfield

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69 Is The Oil Shortage
Real?
M. A. Adelman

108 The Five Other Rules
C. Northcote Parkinson

117 The Arms Race
Is About Politics
Colin S. Gray

WHY DOES NOBODY LIKE ME JUST BECAUSE I'M A COCKROACH?



LAWRENCE D. RUSSELL

Memorandum to the Administrative Officer

I expect the cockroaches to be removed from my apartment immediately. Having resorted to all other measures, I intend to report this disgusting matter to the Ambassador if your staff does not act at once. The situation is intolerable for me, unhealthy for my family and embarrassing for my guests.

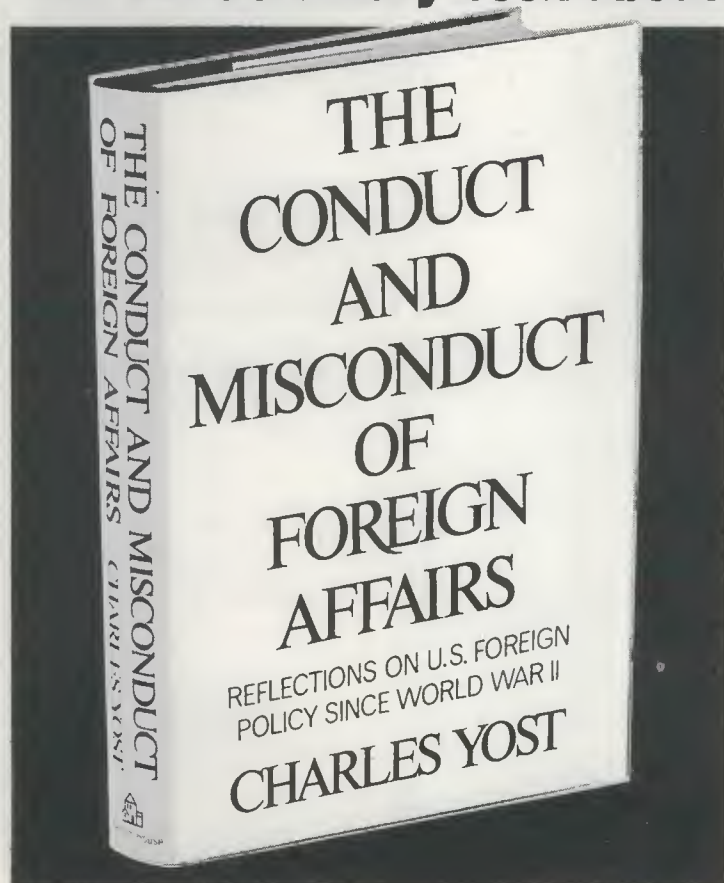
Memorandum from the Administrative Officer

Cockroach is the name applied to members of the *Blattidae*, a family of orthopterous insects with flattened bodies, long thread-like antennae and shining leathery integument. I mean, let's be sure we're talking about the same thing. Do yours have shining leathery integument?

I recall the first time I saw a

Larry Russell was born and educated in Florida, where he claims cockroaches aren't a problem because they are carried off by the mosquitoes. He entered the Service in 1957 and has since served in a variety of administrative positions at the posts mentioned in his "memorandum" and in the Department. He's now the Admin Officer in Budapest.

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RANDOM HOUSE 

bathtub full of cockroaches. When I arrived in Leopoldville in 1958, the old Consulate General was located in an ancient wooden house, a decrepit construction standing creakingly on its last legs, while we waited for a new office building to be completed. My office was a bathroom. To make a typing table, some ingenious soul had covered the bathtub with a sturdy piece of plywood (imagine what visitors used as a chair), and although it wasn't *comme il faut*, this rather appealed to my idea of what life in Africa should be. I noticed, however, that my typing table made strange noises. New to the Foreign Service, I was a little timid when reporting the matter to the Maintenance Officer.

"Of course the damn thing makes noise," he said. "It's full of cockroaches."

"Ha, ha," I replied.

"Ha, ha, hell, you nincompoop! Go take a look!"

I went and I looked. The man was right—my typing table was full of cockroaches. When I lifted the

plywood cover, I found there were thousands of them, each at least three inches long, swarming and squirming, their bodies scraping together in a cacophony of horrid sound, all trying to get to the top of the pile. The whole mass moved like a small brown sea, complete even with waves, simulated by the fluttering of their antennae.

"You were right," I told the man. "My table is full of roaches."

"So what do you want from me now, you nincompoop?"

"Well," I said, "perhaps we could do something to get rid of them."

His face reddened and he screamed his answer. "Get rid of them! How the hell do you propose to get rid of them, you nincompoop?" (He was a friendly man. I'd only been at the post one day and already he'd given me a nickname: "nincompoop.")

I made a suggestion or two, relying on my admittedly limited knowledge in the wholesale slaughter of insects. My colleague's reaction was violent and sustained. For almost an hour, he recited chapter and verse

of the history of that bathtub full of cockroaches, shouting and swearing, the sweat streaming down his fiery face and soaking through his shirt. He'd tried everything, he told me. He'd poured gasoline on them and set them afire. He'd shoveled them into buckets and dumped them into the Congo River. He'd plugged up the bathtub drain, their doorway from the bowels of the earth, with seventeen pounds of cement. He swore to me the cockroaches had blown out the fire, swum to safety from the river and eaten every ounce of the cement. To complete his tirade, he gave me a very simple instruction. "Don't you ever talk to me about cockroaches again, you nincompoop!"

I went back to my office and my cockroaches. In the weeks that followed, until we moved to the new building, they actually became "my" cockroaches. It wasn't unusual during that period to hear one of my seniors shouting down the hall: "God damn it, Russell, one of your cockroaches is in my office!"

One night I had dinner at an

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outdoor restaurant with one of the American secretaries. She had seemed to me to be a fastidious, rather prim, prissy and proper girl. Imagine my genuine horror, therefore, when in the midst of our meal, I noticed a huge cockroach climbing up the side of her glass of beer. I stared, unable to speak or move. The thing completed its climb, balanced for a ghastly second on the rim of the glass, and then fell with a sickening plop into the beer. I'd misjudged that girl; she was real Foreign Service. She looked down at her glass, calmly picked up the floundering cockroach by a leg, casually dropped him to the pavement and just as calmly and casually crushed him under the heel of her shoe. "I say, Russell," she said, "was that one of yours?" Then she drank off the rest of her beer.

Thus began my long association with the cockroach. It seems to me they have been with me ever since, wherever I've gone in the Foreign Service. At only one post can I remember there being none. I don't believe we had them in Libya, but

we had so many scorpions I'm not really sure.

When we moved into our house in Algiers, we noticed all of the beds were fitted with mosquito netting. I asked our landlord if the mosquitoes were really that bad. "Mais non," he told me. "Zee lizards eat zee moustiques. Zee nets are for keep zee roach from zee bed."

He wasn't kidding. We learned to fall asleep to the sounds of hundreds of the little beasts slipping and sliding about on the marble floors, their leathery integument shining in the moonlight.

Moscow had very special cockroaches. They seemed to like American food, particularly peanut butter and corn flakes, better than any other. In the diplomatic compound where we lived, there was a Pakistani family on one side of us, a French couple on the other and an undetermined number of Poles below. None of them seemed to be bothered with cockroaches.

I think I eventually learned the Pakistanis' secret. They were a large family and the wife did a lot of

cooking, all of it pungent with the spices of the East. There was an almost constant odor of curry-flavored smoke filtering from their apartment into ours. The cockroaches filtered right along with it. They just didn't care for curry.

The Frenchman on the other side of us took a different approach. When I asked him what he did about cockroaches, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "But what else? One steps on zem."

Our Polish neighbor was no help either. He told me I had roaches because I was a filthy capitalist.

Maybe he was right. In any case, we had them. A whole army of the creatures ate, worked, played, multiplied and were seemingly happy in our kitchen, oblivious to everything around them except the food in the cupboards. I tried for a while to train one of them to open cans for me, but they chose to execute that rather remarkable feat only in private. In final desperation, we once had the kitchen fumigated with an extremely powerful insecticide, but the only thing killed was the cat.



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The roaches carried him away for us.

Then there was the State Department cockroach who came to dinner. I first noticed him between the soup and fish courses at a luncheon in a Department dining room, where the guest of honor and speaker was a well-known senator. The creature (I mean the cockroach, of course) was dining with us. Scurrying under and around the Senator's various plates, he selected his lunch from among the tidbits that fell near him.

After dessert (the cockroach seemed pleased with the *mousse au chocolat*), the well-fed insect escaped the table clearing and cleaning activity that followed by hiding—cleverly, I thought—in the shadow cast by the Senator's brandy glass. After our guest (I mean the Senator, of course) began his talk, the cockroach ventured out from his hiding place, I suspect to take a last look around for any remaining spots of *mousse au chocolat*. That proved to be a fatal mistake. The Senator had quickly launched into a tirade on some burning issue of the day and was gesticulating in a fashion reminiscent of his Mediterranean ancestry.

To underline a specific point, he brought his hand down sharply on the table and the cockroach departed for cockroach heaven.

When the first few cockroaches appeared in our apartment in Palermo, experienced as I was by then, I immediately called the landlord, who promised to come at once. He arrived eight days later. By then the first few cockroaches had become the first few hundred. I took the landlord to the kitchen, which I had purposely kept dark to confuse the cockroaches and lure them from their hiding places in the peanut butter and corn flakes.

"Mamma mia!" he shouted. "Whosa put bugs inna kitchen?"

"That's what I called you about," I said.

"Why calla me? Calla bug man, an calla quick. Bugs issa make dirty all over stove. I'ma buy stove new is only thirteen year. You getta bugs outta kitchen subito or contratto kaput. Bugsa go, you okay stay. Bugsa stay, you go. Bugsa no good inna house. I'ma talk last word!"

I called the bug man and explained my problem. There were no

cockroaches in Sicily, he told me. Was I sure they weren't termites? He was very good at exterminating termites, he explained. Quickly seeing the light, I told him they probably were termites, the biggest anyone had ever seen, and suggested he come immediately before someone else got the rare opportunity of exterminating them. Then he became cautious. He asked me where these big bugs were located and I confessed they seemed to be mostly in the peanut butter and the corn flakes. "Issa no termite eat peanut butter anna corn flake. Must be stupido Americano bugs."

My long experience with the *Blattidae* family has taught me much about them. For instance, I'm convinced you can neither lick them nor join them. You must learn to appreciate them, even to admire them. Although they are usually viewed with disgust, cockroaches are not devoid of interest. They rank as the most primitive of all winged insects, for example, and they are among the oldest of all the fossil forms. Do you really want us to go about killing off future-fossils? ■

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INTO WAR
from page 16

have come into force. We indicated, as plainly as the language of diplomacy would allow, that what mattered was not the formality of the Pact but the reality of the aid. To what extent was the Russian army mobilized and its air force ready to assist the Czechs? Litvinov said that he could not tell us this: he was not posted on military and air questions "since he had been away from Russia for such a time. . . ."

I was left in no doubt that the Russians themselves did not mean business. Litvinov had been deliberately evasive and vague, except when he had said that if France acted the Soviet would act too. Since his conversations with his opposite number had been far more numerous and dispiriting than mine, this was tantamount to saying that if Bonnet threw himself off the Eiffel Tower Litvinov would be there to catch him. It seemed to me preposterous for him to pretend ignorance of Soviet military preparations.

He was, and gave the clear impression of being, much nearer the center of power than any other Russian Foreign Minister with whom I have had dealings, and he had been at his desk in the Kremlin in the first week of September. . . . Appreciations arriving at the Foreign Office from our Embassy in Moscow warned that the great purges of 1937 had had a disastrous effect on the morale and efficiency of the Red Army which, "though no doubt equal to a defensive war within the frontiers of the Soviet Union, is not capable of carrying the war into the enemy's territory with any hope of ultimate success or without thereby running the risk of endangering the régime." We now know that precisely similar appreciations were reaching Berlin from the German Ambassador.

Nevertheless, the theory that we deliberately "excluded Russia from Europe" and that this played a decisive part in the ultimate tragedy was widely held by political opinion at home. It was endorsed after the

war by Churchill who, advancing a somewhat medieval interpretation of history, argued that Stalin wanted to help Benes because in 1936 the latter had revealed a plot against his life. The murders and massacres of his régime hardly reveal Stalin as so warm-hearted a man even in matters concerning his own family. Nor was this hypothetical affection and affinity reciprocal. As Benes told the French Ambassador in Prague, and as Litvinov admitted more or less explicitly to the League, the Czechs did not wish to accept Soviet intervention unless France acted first. Many Czechs had fought against the Bolsheviks in 1918 and feared Soviet domination. General Jan Syrový is on record as saying, "We don't want the Russians in here as we shall never get them out." Though, in the light of subsequent history, no sentiment compels readier or sadder assent, it was of secondary significance to the British in 1938. For us the criterion was whether Russia intended to oppose the German army, whether indeed she could afford to

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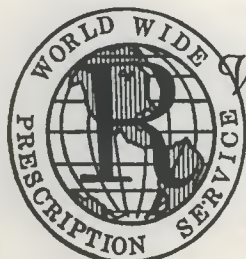


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fight. My interview with Litvinov only confirmed our conclusion that, both on political and military grounds, the USSR could not be trusted to wage war in defense of interests that were not bound up with her own security. . . .


The worm-eaten fabric of French political society and the self-seeking duplicity of the Soviet régime would have combined to leave us alone to face at close quarters the onslaught of the Luftwaffe. But the crucial change that came about as a result of the year's delay was in our preparedness to meet this onslaught. The "special importance of preparation in the air and of developing the passive resistance of our population," which had been my theme at Chatham House in April 1938, proved indeed to be the key factors. In September 1938 the RAF had only one operational fighter squadron equipped with Spitfires and five in process of being equipped with Hurricanes; by the summer of 1939, thanks to Lord Swinton's earlier tenure of the Air Ministry, it had 26

squadrons of modern eight-gun fighters, and a year later 47. Our ground defenses against air attack were also substantially strengthened in this period. The provision of anti-aircraft guns was increased fourfold to 1,653, of which more than half were the newer 3.7- and 4.5-inch guns, and barrage balloon defense was completed in London and extended outside. More important was the fact that, by the time war broke out, the chain of radar stations, which during the Munich crisis had been in operation only in the Thames estuary, guarded the whole of Britain from the Orkneys to the Isle of Wight. Meanwhile, the administrative talents of John Anderson had wrought corresponding transformations in civilian ARP, and plans for evacuating schoolchildren and finding emergency hospital beds were completed.

These preparations extended to the pace and scope of British rearmament generally, as Professor Postan has described in his official history of British war production.

But I stress them here both because they undoubtedly constituted the most important defense achievement between Munich and the outbreak of war and because, though we now know that the figures of German strength quoted by our professional advisers and our critics alike to have been greatly exaggerated, they did provide the indispensable means by which we won the Battle of Britain. . . . Nor was the military breathing-space the only gain. There were subtler but equally significant changes of opinion at home and abroad. . . . There could no longer be any doubt in any mind that the ambitions of Germany stretched far beyond its ethnic frontiers and that it had indeed, in Chamberlain's phrase, "made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force." These considerations affected not only the will and conscience of our own people but the attitudes of Commonwealth governments and of enlightened leaders in foreign countries, most notably in the USA. ■

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INTERSTELLAR NEGOTIATIONS

from page 14

ner. Treating all communicating civilizations as equals and remaining non-aligned among them would seem the best initial stance, at least until we knew the capabilities and intentions of the others involved.

An instrumental interest would be keeping the communications channel open. If a security understanding were reached, the channel could be used for the exchange of scientific and cultural information on a broader scale than would be possible without such an understanding. The channel could also be an interstellar hot line useful in emergencies to prevent a misunderstanding of events, such as an off-course starship.

Listen Before You Talk

At 4 a.m. on April 8, 1960, man made his first attempt to intercept extraterrestrial signals. Using an 85-foot radio telescope (see picture) at Green Bank, West Virginia, a group of astronomers under

Frank Drake aimed the dish at Tau Ceti, a star 12 light years away, and began listening. Project Ozma, as their research was called, continued for a few months without detecting signals from either Tau Ceti or Epsilon Eridani, another star about 11 light years from Earth. Drake calculated that signals from planets orbiting these stars would be observable with the 85-foot dish if they were generated by a million watt transmitter operating through a 600 foot antenna, not an unreasonable expectation of an advanced technological civilization.

Interest in detecting signals from other stars has continued to grow. At a meeting in Soviet Armenia in the fall of 1971, scientists from many nations resolved to encourage their governments to support the search with facilities and money. Estimates for the cost of a monitoring system have ranged from Frank Drake's 1961 figure of \$15 million (for capital investment only) to \$3 billion.

The other side of this coin is a

transmitter designed or adapted for interstellar communication. Shklovskii wrote:

Perhaps we shall soon be able to broadcast our own existence. This would not be immodest. What would happen if all Galactic civilizations worked only on receiving, and not on transmitting interstellar radio signals?

Besides being expensive, an interstellar transmitter would raise the same questions as the Pioneer-10 plaque, but with much more urgency. Do we want to inform distant intelligences of our presence before we know of them? By the logic of a scientific exchange, the answer may be yes. By the logic of security, the answer is almost certainly no.

We stand only at the threshold of space. Our space flight technology is still primitive, the velocities very low, the ranges very limited, and our space weapons systems virtually non-existent. The technologies of the present may be enough for the exploration of our own solar

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system, but interstellar travel is of a different order of magnitude. We simply do not have the capability to negotiate on anything approaching equal terms with a space-faring power.

The only way we can achieve even a modicum of bargaining power is to develop our own space-faring capability. Shklovskii and Sagan concluded that efficient interstellar spaceflight to the farthest reaches of the galaxy is a feasible objective for humanity, and that, after the initiation of an interstellar exploration program, only a few more centuries would be required to place small, automatically controlled probe vehicles in orbit around all stars which are likely to have habitable planets within a radius of 100 light years. Probes could be followed selectively by manned spacecraft. In addition to achieving scientific objectives, such a program would advance our spacefaring capability. While the time/distance equation could be a limiting factor because long voyages would mean

extremely long observed times on Earth, we should note Maxwell Hunter's comment that "perhaps the most intriguing question among the engineers and scientists of the future will be the desirability of an assault on the light barrier."

Robert Goddard once said about space travel: "There can be no thought of finishing, for aiming at the stars, both literally and figuratively, is the work of generations." While we are developing our star-faring capability, our best course is to listen—to develop an organized, systematic, long-term program of searching for signals that may indicate intelligent life elsewhere in our galaxy.

Sagan argues that it is of no use to maintain an interstellar radio silence because radio signals have already been sent unintentionally. This is not completely convincing; the signals are relatively weak and diffuse, and the nearest advanced civilizations may not be searching for signals in radio and TV wavelengths in this direction at this

time. In any case, the transmitter question may be of diminishing relevance as man spreads out from his solar system in interstellar vehicles, increasing the probability that we will encounter another civilization, or that it will detect our probes.

In the long run, detection of an extraterrestrial civilization is probably inevitable. If we detect them first, we must evaluate their scientific and technological level and guess at their intentions before making the great decision: do we send a message or not? That decision could involve us in a dialogue of centuries; it could risk human survival; or it could bring an incalculable richness of knowledge, physical instrumentalities, and cultural growth, and open the door to a Galactic society. On this relationship we could build an unprecedented expansion of human potential, and participate in that millennial effort to reverse entropy that may be the ultimate task of Galactic civilization. We must be as ready as possible before the negotiations begin. ■

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LETTERS *continued from page 2*

of a continuing lateral entry program at all levels, etc.

Something is still wrong. Maybe Mr. Macomber should establish Task Force Fourteen to deal with the "interpersonal underworld" Huff describes so vividly.

For an earlier description of this phenomenon see William C. Schutz, *HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW*, Vol. 36, No. 4, July-August, 1958, pp. 123-135. "In every meeting of two or more people two levels of interaction occur. One is the overt—the play that is apparently being played. The other is the covert-like ballet going on in back of the performance on the interpersonal stage—a subtle struggle for attention and status, for control and influence, and for liking and warmth. This ballet influences the performance by pushing the overt players into unusual postures and making them say and do unusual things. Thus, the objective, hardheaded executive is overtly very resistant to a splendid idea suggested by the brash young fellow who may someday replace him. But this example is much too obvious. The ballet's effect on the actors is usually more subtle."

HARRIS H. BALL

Washington

Congratulations and a Query

■ Many congratulations for your new format, and general lay-out of the magazine. It is vastly improved, to what it was some few years ago.

We were just a little shocked over the cover of your October issue, an amusing contrivance of political kaleidoscopic photography, which contained NO "shot" of Senator George McGovern, the Democratic Candidate. Discretion, and fairness, would not have made this omission possible, on the part of the "organ" of the American Foreign Service, which stands at all times for non-partisan dealing with such questions, and representation. As the wife of a retired Consul General, I am not unaware of the need to adhere to such a code.

I am reminded of the credo of the *New York Times*, a guiding philosophy to all its staff, a paper with which for many years my father, and later I, were associated. The text, which hangs on the office wall beneath the bust of Adolph Ochs

reads:

"To give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved."

Perhaps this explains my attitude which is wholly non-partisan. I am familiar with the handling of situations of controversial character, and know that one way or another, it can be accomplished to the satisfaction of all.

GAY TOMLINSON

Tangier

EDITOR'S NOTE: Our cover was planned for non-partisan coverage of the two major party conventions, with the objective of getting out the vote in the national election as well as the Executive Order election. Unfortunately, we were able to get an extremely complete set of photographs in a reasonable time from only one party. For the other photos we were forced to resort to a free-lance photographer who had an incomplete collection. Given a greater lead time, a larger budget or more staff, the *JOURNAL* would have done better. Given a larger budget and better organization, the other party might have done better.

More on Promotions

■ After reading Ed Cohen's article, "Rank Injustice," I can only say, "Right on, Ed!" Mr. Cohen's well reasoned argument should alleviate much of the scepticism regarding a semiautomatic promotion procedure. His proposal is both logical and fair and deserves serious consideration by all in the Foreign Service.

I believe his argument could have been strengthened even more by considering in greater depth two new developments in our personnel system—the threshold review and tenure. It will be more difficult to avoid a semi-automatic system now because such a system is a logical consequence of the adoption of these two features.

The junior officer threshold is designed to ensure that only those officers capable of adequate performance in the middle grades reach those grades. Assuming the procedure in fact performs this task (and is not used as a vehicle to induce officers to make functional cone changes), officers promoted to class 5 have been judged, as Ed argues, essentially similar in ability.

In addition, the threshold procedure addresses itself to an officer's "promotability." Officers who pass the screening process are deemed to

have the potential to move upward to more responsible positions in the Foreign Service. This screening process, involving such judgments, is strong support for the adoption of a semi-automatic system.

Tenure (job security) and the threshold go hand-in-hand. The tenure feature is a strong argument against those who feel we need the present "competitiveness" to ensure high performance. By adopting tenure, the Service has said that a secure position will not destroy an officer's incentive to perform well. This is an admission by management that the competitive argument is invalid. It strengthens Ed's argument that Foreign Service officers are highly motivated without the axe over their necks.

EDWARD R. STUMPF

Washington

Bird Watchers Unite

■ I have been asked by my diplomatic and ornithological colleague, Sir Anthony Lambert, KCMG, retired Ambassador from the UK Diplomatic Service and now Chairman of their Diplomatic Service Ornithological Society, to apprise members of the US Diplomatic Service of the existence of this organization. It had, as of last year, over 110 members in 52 different countries. A list thereof is available from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. B. P. Austin, Latin American Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Downing Street, SW1, London. This list is arranged alphabetically by last name, then post. I am suggesting that they also arrange it by continent, country and post, for ready reference. The Society puts out an interesting mimeographed Newsletter with short articles on birding in different parts of the world, e.g. from the US as seen by a visiting Britisher, to Victoria Island off Lagos. It also prepares "Post Reports" which sound interesting.

Secondly, I should like to put forward for consideration the idea of our forming a similar organization in the US Foreign Service.

Readers who have any interest in such a project as that sketched briefly above or who have alternative suggestions are requested to get in touch with me at the address given below.

MAX E. HODGE

Johannesburg

Letter to the Editor of The Washington Post

The POST usually refers to Frank Carlucci, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, as a "former Foreign Service officer." In fact, Mr. Carlucci is an active career FSO whose present assignment is to a senior position on the White House staff.

All FSOs and FSIOs (Foreign Service Information Officers of USIA) are presidential appointees subject to Senate confirmation. The President may take advantage of their expertise wherever it is most useful to him. Our Foreign Service Officer Corps is the American institution most like the French *Inspecteurs de Finance*, from whose number France has traditionally drawn senior government and diplomatic officials.

The Foreign Service of the United States is currently the source of 91 of our 116 American Ambassadors abroad and of all our Deputy Ambassadors.

About one half of this small Corps is assigned to Washington, but by no means all in the State Department.

FSO Deane Hinton is Assistant Director of the Council on International Economic Policy. Ambassador Philip J. Farley is Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, where James Leonard is Assistant Director. Lawrence S. Eagleburger is Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Ambassador William Leonhart is Deputy Commandant of the National War College. Ambassador William J. Porter is Chief American Negotiator in Paris when Henry Kissinger is not at the table.

Dr. Kissinger's own lieutenants are Foreign Service officers: John Negroponte for Southeast Asia, John Holdridge for China, and Helmut Sonnenfeldt for the Soviet Union. In fact, a good half of the foreign affairs professionals on the National Security Council staff are FSOs.

The Assistant Director of the Office of Foreign Economic Policy in the Labor Department is FSO Peter Seip. Stanley Carpenter is Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior for Territorial Affairs. Twenty FSOs occupy responsible positions in the Commerce Department. Others are in the Departments of Agriculture and Justice, the Council on Environmental Quality, the Treasury, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Reserve and elsewhere.

Altogether, at home and abroad, there are only 3000 Foreign Service officers and 900 Foreign Service Information officers, supplemented by economic development professionals in AID who still await career status.

This tight Corps is a precious resource of expertise in the complicated substance of international problems—economic, political, commercial, strategic and cultural. Presidents rely in varying degree upon the different bureaucracies of government for their foreign policy support. But all Presidents will need experienced professionals.

Foreign Service officers are available for assignment throughout the Government, as the President wishes, to

positions requiring knowledge of international affairs and executive leadership. Not only when they serve as Ambassadors are they responsible to the Commander-in-Chief.

Frank Carlucci is a very active Foreign Service officer.

William C. Harrop
Chairman, Board of Directors

FSJ FABLE

Why Some Negotiations Never Get off the Ground

© 1972 by Robert Ehrman

ONCE there was a flying crane that tired of flying for the Audubon Society. So he decided to give up flying and take up sitting. But he soon found out that when you sat long hours, your wings would ache and your feathers pinched.

One day the crane saw a sitting duck. "This duck," thought the crane, "looks so comfortable sitting perhaps I could learn the secret of sitting from her."

"Good day," said the crane. "I envy your sitting—you do it so well. Will you help me to sit just like you?"

"Alas," said the duck, "I could show you all right, but I'm tired of sitting for hunters. I want very much to give up sitting and fly like you."

The crane was nonplused. A flying crane wants to sit. A sitting duck wants to fly. What to do?

For a moment or two the crane was silent. Then he said to the duck: "I have an idea. Why don't we get married? As husband and wife we'll be spending some time together. You teach me to sit, I'll teach you to fly!"

The duck was delighted and cried: "Let's marry right now!"

They married and mated, and then the duck said: "Now show me to fly, then I'll show you to sit."

"Oh, no," said the crane. "First show me to sit, then I'll show you to fly."

For many a week they argued like that. Each was insisting the other teach first. They quarreled and quarreled but neither would budge. They quarreled so much, they almost forgot that the family would soon be enlarged.

When the fledglings arrived, there were six. Three looked like ducks that were trying to fly, three looked like cranes that were trying to sit.

"Oh, boy," said the crane, "now we have four who will learn how to sit."

"Oh, no," said the duck, "now we have four who will learn how to fly."

The fledglings long since had departed the nest—three flying ducks, three sitting cranes—but the aging parents disputed their points to the end of their days. In the hour of death, the doddering duck was heard to say: "I wanted so much to sigh like a crane." And I," said the crotchety crane, "to flit like a duck."

Once there was a dark horse who met a lame duck. But that's another story. ■

Special Tax Information for Foreign Affairs Personnel

The following is an updated compilation of federal income tax information relevant to Foreign Service employees published in these columns since January, 1971.

1. Moving Expense Deductions: Moving expenses are those out-of-pocket costs related to the movement of people and effects from one post of assignment to another. The move must be at least 50 miles, and the new assignment must last at least 39 weeks after arrival. Moving expenses are entered on Form 1040 at line 42, and may be deducted as an adjustment to income even if the taxpayer takes the standard deduction in lieu of itemizing. A copy of travel orders or other proof of transfer should be supplied.

The following expenses are eligible as moving expense deductions:

(a) Cost overruns beyond the maximum allowances for household effects, accompanied baggage in aircraft, and unaccompanied air freight.

(b) The extra cost of traveling first class in lieu of economy class on aircraft.

(c) The cost of transporting a family member who may be ineligible to travel at government expense.

(d) The cost of transporting household pets.

(e) The cost of transporting more than one automobile, or a single automobile which the government refuses to transport (i.e. a foreign made car back to the USA after January 1, 1973).

(f) The cost of meals and lodging in transit which are not completely covered by your per diem allowance.

(g) Traveling, meal and lodging expenses for premove round trip house hunting trips to new location for the employee and spouse. This is especially important for transfers between two locations within the United States, but is also allowed for overseas transfers.

(h) Expenses for temporary lodging and meals in the new location for the first 30 days after arrival. At overseas locations, incoming F. S. employees are eligible for 90 days temporary lodging allowance covering hotel cost, but not meals which are deductible as a

moving expense for the first 30 days. Families of three or more persons are eligible for the Supplementary Post Allowance overseas while in temporary lodging. Since this allowance covers meals, reduce your 30-days meal cost deduction accordingly if you are granted this allowance. Employees arriving in the US from an overseas location are eligible for a 30-day temporary lodging allowance, but not for meals. You may deduct 30 days worth of meals and any temporary lodging costs up to 30 days over and above the first 30 days paid by the Government. New employees coming to Washington on first assignment can deduct the first 30 days of temporary lodging, including meals, for the entire family. New officers who received per diem while at FSI after July 1, 1972 should reduce their claim by the amount of the per diem.

(i) Expenses incident to the sale of a residence or the settlement of a lease at the old job location, or to the purchase of a residence or the acquisition of a lease at the new job location. Examples of deductible expenses in this category are attorney fees, real estate agent commissions, title costs, appraisal fees, escrow fees and penalties for terminating a lease prematurely or with insufficient notice. Not deductible are tax, interest or rent payments. "Points" are considered interest. Also prohibited are charges for storage, refitting rugs and draperies, and repairs designed to make a house more salable.

Limitations:

In addition to the 50-mile and 39-week limitations, there is a \$2,500 maximum on deductions for "indirect costs" such as 30-day temporary living expenses, premove house hunting trips, and expenses incident to the acquisition and disposal of living quarters. Within this maximum, there is a sub-maximum of \$1,000 for house hunting trips and post-arrival temporary living expenses. "Direct costs" related to transporting people and effects, including hotel and meal costs in transit, have no maximum. If the required 39-week period after arrival is not fulfilled for unexpected reasons (death, involuntary separation, medical evacuation, etc.) the deduction is still allowable.

2. Unreimbursed Transfer Expenses: There are certain expenses generated by Foreign Service transfers which are not eligible as "moving expense" deductions, but which are nevertheless legitimate "employee business expenses" that can be deducted on line 43 of form 1040. These expenses are reimbursable by the Government under section 221(2) of P.L. 86-707 of September 6, 1960. Effective October 25, 1972, these expenses will be reimbursed for all overseas transfers under the so-called "expanded transfer allowance." These expenses were not reimbursed prior to October 25, 1972; and are therefore deductible. Examples of such expenses are:

(a) The re-wiring or replacement of appliances due to a change in type of electrical current.

(b) Extraordinary clothing expenses which would not have been generated without the transfer.

(c) Extraordinary expenses of moving into your overseas residence, including the installation of light fixtures and switches, bathroom fixtures, and the cutting of rugs and drapes to make them usable in the new residence.

(d) Miscellaneous expenses to the transfer process.

Reimbursement under the expanded transfer allowance will have a maximum of about \$950 for married employees and \$450 for single employees. Costs above these maxima will therefore be deductible after the effective date of the expanded transfer allowance. Your administrative officer should certify that the expenses were related to the transfer and are legitimate employee business expenses. Employee business expenses can be deducted as an income adjustment even if the taxpayer is taking the standard deduction in lieu of itemizing.

3. Unreimbursed Representation Expenses: Representation funds are in very short supply, so many employees in all foreign affairs agencies have to conduct official entertainment at their own expense. These out-of-pocket costs are deductible as "employee business expenses" on line 43 of Form 1040. Your administrative officer should certify that the expenses

were necessary for the conduct of your official business.

In order to conserve scarce funds, some posts have a rule that at least 50 percent of the guests at a social function must be non-Americans to qualify for reimbursement. Some employees, however, must also spend considerable time and resources with visiting Americans. This is especially true for economic and commercial specialists, and consular officials outside the capital city. Entertainment of visiting Americans for official business purposes is a deductible expense if rules at your post require 50 percent foreign participation for reimbursement.

Representation expenses are deductible as an adjustment to income and can be deducted even if the employee takes the standard deduction in lieu of itemizing.

4. Contributions to Foreign Charities: Federal income tax regulations do not permit deductions for direct contributions to foreign charities. Yet most Foreign Service employees stationed abroad find it impossible to avoid contributing to local causes such as the churches they attend, charity drives promoted actively by the local governments, and the local equivalent of organizations which are familiar to us in the United States.

There are two tax deduction methods currently utilized by Foreign Service employees with respect to foreign charities which AFSA members may wish to note. First, some employees are claiming certain charities as unavoidable business expenses related to the proper conduct of the business of diplomatic representation. If it is clear that employees at specific diplomatic posts or consular districts cannot function adequately without contributing to local charities considered extremely important to local custom, a business expense deduction is clearly called for. Certification by an administrative or principal officer would certainly be helpful in convincing a skeptical internal revenue auditor. AFSA is aware of one successful claim under this category.

Second, some employees have arranged to contribute to foreign charities through American charitable organizations. Many American organizations, especially religious, are already engaged in disbursing tax deductible funds abroad. If Embassy personnel, especially those attending the same church or engaged in another

common charitable activity, can arrange to make their contributions to an American organization, which in turn could disburse funds back to the local charity, it's deductible.

If you claim a foreign charity contribution as a certified "employee business expense," claim it on line 43. If you contribute through an American organization, claim it as a "charity" contribution which can be done only if you itemize on Schedule A.

5. Home Leave Deductions: The majority of Foreign Service employees who claimed home leave deductions in 1972 on the basis of *Stratton vs. IRS* (US Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, No. 24,808, Sept. 1, 1971) were successful. They were successful, however, because their returns were not audited. Audited returns resulted in disallowances because the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has refused to acquiesce in the Ninth Circuit Court decision. The Commissioner will not acquiesce until there is another court test in another circuit court jurisdiction. AFSA has decided to support such a court test and is opening a fund drive which is discussed elsewhere in this issue.

What do AFSA members do while waiting for the next court test, especially if they took home leave in 1972 and will be filing returns prior to June 15, 1973? AFSA recommends that a claim for deduction of home leave expenses be included in the return covering 1972. Since most returns are not audited, most of the claims will not be challenged. AFSA members need not feel guilty about obtaining the deduction in this way, in view of the Ninth Circuit Court decision.

How do you claim the deduction? Deductible expenses in this category are the costs of lodging, meals and transportation while on official home leave. If you stay in a hotel, deduct the actual cost of the room. If you rent a car, the rental cost is applicable. For meals, the best rule of thumb is \$10 per day. Since the Court decision said that the deduction applies only to the employee's expenses, it would be advisable not to include the family's expenses until further clarification is achieved in the courts. Home leave expenses are included in "employee business expenses" on line 43 of form 1040.

What if they are disallowed? If the lengthy appeals process will delay your refund, it would be advisable to acquiesce in the dis-

allowance since IRS will not change its mind short of another court test.

If a delayed refund is not a problem, you should consider appealing as high as possible within IRS. A court decision might intervene in your favor prior to the end of the processing.

If your home leave deduction claim is for less than \$1,000, you might consider challenging IRS in the Tax Court under "small tax case" procedures. We have some indication that IRS may not wish to fight this problem under "small tax case" procedures and could grant the deduction on that basis to individuals. If you are overseas, you have 150 days after the final notice of disallowance to file a petition in the Tax Court (90 days if you are in the US).

Small Tax Case petitions are filed on a simple form number a-S which is available from the Clerk of the Court, US Tax Court, Box 70, Washington, D.C. 20044.

6. Training Expense Deductions: Training expenses for Foreign Service employees should be considered in two categories: (a) those related to actual TDY assignments to the Foreign Service Institute between two overseas posts, and (b) university training assignments for a full academic year.

(a) FSI Training

If you are taking a course at FSI between two overseas posts, you are probably on TDY. Your household effects are moving between the two overseas posts, but your family is with you. Per diem has been authorized, but only for you and not your accompanying family. In addition, the per diem is cut in half after 21 days, and falls to zero after 90 or 120 days. The per diem rate is not equitable. The loss you take on this insufficient per diem for you and your family's living expenses is deductible as an employee business expense on line 43 of form 1040. The best way to calculate expenses is to keep track of actual lodging costs (keep receipts) and add five to ten dollars a day for food per person depending upon where the meals are taken. Subtract the total amount of per diem actually paid, and you have the deductible amount. Another cost to factor in as an expense is transportation if the government is shipping your family car directly to the next overseas post. The cost of car rental, or the loss you take after you sell your temporary car is deductible. Obtain a certificate from

FSI indicating you are on official TDY, that per diem is not authorized for the family, and that your per diem is limited to a certain number of days.

(b) University Training

If your training assignment is for less than 12 months, and the government does not ship your household effects and car to you at the university location, treat all lodging, meals, laundry and transportation expenses as deductible in the same way as FSI training described above.

If the government does ship your household effects, car and family to the university location, and the assignment is for less than 12 months, you are operating in a gray area as far as tax deductions are concerned. Some IRS offices have allowed such moves to be considered as "temporary absences from the tax home for business purposes," but some have refused, calling such moves regular transfers or changes of station.

If you wish to claim living expenses during university training as business expenses, you will need a letter from FSI or your agency stating that you are not entitled to per diem for living expenses during the period of training, and that had you made such a claim, it would not have been paid. The second step is to calculate your personal expenses for lodging, meals and transportation, using hypothetical costs as necessary. Finally, you can add non-reimbursed expenses, such as books purchased above your allowance, excess typing expenditures and so forth. Totaling these expenses for the months of the taxable year in which you had such training, you obtain a total figure to be entered on your tax return as an unreimbursable business expense related to your employment. If you decide to treat your university training assignment as a regular job transfer and will not claim lodging, meals and other TDY-type expenses, do not forget, however, to deduct nonreimbursed books, typing and other school related expenses, as well as moving expense costs as described at the beginning of this section. This is especially important for employees moving from a university location to the Washington area. There is no 30-day temporary lodging allowance for such moves (until we achieve the domestic transfer allowance).

7. Miscellaneous Categories: The six categories of deductible expenses listed above represent the

major areas of out-of-pocket outlays which most Foreign Service employees experience regularly. There are other expenses for official business purposes, however, which undoubtedly have not come to our attention, but which nevertheless exist and which should be claimed as legitimate deductions.

One recent example came out of a federal district court ruling that a former State Department inspector can deduct as a business expense the cost of taking his wife on two foreign trips. Other inspectors can now make the same claim. In a related area, 6 FAM 127 allows government financed "travel of family for representational purposes." If an employee takes the family on a business trip for representational purposes and is not reimbursed for the expenses, a deduction is possible.

There are many other out-of-pocket expenses which each individual employee should consider as possible deductions if they can be clearly related to official business. Use of personal automobiles and telephones for business purposes at overseas posts are very common, and hardly ever reimbursed. Each overseas location has its own problems and peculiarities which should be considered from the point of view of unreimbursed expenses that are related to official business.

Fund Appeal

AFSA To Support Court Challenge on Home Leave Deductions

The majority of AFSA members who claimed income tax deductions for home leave expenses incurred in 1971 were successful. Successful claims, however, were due mainly to the fact that the majority of federal income tax returns are not audited. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has refused to acquiesce in the decision of the US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in the case of **Stratton vs IRS**, allowing home leave expenses to be deducted. Consequently, IRS district offices

have been instructed to disallow all home leave deduction claims, except those filed on the West Coast.

AFSA has good reason to believe that the IRS will acquiesce if it loses a second court test on home leave deductions in another Circuit Court. The victory in the Ninth Circuit Court indicates we stand a good chance of winning a second time. In any event, the fact that every employee of the Foreign Service in AID, USIA and State must take statutory home leave regularly argues for a second court challenge. There is no out-of-pocket expense in the Foreign Service that is more universal.

The AFSA Board of Directors has decided to assist an AFSA member in initiating a second court challenge on home leave deductions, but unfortunately does not have the estimated \$10,000 required to help finance the case through the Tax Court and Court of Appeals. We are therefore appealing to AFSA members and to other interested employees of the Foreign Service in USIA, State, AID, FAS, DOD and other agencies whose overseas civilians take statutory home leave between overseas assignments to contribute \$5.00 or more to AFSA's Legal Defense Fund. Money collected in this fund will be utilized only to help an AFSA member challenge the Commissioner of IRS on the home leave deduction issue, and for no other purpose. If insufficient funds are collected, contributions will be returned. Please submit your contribution by filling out and mailing the coupon on this page accompanied by a check for \$5.00 or more made out to **AFSA—Legal Defense Fund**.

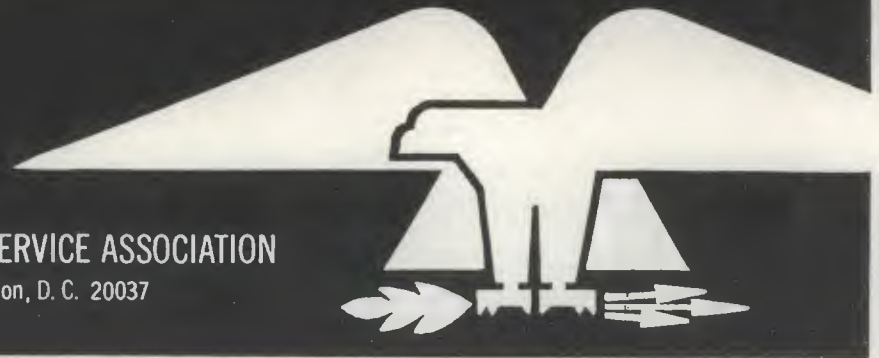
AFSA members are urged to solicit contributions to the fund from non-members, employees of agencies other than State, AID and USIA who take statutory home leave, and from commissary and other funds available for assistance to employees.

AFSA—Legal Defense Fund
c/o American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Enclosed please find my contribution of \$..... to help finance a second court test on home leave deductions. I understand that my contribution will be returned if insufficient funds are received.

Name _____

Address _____



JOURNAL NEWS

December Issue—Diplomacy Past, Present and Future: If espionage has been called the “second oldest profession,” diplomacy is perhaps the third. Like its two predecessors, it is still alive and kicking today, and we expect that it will still be with us into the future. Our three feature articles this month can be considered illustrations of this point and examples of how diplomacy has changed over the years. Lord Butler represents the old diplomacy; Warren Mason discusses the “quiet crisis” which new bureaucratic roles have wrought in today’s diplomats, and Michael Michaud takes us into the future with interstellar and interplanetary diplomacy.

AFSA NEWS

Post F.S. Day

The sacred flame of the Foreign Service spirit burned brightly at the Foreign Service Club on Saturday, November 18, at the post-Foreign Service Day brunch. Dave McKillop, AFSA’s President, who moderated the meeting of active members of the Association and about 50 Foreign Service retirees concerned with the future of the Service, invoked the sacred flame and its guardians in his opening remarks. The panel included Bill Harrop, Chairman of AFSA, Ambassador James Riddleberger, Ambassador Theodore Achilles, Ambassador Ellis Briggs and FSO Mark Palmer.

Chairman Harrop outlined AFSA’s activities on behalf of the entire Foreign Service community, including Congressional contacts regarding legislation on the merit promotion system, grievance

procedures, AID retirement and the Magnuson bill.

Ambassador Riddleberger voiced the thoughts of many retired FSOs with his inquiry as to whether the State Department should not have been eliminated from any Executive Order.

Ambassador Achilles remarked on the teamwork between labor and management in Japan which had led to that country’s tremendous progress in recent years. He stated that he thought it unfortunate to set up an adversary relationship instead of the cooperative one which had existed.

Ambassador Briggs cast himself as a far from reluctant dragon in threatening the guardians of the sacred flame and said he found himself in 100 percent disagreement with present AFSA activities. He inquired whether it was necessary to have a union to accomplish the objectives with which all present were in sympathy. He also said the emphasis seemed to him on rights, privileges and immunities, what could be gotten out of the Service, rather than service to the country.

FSO-4 Mark Palmer questioned whether the best and brightest college graduates could be at-

tracted to the Foreign Service unless it became a modern organization. As a young FSO, he said many of his colleagues regarded the Association as too conservative.

Following these remarks from the panelists the meeting was opened to questions from the assemblage, which included such other great names in the Foreign Service as Ambassadors Bonsal, Ben H. Brown, Winthrop Brown, Cumming, Hare, Henderson, Jones, Muccio, Newbegin, E. E. Palmer, Satterthwaite, Walmsley, and Frances Willis. Also present were two previous Executive Directors of AFSA, Gardner Palmer and Thomas S. Estes.

The questions covered a wide range—from the place of the Foreign Service in international affairs, to the cone system, the need for organization under the Executive Order, and the nature of professional service.

Responses from AFSA members and Board members clarified many of the points which were of concern to the “patriarchs and matriarchs” of the Foreign Service, to use Tom Boyatt’s phrase. Dave McKillop explained that the Association would not be seeking an adversary or hostile role as the representative of the Service under E.O. 11636, but in many ways a supportive and consultative one, that AFSA would resist the politicization of the Foreign Service and the take-over of foreign affairs.

A number of the retired FSOs present said they had reluctantly voted for, or favored, representation under the Executive Order, feeling there was no choice. And to a concert of agreement one recently retired Career Ambassador—Winthrop Brown—praised the enthusiasm, loyalty and dedica-

INDEX

Journal News	36
Post F.S. Day Brunch	36
Staff Corps News	37
AID News	38
State News	38
USIA News	38
Members’ Interests News	39
Foreign Service People	39
Awards	39
AAFSW News	40

tion of today's young officers.

After the meeting ended, with a description by Dave Biltchik of the openness program, our joint venture with the Carnegie Endowment, many groups of friends and associates formed for further conversations.

The success of this post F.S. Day meeting indicates that AFSA should continue to schedule similar activities for future years. If one fact was clear, it was that both retired and active members of AFSA are deeply concerned about their profession, and that today's AFSA leaders want to explain to retired colleagues what they are doing and want to benefit from the views of their predecessors. Comments and suggestions from our retired members will be most welcome.

Face-to-Face with the USA

In December 1971 AFSA and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace established an openness program, named "Face-to-Face." The objective was to improve two-way communication between the foreign affairs communities inside and outside the Government.

FSO David Biltchik who has been working for the joint venture for the past year on a leave of absence submitted a report to date on the program to the AFSA Board and to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment. Highlights of the report follow.

- Conference on "The Impact of Transnational Relations on American Foreign Policy." This conference brought together participants from State, Treasury, the National Security Council, contributors to Transnational Relations and World Politics, staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Joint Economic Committee and representatives of the press and business. Professors Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. led the discussions and a summary report is available from "Face-to-Face."

- Conference on "Citizen Education in World Affairs." Three workshops for over 80 people, including directors of 25 World Affairs Councils, plus representa-

tives of organizations such as the American Bar Association, the American Red Cross, American Association of University Women, Council on Religion and International Affairs, Department of State, League of Women Voters, World Bank and the Overseas Development Council, discussed the role of volunteer organizations, community organizations, local school systems, and cable television. Speakers and discussion leaders were John Dixon, Director of the Center for a Voluntary Society, Professor James Becker of Indiana University, Professor Roger Fisher of Harvard and Mrs. Red Burns of the Alternate Media Center of NYU. Again a report is available from "Face-to-Face."

- A seven-part, weekly working lunch series on "Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget." Led by a different Brookings economist each week, such as Arthur Okun and Charles Schultze, State Department officials reviewed taxation, welfare, prosperity, inflation and the Defense budget issues, and their relation to foreign policy.

- A luncheon program, mixing government and non-government speakers, for AFSA members, on foreign policy and domestic topics. Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, and Earl Ravenal of the Institute of Policy Studies were the first speakers. William Gorham, President of the Urban Institute, Joseph Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East and Lt. General Walters, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, will complete the first series.

Other activities include luncheons with authors such as Lyman Kirkpatrick and Lester Brown, an evening Study Group on "Choices in Foreign Policy," with discussion leaders Stanley Hoffman and David Halberstam, a luncheon for ocean policy experts, featuring Arvid Pardo, former Maltese Ambassador to the US and the UN, and a planned special luncheon for John Stewart Service early in 1973.

Copies of the complete report are available from "Face-to-Face."

STAFF CORPS NEWS

Promotions: State Department management, over AFSA's objection, has instructed this year's Selection Boards to rank Staff Officers with other pay categories in the promotion process. Although management has set up special categories to promote labor officers, intelligence analysts, etc. it has decided to meld all the Staff Officers by function into a single promotion system. However, when management went to implement this program, it found that two Staff Officer classes were not equal in rank to any FSO category, consequently, special lists will be prepared for Staff Officers in classes 5 and 6.

The Staff Corps Advisory Committee plans to do an extensive analysis of this year's promotion lists to determine the effect that the integration has had on Staff Officer promotions. No one knows if the Staff Corps members, who have been given relatively few promotions in the past, will benefit from this new program or not. The Staff Corps Advisory Committee is concerned that many files of Staff Officers are not as carefully written as the FSO files which they will be competing against. If there is, in the future, to be open competition between Staff Officers and all other pay categories in the Foreign Service, the same amount of attention and care must be given to the preparation of Staff Officers' efficiency reports as is presently given to the preparation of FSO reports.

Counselling: The Staff Corps Advisory Committee is undertaking a review of the personnel counselling provided for Staff Corps members in all three Agencies. Foreign Service Staff employees should receive the same quality of guidance and career development counselling as other categories in the Service. AFSA is endeavoring to catalogue the deficiencies in all three agencies in this regard and would appreciate any comments from its members. Write SCAC/AFSA.

AID NEWS

AID Representation Election Closer: Another important step has been taken toward holding elections to determine who will be the exclusive representative of Foreign Service employees in AID. Hearings were held on October 25 and 27 to determine which employees will be eligible to participate in representation elections. In these hearings AFSA sought to ensure that, consistent with the provisions of E. O. 11636, the largest possible number of AID Foreign Service employees will have the opportunity to vote. The major point of contention during the hearings concerned the status of "country directors." AFSA argued that they were not "management officials," since they did not formulate the personnel policies and programs of their Agency. Both AID management and AFGE representatives claimed that country directors were ineligible, despite the clear finding to the contrary in similar hearings in the Department of State. During the hearings all parties agreed to an election period which would run 60 days from the time ballots are initially mailed from Washington.

Written briefs were filed by the parties on November 20, and it now remains only for the Employee-Management Relations Commission to decide the disputed eligibility categories and direct that an election be held. Although E.O. 11636 became effective on December 24, 1971, AID Foreign Service employees are still without representation. We see no reason for further delay and have so informed the Commission. We hope balloting can begin before Christmas.

STATE NEWS

Jr. Threshold Reform? AFSA is still waiting for management's actions on the reform of the Junior Threshold. As reported earlier, a series of discussions of AFSA's alternative threshold system resulted in a proposal to the Director General to replace the present cumbersome and ineffective system with a Junior Threshold de-

signed to identify for retention in the service, those officers with proven potential. AFSA continues to urge immediate action on this proposal.

Thirteen Junior officers will be selected out, if they are not promoted across the threshold by the January Board. Under current procedures, some of these officers will not be selected out for their failure to demonstrate an ability to perform well in the foreign service; they will be selected out based on a management accounting that there are insufficient jobs in their area of chosen specialization in the service. The Association strongly supports a threshold process which would separate, early in their careers, those officers judged not to have the requisite skills and potential for a foreign service career. However, to select junior officers out because of a lack of vacancies in their particular cone, while officers of equal or less potential are promoted across the threshold in other cones does not make sense. The Association hopes that management will quickly adopt a new threshold proposal, which focuses on a person's ability, not on his or her cone.

Proliferation of Cones

Most of us think about cones as being four in number. However, the Department's special directive to the intermediate selection boards has fifteen "cones": Political, Economic/Commercial, General Administration, General Services, Budget and Fiscal, Personnel, Security, Security-Technical, Communications and Records, Couriers, Communications-Technical, Consular, Secretarial, Specialist, Interfunctional.

In addition, AFSA has learned that the political boards have been asked to prepare separate promotion lists for labor officers and intelligence analysts. That makes a total of seventeen "cones" plus the separate lists for Classes FSS-5 and -6.

As the Department is able to define its "needs" with greater precision, the number of subspecialty cones will grow. Of course, the logical conclusion of this practice is to promote people

directly into jobs and not into classes. However, at present we see growing competition for cone quotas. Each group of specialists that can demonstrate that its members are not being promoted in line with the "needs of the Service" is demanding its own cone and its own quota of promotions. Will we see a cone for French speaking political officers?

USIA NEWS

Binational Center Grantees Denied Retirement Credit: The Civil Service Commission has informed USIA that the service of Binational Center grantees is not creditable for Civil Service Retirement purposes. The Commission based its decision, which it describes as "final," on the grounds that grantees were not Federal employees at the time of their service as grantees.

The Commission's decision further states: "State Department and the United States Information Agency could have appointed the Binational Center grantees as employees if they had desired to do so. However, for certain foreign policy considerations, they chose not to appoint these grantees as employees. It cannot be persuasively argued that the grantees were in fact Federal employees, now that the advantages gained by using grantees, rather than Federal employees, no longer apply."

AFSA fully supports USIA management in its efforts to secure just retirement credit for Binational Center grantees, and urges the Agency to explore the possibilities of other means of redress, such as legislation.

Class 1 Promotions: USIA Director Shakespeare has ordered the precepts for the 1972 Selection Board considering Class 2 officers be amended to provide rank ordering of all those recommended for promotion.

The nine officers who were recommended for promotion in 1972 but not confirmed by the Senate will once again be considered by the panel along with other Class 2 officers. Mr. Shakespeare wanted to avoid a situation whereby deserving officers might be deprived

of a promotion two years in a row, even though he still believes that the principles behind his earlier action to choose Class 1 officers from an alphabetical list remain valid.

MEMBERS INTERESTS

Restrictions on Foreign Car Shipments

State telegram 193258 dated October 24, 1972 informed all diplomatic and consular posts that the Congress has directed management to cease payment for the shipment of foreign made automobiles to the United States after December 31, 1972. The Congressional instructions were contained in House of Representatives Report number 92-1567 of October 10, 1972 transmitting the conference report on the State-Commerce-Justice appropriations bill. The report said: "The conferees are agreed that all Departments and Agencies covered by this Act are to follow the restrictions placed upon the Department of Defense relative to the payment of shipping charges on foreign-made automobiles purchased in foreign countries by US personnel."

The DOD appropriations act prohibits the payment of shipping charges for foreign made automobiles being shipped to the US from abroad. The DOD budget request contained a line item of \$10,000,000 for the shipment of vehicles to the US from abroad. Senate Appropriations Committee member John Pastore charged that DOD personnel bring foreign vehicles to the US without payment of import duties and shipping charges, and then proceed to sell these vehicles in the US at a profit, to the detriment of both the American auto industry and the US Treasury. As a member of the Senate-House conference committee on the State appropriation, Pastore included language in the conference report extending the prohibition to Foreign Service and other agencies.

AFSA is unhappy with this unexpected development, of course. It should be remembered, however, that the restriction applies only to vehicles being shipped to

the US from abroad. It is still possible to ship foreign made cars from the US to overseas locations, between overseas locations, and to ship at constructive cost from an overseas manufacturer under travel authorization to transfer from the US to a post abroad. The committee members have also agreed that accommodations will be allowed for employees facing hardships because of vehicles purchased before the appropriation was enacted. This is possible because the restrictive language is not in the appropriations bill itself, but only in the conference report.

This is an excellent example of how Foreign Service personnel are invariably hit with restrictions designed to remedy real or imagined DOD abuses, but are not easily extended some of the overseas benefits enjoyed by DOD personnel (i.e. kindergarten allowances). AFSA will attempt to demonstrate that the reasons for the restriction are not applicable to the Foreign Service, and should therefore not be applied to foreign affairs agencies.

Foreign Service People

DEATHS

Brown. Dorothy Thornton Brown, FSO-ret., died in Washington October 15. Miss Brown joined the Foreign Service in the mid-1920s and served in Central America, Warsaw, Mexico City, and several posts in Canada.

Jago. John William Jago, FSO-ret., died at Laguna Beach, Calif. Mr. Jago had served in Greece, India, Korea and Colombia, and Libya. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, P.O. Box 1122, Laguna Beach, Cal. 92651, two sons, John and Jeffrey; a daughter; his mother, Mrs. John R. Jago, and a sister. The family requests contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Richardson. Gardner Richardson, FSO-ret., died at his home, Plaine Hill, Woodstock, Connecticut on June 22. Mr. Richardson had served in Athens, Tirana, Vienna, Belgrade, Bucharest, Ankara, Berlin, and Barbados. He had been retired since 1947. His wife, Dorothea, Woodstock, Conn. 06281, survives.

AWARDS

Barbara White and Dr. Samuel Adams Win Rockefeller Awards

Barbara M. White, Career Minister for Information, will receive the Rockefeller Public Service Award for 1972 in the area of Intergovernmental Operations. The tax-free \$10,000 cash grants will be presented to Miss White and to four other Federal career officials at luncheon ceremonies at the Shoreham Hotel on December 6.

Miss White, frequently cited for her "qualities of leadership" over her 26 years of government service, joined the OWI early in World War II, and with the exception of four post-war years in Washington with the League of Women Voters, rose steadily within the international communications agency. In 1970 she was named USIA's Deputy Director (Policy and Plans), then the third ranking position and top career job in the agency. She is now Special Assistant to USIA Director Frank Shakespeare, who "nominated" her for the Award.

Janet Murrow, widow of Edward R. Murrow, enthusiastically seconded Miss White's "nomination."

Dr. Samuel C. Adams, Jr., Assistant Administrator for Africa, AID, will receive the Rockefeller Public Service Award for 1972 in the area of Human Resource Development and Protection.

Dr. John A. Hannah, Administrator of AID, wrote in nominating Adams for the Award:

"He has been a moving force in projecting the Agency's image in the minority communities. Through his affirmative actions and unique approaches, there has been a sizeable increase in the number of minority firms, institutions, domestic groups and individuals, who are participating actively in the total process of development as it relates to developing countries."

Dr. Adams entered Government service in 1951 with a three year assignment to Saigon. This was followed by five years in Cambodia during which he received the Arthur S. Flemming Award. After post-doctoral study at the London

School of Economics and the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies and at the Maxwell School of Public Administration, he served as Chief of the Education and Training Division in Nigeria and as Director of the AID Mission in Mali. Before his recall to Washington for his present post, he served as Mission Director to Morocco and as Ambassador to Niger.

AAFSW NEWS

In January the AAFSW will face up to the issue of the changing position of the Foreign Service wife with a frank and friendly panel discussion. Panelists representing various ranks, ages and views will be led by moderator Marie Tobler. The Program Chairman and Mrs. John Tobler would appreciate hearing the views of members on this subject in advance (Call Mrs. Tobler at 836-6845 or Mrs. Richard Finn at 229-6652) and, of course, at the time of the meeting, Tuesday, January 9, 10-12, State Department, 8th floor.

President Mrs. William Leonhart announces that the British Embassy Wives' Club invitation to the AAFSW for coffee postponed in November will be renewed in January. See the AAFSW **News-letter** for date and details.

How to get the AAFSW News-letter? Join the AAFSW by contacting Membership Chairman Mrs. Robert Steven, 7118 Hadlow Ct., Springfield, Va. 22152, Tel. 451-9087.

CLUB NEWS

The first luncheon in AFSA's fall and winter series was a tremendous success. Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, spoke to a capacity crowd on the future of that area. His witty and trenchant observations were greatly appreciated.

The speaker for the December 11 luncheon will be the Honorable Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. His subject will be "Looking Ahead in the Near East."

The December 18 luncheon will feature Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters,

Deputy Director, CIA, on "The Next Decade of Intelligence Gathering."

Reservations are \$3.75 to AFSA, Room C, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. The time is 12:30, place—Foreign Service Club.

Among the Artists of the Foreign Service

Harrison L. Shaffer, Jr., FSIO, is the current exhibitor at the Foreign Service Club. Mr. Shaffer majored in fine arts at the University of Denver and later studied at the Museum of Art and History in Brussels and the School of Fine Arts in Saigon. He has participated in exhibitions in the United States and overseas and has had one-man shows in Washington, Denver, Saigon and Lagos.

A one-man show of 20 paintings by R. Gordon Arneson, FSO-retired, was exhibited in the National Arboretum's Administration Building through the month of November. Entitled "Presences in Nature," the show featured closeups of little-noticed wild plants from the Washington area. Eight of Mr. Arneson's paintings are now on loan to the Art in Embassies Program.

Liquor Discounts

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December Specials—Champagne

Veuve Clicquot Brut	\$5.99
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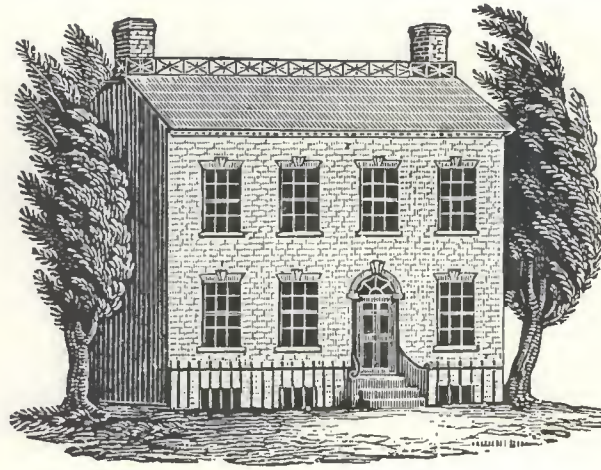
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Diplomatic Acrostic

See front cover for diagram

By Ruth Nalls

DEFINITIONS

WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| A. Stick-in-the-mud: hyph. wd. | 150 75 188 26 142 4 104 81 166 117 |
| B. It's "better than none": 3 wds. | 144 44 16 110 59 103 170 176 131 |
| C. Vanquish completely | 113 55 2 37 86 157 77 21 165 96 |
| D. Its second-largest city is Medellin | 190 18 181 149 70 126 138 51 |
| E. Wise guy: hyph. wd. | 191 80 31 121 174 99 71 50 139 |
| F. Counterbalance | 125 91 43 79 6 146 136 175 33 |
| G. Apprehension; fear | 36 177 61 94 49 156 160 72 115 152
30 |
| H. Time mentioned in Revelations 20: 2 wds. | 82 122 120 184 27 46 88 101 52 25
66 180 95 |
| I. Relation marked by affinity and harmony | 114 56 168 67 14 162 143 |
| J. Impromptu; Unrehearsed: 3 wds. | 127 23 63 158 58 163 111 35 78 132 |
| K. Escaped: 2 wds. | 161 109 141 3 57 182 159 |
| L. Mass departure | 178 135 155 65 92 42 |
| M. Large sturdy sheep | 32 164 20 106 74 41 147 133 7 129
98 |
| N. Support; sustain | 137 15 62 187 |
| O. It includes Sand and Eastern islets | 153 189 53 85 123 17 |
| P. Heighten the attractiveness of | 84 154 34 134 45 124 1 13 100 |
| Q. Be the boss: 3 wds. | 108 19 60 145 38 112 90 183 29 69
12 118 |
| R. French humorist and satirist (1494?-1553) | 28 172 186 107 68 10 93 40 |
| S. Science of fishes | 39 151 83 11 119 73 185 169 87 179
47 |
| T. Act or port silently | 9 140 171 89 |
| U. Abrogation | 64 105 8 148 24 173 54 130 97 |
| V. Shakespeare said sweet mercy was its true badge | 128 48 102 167 76 5 116 22 |

Solution of the Diplomatic Acrostic will be found on page 21 of this issue