

Foreign Service Journal



"Fortune Tellers" Phnom Penh

by Earl J. Wilson

JULY 1963

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Cover Photo:



Fortune Tellers, Phnom Penh
by Earl J. Wilson

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Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), speaks to the American Foreign Service Association at the May luncheon. The Senator's remarks will be printed in August.

APPOINTMENTS

ROBERT C. STRONG, *Ambassador to Republic of Iraq*
GEORGE W. ANDERSON, *Ambassador to Portugal*

MARRIAGES

BAO-LORD. Miss Bette Bao and FSO Winston Lord were married on May 4, in the Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church. Mr. Lord is on duty in the Department.

MCMAHON-SMITH. Miss Alice Marie McMahon and Pfc. Donald E. Smith, USMC, were married on June 8, in Providence, Rhode Island. Private Smith is the son of Donald W. Smith, Consul General (retired).

NERCESS-MARKS. Miss Aida Nercess and FSO Edward Marks were married on April 22, in Washington.

YODER-COGAN. Miss Susan Abigail Yoder and FSO Charles Galligan Cogan were married on April 27, in the Westfield, N. J., Presbyterian Church. Mr. and Mrs. Cogan will live in Leopoldville where he is assigned as a Second Secretary.

BIRTHS

ACKERMAN. A son, Paul Damon, born to Mr. and Mrs. Karl D. Ackerman, on April 27, in Washington.

CARLUCCI. A son, Frank Charles, born to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Carlucci, on February 25, in Washington.

LOBB. A daughter, Jennifer Frances, born to Mr. and Mrs. Graham R. Lobb, on May 19, at Paris.

LENNON. A daughter, Jacqueline Diana, born to Mr. and Mrs. John H. Lennon, on April 22, in Washington.

POVENMIRE. A daughter, Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Dale M. Povenmire, on April 18, in Zanzibar.

ROBERTS. A daughter, Jocelyn, born to Mr. and Mrs. George B. Roberts, Jr., on May 15, in Bethesda.

TONKIN. A son, Thomas Harry, born to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas M. Tonkin, on March 13, in Washington.

WACH. A son, Damian Aquinas, born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Wach, on March 14, at Bremerhaven.

DEATHS

DICKOVER. Earl R. Dickover, FSO-retired, died on April 18, in Carpinteria, California. He entered the Foreign Service in 1914 and retired in 1949. Mr. Dickover served at Dairen, Kobe, Tokyo, Batavia and Melbourne. He was Counselor of Embassy at London at the time of his retirement.

MACMURRAY. Mrs. Lois Goodnow MacMurray, widow of John V. A. MacMurray, former Ambassador to Turkey, died on May 14, in Norfolk, Connecticut.

MICELOTTA. Frank Micelotta, FSO, died on June 2, in Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Micelotta entered the Foreign Service in 1959 and served at Ponta Delgada. At the time of his death he was assigned to Rio de Janeiro as Second Secretary, Political Officer.

THORNTON. Joel Hunt Thornton, retired AID officer, died on May 5, in Sarasota, Florida. Mr. Thornton was decorated by former President Manuel Prado of Peru for his outstanding activities while working with AID in Lima. He retired in 1959.



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AFSA : Minutes of Recent Board Meetings

April 16, 1963: Mr. William W. Walker was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Elections and asked to begin preparation of the ballot for selection of the Electoral College. The Board was informed that state tax claims are not held in Foreign Service personnel files (see March 19 summary). A subcommittee was appointed to consult with the Protective Association on an accidental death group insurance policy paying substantial benefits. The Board agreed to accept an invitation to the Association to attend the World Food Congress to be held in Washington from June 4 to 18.

April 30, 1963: The Board received a report on the various steps that are being taken in the Department for implementation of the Herter Committee recommendations, and it was noted that these would involve quite some departure from what the Herter Committee had had in mind. Some of the departures were found to be reasonable, but some gave grounds for major concern. The Board deliberated on further steps that could be taken to bring its views to the attention of appropriate officers of the Department. It was recalled that the American Foreign Service Association has gone on record (in the February JOURNAL) welcoming the principal features of the Herter Committee report, and that the constructive spirit of AFSA's interest had been acknowledged.

In the field of insurance of personal effects against loss incident to foreign service, it was noted that the Department had withdrawn the provision in pending legislation whereby a claim would be allowable only if it were established that the Foreign Service officer or employee had been unable to obtain insurance at reasonable cost, etc. The Department's action to withdraw that provision had been in line with a request by the Association. (See exchange of letters, p. 6.) It was also noted that the Association might be called upon to testify alongside the Department on the proposed liberalization.

The growing parking problem in the vicinity of New State was discussed, and the Board considered associating AFSA with certain pending initiatives to alleviate the situation. The Board also considered a possible advantageous offer of group accident insurance and confirmed an appointment to the JOURNAL editorial board and one to the Committee on Education. It also approved the appointment of John M. Gregory to the Board of Directors to replace Thomas P. H. Dunlop who is being assigned to the field. Certain improvements in the ballot for the next election of an Electoral College, to make the College more broadly representative of the AFSA membership, were also approved.

The Chairman read an acknowledgment by Senator Fulbright of Mr. Battle's letter conveying AFSA's endorsement of the proposed legislation to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. The Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee noted the Association's suggestion that an active or re-



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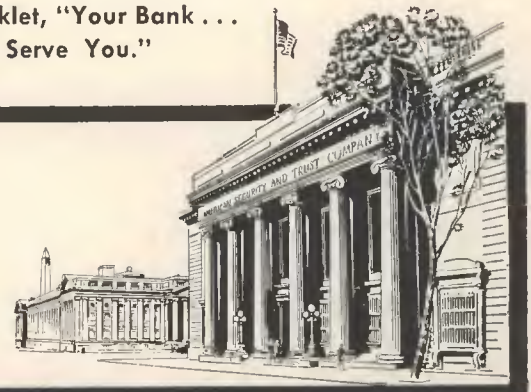
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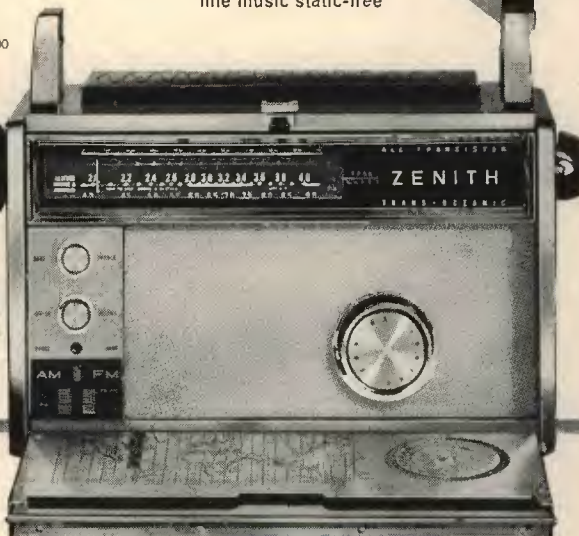
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AFSA: Minutes (Continued)

tired Career Ambassador or Career Minister be included on the Board of Regents of the proposed Academy, and be indicated that this suggestion would be kept in mind when the Committee considers the Bill.

May 14, 1963: The President and the General Manager of the American Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA) joined the AFSA Board for discussion of a possible expansion of AFSPA's activities. Various possibilities in the field of insurance of personal effects and accidental death and disability were discussed in the light of the existing relationship between AFSA and AFSPA and the different limitations operating for both organizations. In particular, the possibility was discussed that, since under present conditions all members of the Foreign Service Association have to insure their personal effects, more advantageous terms might be found for them if either AFSA or AFSPA were to deal collectively with an insurance firm.

Selection-out procedures were again reviewed in the light of the Herter Committee recommendations. The question was discussed whether voluntary retirements of marginal officers below age fifty might be facilitated by a change in the retirement system. Theoretically, it was noted, some officers might at present be better off financially if they were selected out instead of retiring voluntarily—a situation which does not seem consonant with sound public policy. There was also some further discussion of the problem of "Parking in State." The Board appointed Messrs. Galen L. Stone, Charles H. Mace, Arch K. Jean and Joseph W. Scott to the Committee on Elections.

AFSA : Correspondence

April 10, 1963

Mr. Herman Pollack
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel

Dear Mr. Pollack:

The Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association is concerned at the unfavorable position of Foreign Service personnel as compared with personnel of the military departments and the Coast Guard with respect to damage to or loss of personal property incident to Government service. Although the risks to personal property incurred by Foreign Service personnel as a group are obviously greater than those experienced by the military departments and the Coast Guard as a group, the latter enjoy the protection of the Military Personnel Claims Act of 1945 (10 U.S.C. 2732) and the Coast Guard Claims Act (14 U.S.C. 490). Foreign Service personnel, in contrast, must themselves assume the entire risk to their personal property either by acquiring insurance at their own expense or by absorbing personally the cost of damage or loss that may occur. Only in unusual circumstances can Foreign Service personnel obtain the assistance of the Department in seeking relief through the device of a private bill.

The Board is aware that the Department has had introduced into the Congress in 1962 and again this year a bill amending the Foreign Service Act which provides in proposed section 1051




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AFSA

Correspondence (Continued)

that the Secretary of State "may . . . pay claims . . . for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to his service of any officer or employee of the Service in a sum not to exceed \$6,500 for a single claim . . . Provided, that a claim may be allowable . . . only if: (i) the officer or employee of the Service establishes that insurance was not obtainable at reasonable cost or was unobtainable for the risk from which the damage or loss resulted . . ."

This section is intended merely to obviate the need for recourse to the private bill device in unusual circumstances. In effect, it seeks authority for the Secretary to pay claims of Foreign Service personnel arising from damage or loss to personal property occasioned by uninsurable risks. Such legislation would undoubtedly be of advantage to the relatively few Foreign Service personnel who have such claims. It would not, however, remove the basic inequity between Foreign Service personnel and the personnel of the military departments and the Coast Guard.

This inequity would be removed, not only for Foreign Service personnel, but for all overseas personnel of civilian agencies, by a bill initiated by the Federal Aviation Agency. This bill would extend to all Government employees protection similar to that now provided in the Military Personnel Claims Act and the Coast Guard Claims Act. The bill was passed by the House of Representatives in 1961 and 1962 but the Senate Judiciary Committee took no action on it in either year. The Board understands that the Federal Aviation Agency has again submitted the bill to the Bureau of the Budget for clearance prior to reintroduction in the House. As the Bureau has approved such a bill each year since 1953, clearance this year seems assured.

In the Board's view, the interests of the Department and the Foreign Service would be best served by the Federal Aviation Agency's bill of general application. The Board hopes, therefore, that the Department will support this bill.

The Board also hopes that the Department will seek the concurrence of the Bureau of the Budget in the deletion of proviso (i) of section 1051 of the Department's bill. If this cannot be done, the Board believes that the interests of Foreign Service personnel would be best served by deleting proposed section 1051 in its entirety from the Department's bill. Adoption of this section in its present form would give Foreign Service personnel minimal relief and might become a block to the submission and passage of other legislation providing equitable protection to the Service.

The Board would welcome the opportunity in future to discuss with the Department prior to submission to the Congress draft legislation such as that contained in section 1051 which so directly affects the welfare of Foreign Service personnel. The Board would also be glad to cooperate with the Department in supporting before the Congress the Federal Aviation Agency bill or section 1051 of the Department's bill if proviso (i) is deleted.

ELBERT G. MATHEWS
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May 8, 1963

Elbert G. Mathews, Esq.

Chairman

American Foreign Service Association

Dear Mr. Mathews:

I can report favorably on both items relating to claims referred to in your letter of April 10, 1963.

In hearings on April 23, 1963, before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations, Committee of Foreign Affairs, the Department requested deletion of proviso (i), section 1051 of the Foreign Service Act amendments of 1963.

The Department has recently been requested by the Bureau of the Budget to comment on a draft bill identical with H.R. 10357, 87th Congress, the Federal Aviation Agency's bill that was passed by the House in 1962. The Department has reported favorably on this draft bill.

If either the amended version of section 1051 of the Foreign Service Act amendments of 1962 or the new draft Federal Aviation Agency bill are enacted during the current session of Congress the inequity between Foreign Service personnel and personnel of the military departments and the Coast Guard will be removed.

HERMAN POLLACK

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel

GALLANTRY

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RHEIN RESTAURANT, 1234 20th St., N.W. A truly fine German restaurant, not a rathskeller . . . Reminiscent of the finest dining houses you find on both sides of the Rhine. Excellent Rhine and Mosel wines. Dinner til 11:30 P.M.—Leslie Lawrence at the baby grand . . . open Sunday . . . Credit cards . . . free dinner parking. Phone 956-1077.

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AT THE ROYALE ANGUS, Jim and Medea Comings continue to feature prime beef, steaks and seafood. In addition to their famous Greek salad with feta cheese, they have now added a number of authentic Greek dishes. 1836 Columbia Road, N.W., NO 7-2900. Valet parking at dinner.

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THE SKY ROOM . . . Hotel Washington, Penn. Ave. & 15th . . . A panoramic view of the Washington scene is a breath-taking backdrop to sophisticated atmosphere here . . . International menu, with a French accent, includes flaming sword medallions of beef tenderloin bourguignonne.

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WATER GATE INN . . . On-the-Potomac-at-F St., N.W. Quaint and picturesque spot overlooking the historic Potomac has a homey atmosphere with its old time fireplaces and gracious service . . . Delicious traditional Pennsylvania Dutch cuisine. Open every day of the year. Phone DI 7-9256.



in the Journal

by JAMES B. STEWART

JULY 1938

Briefs from June and July 1938 Journal

AMBASSADOR Joseph E. Davies, Moscow, made an extended journey throughout the Ukraine and the Black Sea area. He was accompanied by his valet who learned on the journey that he had won a prize of £30,000 on a ticket in the Irish Sweepstakes.

Comment, 1963: Joe Davies was a close friend of several Presidents, including Harding, Roosevelt and Truman. He was appointed Ambassador to Russia by President Roosevelt in 1936. His much-discussed "Mission to Moscow" was published in 1941.

● The luck of Joe Davies' valet recalls a yarn about another winner—a shoemaker. For years he saved twenty-five cents a day and finally bought a ticket in the Irish Sweepstakes. Like the valet he won £30,000 and went through it in the accepted fashion. He then returned to his bench and in a few years was able to buy another ticket. When told that he had again won £30,000 he wailed: "Gosh! Do I have to go through all that again?"

● Edward Trueblood, Santiago, reports the arrival of Ambassador and Mrs. Norman Armour and states that their arrival was "a significant milestone in the life of this peaceful community." Referring to entertaining in Santiago, Ed comments: ". . . receptions and cocktail parties are held usually from seven to nine. In case you are interested, the favorite drinks at the latter type of gathering are whiskey sours, dry martinis and pisco sours. The latter are concocted from a grape alcohol which is a popular drink in Chile and Peru."

Comment, 1963: Yes, Ed, and there was the husband coming in out of the rain and shouting: "I want to get out of these wet clothes and into a dry martini."

● Dan Anderson, reporting from Bombay, salutes the mango: "A compensating feature of these hot humid weeks before the monsoon rains is that they coincide with the mango season. One of these fruits, served ice cold for breakfast, is really something to look forward to while you are climbing out from under the mosquito net and enjoying the reviving effects of a cool shower."

Promotions. Partial list: Ellis O. Briggs and Waldemar J. Gallman from class five to four; Julian F. Harrington, C. Paul Fletcher, David McK. Key and Edward P. Lawton from class six to five.

► Vice Consuls J. Graham Parsons, Evan M. Wilson and Herbert P. Fales, members of the class at the Foreign Service Training School, were given temporary assignments in the Department.

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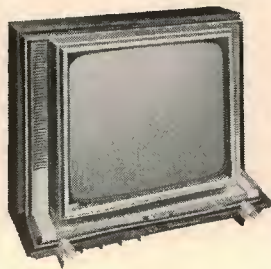
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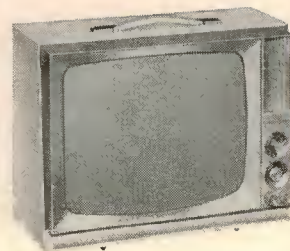
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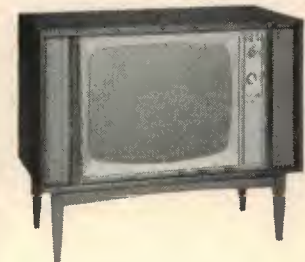
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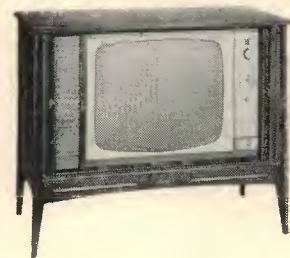
PHILCO 4504
Extra wide Horizontal console—twin speakers, cool chassis!



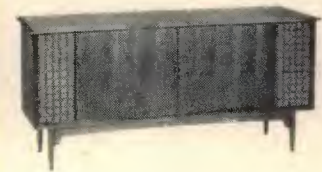
PHILCO 4508
Genuine veneer cabinet, easy rolling casters—twin speakers



PHILCO 4519
Authentic Hitchcock styling, exclusive Curtainwood doors.



4524 CUSTOM TV
Genuine veneer cabinet, disappearing Curtainwood doors



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25 Years Ago

By JAMES B. STEWART

► C. E. (Ed) Macy, Consul, Karachi, has the leading article in the July JOURNAL titled, "Folk Tales of Northwest India."

Comment, 1963: Ed and Therese live in Denver and their home contains many treasures which they acquired in India.

A Case of Touch and Go

Ruth B. Shipley, Chief, Passport Division, told this exciting bit of history in an address to the wives of Foreign Service officers: . . . "During the War of 1812 the serious danger of the capture of the city of Washington prompted the then Secretary of State, James Monroe, to direct the Chief Clerk, John Graham, to attempt to save the Department's records. Despite the fact that he was informed by the Secretary of War that there was no need for alarm, Graham proceeded to carry out his instructions and on August 21, 1814, accompanied by two other persons, he placed the records in carts and took them to a grist mill on the Virginia side of the Potomac about two miles above Georgetown. These records comprised the original Declaration of Independence and laws, treaties and other documents of great value. . . Wagons were obtained at the grist mill and Graham continued on to Leesburg, Virginia, where he placed the records in an empty house. He returned to Washington a few days later to find the city in ruins. . . Every document and paper of any importance was saved by Graham's prompt action."



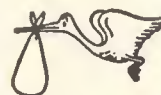
A son, Cuthbert Powell, was born on June 9, 1938, in Dublin to Consul and Mrs. Paul Churchill Hutton.

Comment, 1963: Powell graduated from St. Andrew's School, Delaware, and from West Point in 1959. He went to Oxford University for three years as a Rhodes Scholar. He is back in Army life as a lieutenant in Korea. Powell's older brother, Captain Paul C. Hutton, also graduated from West Point. Clellan, now at St. Andrew's, naturally has his sights set on the Point.



A son, John Gerry Gallman, was born on March 31, 1938, in Danzig, to Consul and Mrs. Waldemar J. Gallman.

Comment, 1963: John got his A.B. at Yale in 1960 and is now on the editorial staff of Johns Hopkins Press in Baltimore. He married Elizabeth Stratton two years ago and their son John is a year old. John's brother Philip, left Yale after his sophomore year and did a two-year stint in the Marines. He is now back at Yale as a junior.



A daughter, Leila, was born on June 8, 1938, in Washington, to vice Consul and Mrs. Evan M. Wilson.

Comment, 1963: Leila graduated from Smith in 1961 and is now doing graduate work in occupational therapy at the University of Pennsylvania. Evan, Jr., is a senior at Yale and Martha is a sophomore at Chatham College, Pittsburgh.

Postscript: A chuckle over the big three-degree man: He got his first degree from Harvard, his second degree from Yale and the third degree from Internal Revenue.

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Service Items

by JAMES B. STEWART

▲ **Yarn:** BOB MCGREGOR, recently retired, tells this one: A certain staff member for a Senate Committee on Immigration accompanied a Senator to Venice for a conference with FSO's engaged in refugee matters. I arrived just in time to witness the staff member in a state of high indignation setting off for a soothing stroll around the streets and bridges of that well-watered city. During lunch at the Hotel Danielli, where the delegation was staying, the member returned, flushed and obviously much put out. It seems he had got lost in the maze of canals and finding himself in a strange part and not remembering where he had come from he extracted his hotel room key from his pocket and went up to the first person he saw. He pointed to his key and tried by signs to show he wanted direction. The person he accosted with this human request happened to be a very personable young lady. He got a resounding slap for his attentions and came flying back. He said, "It just shows how ungrateful these foreigners are!"

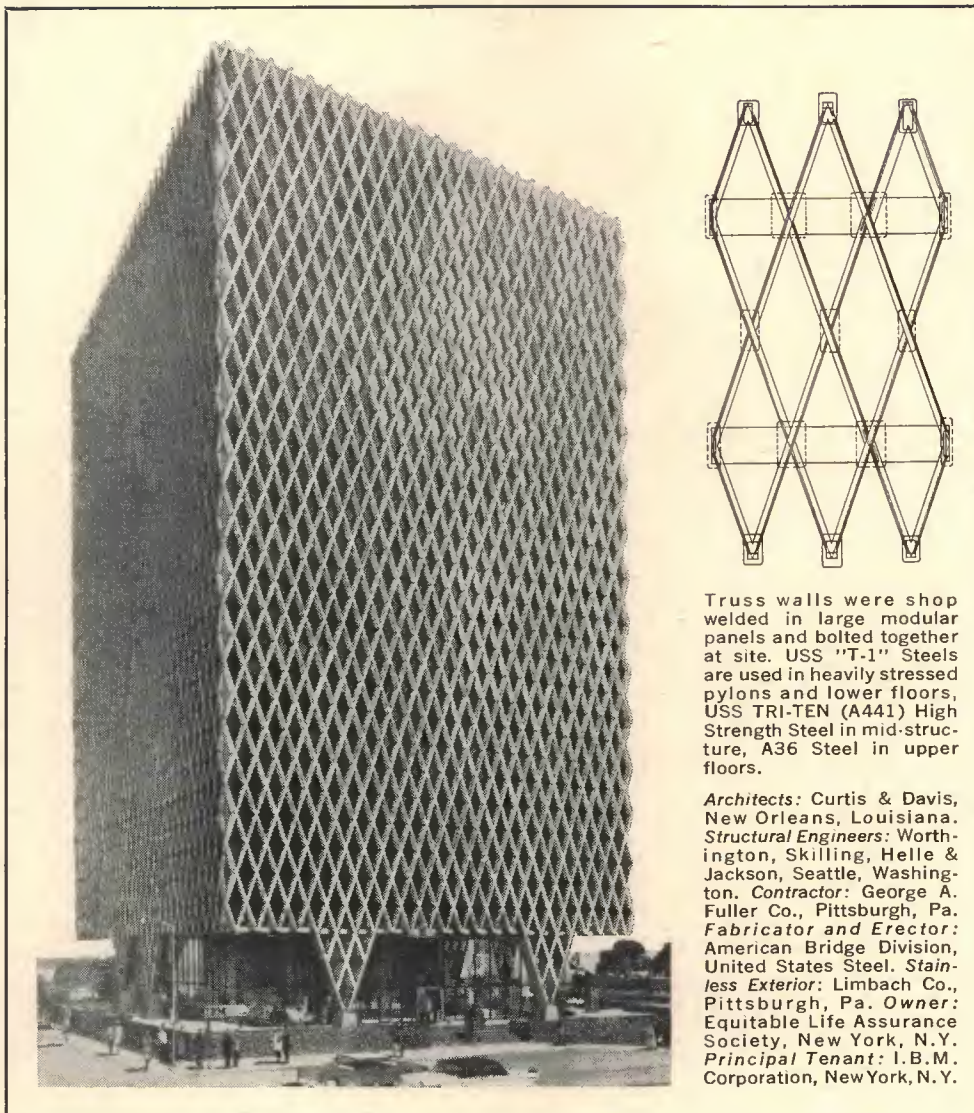
▲ **Anecdote:** Retired FSO JOSEPH BALLANTINE shares this anecdote: In the course of a lecture to my Around the World Group, I happened to mention that in the sixteenth century when Europeans first came to East Asia from overseas the standard of literacy in every country of East Asia was higher than in any country of Europe. A lady, she was a college graduate, looked at me in apparent disbelief and then a gleam of enlightenment came. "You mean, in their own language, don't you?" she said.

▲ **Sweepstakes:** Our Ambassador to Nicaragua, AARON S. BROWN, and DOROTHY, are spending their home leave in New Hampshire, now called the "Sweeps State," it having recently passed a law making gambling legal. So good luck, Aaron, and to you also, Bob. (ROBERT ENGLISH, retired FSO, is Senior Republican Senator at Concord.)

▲ **Punch:** Former Career Ambassador, JOHN KEENA, contributes his famous recipe for Philadelphia Fish House Punch: "1 qt. cognac; 1 qt. peach brandy (Marie Brizard by choice); 1 qt. Bacardi or Haitian Rum; 4 qts. demi-sec Champagne. Pour over a large block of ice and serve quickly in champagne glasses. Of course you can scale that down—if you have a mathematical mind."

▲ **Lafayette Square:** A California firm of architects, of which LEE KING is a member, is supervising the new building project around Lafayette Square. Lee was formerly Assistant Chief of the Foreign Building Office in the Department. He and his wife NICKIE were in Washington for some time and while there Nickie wrote a short historical outline in connection with the project which was praised by Mrs. Kennedy.

▲ **Neighbors:** A number of retired persons live very near each other: Miss CORNELIA BASSEL and the FRANCIS SPAULDINGS live across the street from one another on Reservoir



Truss walls were shop welded in large modular panels and bolted together at site. USS "T-1" Steels are used in heavily stressed pylons and lower floors, USS TRI-TEN (A441) High Strength Steel in mid-structure, A36 Steel in upper floors.

Architects: Curtis & Davis, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Structural Engineers:* Worthington, Skilling, Helle & Jackson, Seattle, Washington. *Contractor:* George A. Fuller Co., Pittsburgh, Pa. *Fabricator and Erector:* American Bridge Division, United States Steel. *Stainless Exterior:* Limbach Co., Pittsburgh, Pa. *Owner:* Equitable Life Assurance Society, New York, N.Y. *Principal Tenant:* I.B.M. Corporation, New York, N.Y.

The new IBM Building: "Inside-out" design saves 250 tons of steel, creates column-free 54-foot spans

There's no better current example of steel's versatility and economy than the new 13-story IBM Building in Pittsburgh, U.S.A. Its designers rejected traditional post and beam concepts, putting the IBM Building's strength, structure, and beauty in its walls. Its steel truss walls are supported at only two points on each facade and share the building loads with six interior columns which make up the service core.

The exterior walls are made of pairs of steel angles whose strength levels were selected to suit stress requirements. Three strength levels of USS Constructional Steels were used: USS "T-1" and "T-1" type A Steels—100,000 psi min. yield strength (70 kg/mm²)—for the heavily stressed piers and lower wall elements, USS TRI-TEN Steel (A441)—50,000 psi min. yield point

(35 kg/mm²)—for less heavily stressed elements, and A36 Steel—36,000 psi min. yield point (25 kg/mm²)—above the sixth floor where stresses were still lower and more uniformly distributed.

These steels were designed into the structure in such a way that all component members work efficiently. The new higher yield strength steels are the key that made this structural system practical.

Distinctively functional, this unique structure used 250 net tons (227 m.t.) less steel than traditional skeleton frame construction.

Clear spans of 54 feet (16½ meters) and 27 feet (8¼ meters), from truss walls to core structure, leave the working space of each floor column-free, open and spacious for maximum flexibility of interior arrange-

ment. The 30-inch (760-mm) wide flange beams that span from wall to core of each floor level were pierced to permit passage of heating and air cooling ducts, saving 9 inches (230 mm) of height per floor as well.

Additional economies were realized by panelized fabrication. Truss members were shop welded into large units which were easily handled and quickly bolted in place. Steel erection began in July, 1962, and was finished four months later. The resulting clean-lined exterior will be sheathed with lustrous, textured, Type 302 Stainless Steel.

For full information about the USS Family of Constructional Steels, write United States Steel Export Company, 100 Church Street, New York 8, New York, U.S.A.

USS, "T-1," and TRI-TEN are registered trademarks.

United States Steel Export Company



SERVICE ITEMS

Road, Georgetown; the JACK DE COURCYs and the JOE GRAYS in Winter Park, Florida; the PAUL FLETCHERS and the BILL AILSHIES in La Jolla, California; the GEORGE T. COLMANS and Miss MARY JANE PORTER, Greeley, Colorado; PAUL (ZEKE) PADDOCK and the EUGENE M. HINKLES in Princeton.

Miss Bassell, by the way, attended the May luncheon of AFSA and as usual had a swarm of FSO's hovering about her.

▲ **Degrees:** A headline in a Colorado paper read: "After 33 Years Grandparents Get Degrees at Adams State College." The grandparents were retired FSO GERALD G. JONES, who received his master's and his wife ELNOR who received her bachelor's degree in ceremonies attended by their daughter and son-in-law and their grandchildren. Mr. and Mrs. Jones have settled in Alamosa, Colorado.

▲ **Happy Birthday** to an old colleague—FRANCIS R. STEWART who was born on August 7, 1974. Francis is the donor of a scholarship trust fund to the American Foreign Service Association.

▲ **Definition:** HERBERT HENGSTLER, former Chief of FA,

picked up this one: "A diplomat is one who, when asked his favorite color, says it is plaid."

"Old Timers"

▲ The thing of importance that Ambassador WESLEY JONES, Lima, remembers about twenty-five years ago is that he married Miss Katherine del Valle at St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, on May 21, 1938. He says that Lima is a most fortuitous place in which to celebrate a Silver Wedding Anniversary.

▲ Ambassador and Mrs. AARON (Dorothy) BROWN celebrated their twenty-fifth year in the Service last July in Managua. Dorothy reports that all twenty-five rockets went off!

▲ ROBERT RINDEN, Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, Saigon, is another old timer with twenty-five years in the Service. Bob Rinden is also the originator and writer of the JOURNAL's widely read Life and Love series.

There are many definitions of an "old timer" but in our book an old timer is one who, on work days, stood in the crowd at the top of the steps of Old State and waited for the 4:30 p.m. shower to pass and who, on Sundays, went to the Wilbur J. Carrs for tea.

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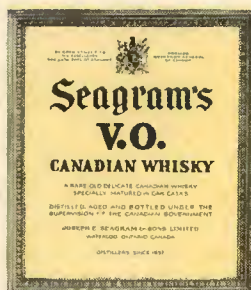


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☒ When Latin lived, the phrase CIVIS ROMANVS SVM carried an impressive meaning. The man who could say, "I am a Roman citizen", exerted influence in many parts of the world. ☒ Today, Seagram's V.O. Canadian Whisky is, in a sense, entitled to make that claim. And more: Seagram's V.O. is an honorary citizen of London, New York, Caracas, Paris, Geneva and a thousand distant cities. In fact, throughout the world more people buy Seagram's V.O. than any other brand of whisky exported from any country. ☒ The reason for this global popularity is surprising in its simplicity. V.O. combines a true lightness of body with a rare brilliance of taste. This is easy enough to say. But it takes the kind of skill and experience only Seagram's has accumulated to make it happen. ☒ It might be well worth your while to try this world-renowned whisky. CIVIS ROMANVS SVM. Still an impressive statement, when made by Seagram's V.O. ☒

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USIA Today and Tomorrow

by EDWARD R. MURROW

THE TENTH anniversary of USIA as an independent agency will occasion no special ceremony or observance. We shall take note of our past by keeping our eyes in the present firmly on the future.

But there are lessons arising from the past worth mentioning here. Foremost among them is our new relationship with the White House and the Department of State.

Representatives of the Agency join the other personal advisers to the President in discussions of policy while it is being formed. We are therefore no longer mere publicists grinding out our appointed quota of press releases. This is the superficial function of an information effort and one which, without more substance, is doomed to but slight effect.

We have become psychological advisers to the President and, in turn, to each Ambassador in his individual country team. For the PAO to function best, he must be used as such in his relationship to the Ambassador and to other members of the country team.

Further, through continual contact with the communications systems and networks of foreign countries, USIS officers have become specialists in conveying a message from the United States to another people. Theirs is the knowledge of the structure and technique of communication. They are most effective when this fact is understood.

So much for our role on the country team.

As for the Agency's role in the world, we of course explain Ameri-

can policy abroad. We try as well to transmit something of the nature of this bounteous society of ours: both what it is and what it hopes to become.

WHAT essentially we seek in our work abroad is to assist the development of societies that are compatible with our own. We Americans do not ask others to copy our institutions. We do not prescribe our practices as their panaceas. But we do submit that we have had some experience in this difficult process of nation-building. We would share with other lands—new lands—the benefits of our experiences in the hope that they will leap-frog our mistakes to their own advantage.

This we can offer. If others reject it, force will not compel them to it. If others accept it, they may use forms and models that seem widely different from our own. But then, men themselves are widely different animals; why should we be displeased when others seek their own way if their way is not inimical to the interests of free men?

In pursuing such a goal we do not postulate any single rationale. It is the Communists whose rigidity of code and orthodoxy of dogma forces others to bend to their way. It is the free way of free men that can bend its system to adapt to the varied needs of a world in change.

We then make no pursuit of a doctrine for doctrine's sake alone. America, outside of the single idea of freedom, has no simple system to fit all circumstances. We have virtually

sanctified the non-systemized system. The only dogma we have is no dogma.

Ten years is a long time in the life of a child, a short time in the life of an institution. On the tenth anniversary of USIA I find I have been with that institution an even shorter time—two of those ten years. I like to think that some progress has been made in that time, that we have matured and grown.

And if anything has been done in these two years, it is a function of all the experience and trial-and-error of the previous decade that had gone before. Progress is like that; it builds the future upon the foundation of the past.

AS FOR the future, I think the Agency's function in the foreign policy equation will grow. This is not because we desire it—though we hardly disparage our opportunity—but because the nature of our diplomatic business will compel us to it. The lesson of Cuba was that nuclear powers will avoid outright war if possible. The Department of Defense, in one sense, arms to fight the war all of us hope will never come. We in USIA, on the other hand, are engaged in the immediate struggle which has bound up all this nation. We have outgrown being mere publicists and public relations advisers. We now have a contribution to make to policy itself. So acknowledged and so used, we can work together to the mutual benefit and betterment of the interests that all of us serve.



An American Reporter Abroad Looks At

USIA in the Next Decade

by WELLES HANGEN

JAPANESE horticulturists have achieved remarkable results by starving their plants. The virtue of penury, whether in gardening or propaganda is that it eliminates redundant branches and equivocal direction. I am afraid that in the next decade the United States Information Agency, like the country that supports it, will suffer from such an embarrassment of riches that all avenues of endeavor will be explored but none traversed to the end. The danger is that the necessity of choice may be overlooked when dispersion of effort has become a vested interest. A burgeoning bureaucracy where the human faculty of selection is in indefinite suspension is unlikely to sway the world.

Such fears might bring a sardonic smile to the lips of lonely Americans manning USIS offices in Niamey, Katmandu or Belem. They are untroubled by budget surpluses or supernumerary staff. And for that reason, among others, they may be

WELLES HANGEN has served as a correspondent overseas continuously since 1953 when he went to Turkey for the *New York Times*. In 1956 he became NBC's Middle East correspondent, based in Cairo. For the last three years he has been in India for NBC, and moved to Bonn as the network's German correspondent in May this year.

doing a more effective job than our well oiled propaganda machines in India, Germany or other "sensitive" countries. USIS officers in India and Germany are not different from their colleagues in smaller and less well endowed posts. But the institutional framework is. The concern in my mind is that the framework of administration and the dead weight of bureaucratic housekeeping will grow so burdensome in the coming decade of expansion that the irreplaceable element of individual initiative and responsibility will be lost.

Ten years ago I traveled by jeep through eastern Turkey with Dan Brown, then press officer at the American Embassy in Ankara. Wherever we went he talked to editors and other Turks in that remote area. There was no multi-media program at that time and Brown carried no press kits, film clips or brochures; in fact, nothing but his pad and pencil. But my impression is that his homespun answers to questions probably influenced more Turks more favorably than the most elaborate combination of canned publicity materials ever could have.

I suppose there is no reason why the multi-media materials and the homespun answers can't go together but somehow they don't seem to. I

hope the individual approach will not be discarded in the Augustan age of American overseas propaganda in the next decade. In more than ten years of reporting abroad it has often seemed to me that USIS is most effective when its program is smallest, when only the foundations are being dug and there is no administrative superstructure. By the time the upper layers have been added through expansion and increasing organization there seems to be less room for originality. The edge of enterprise is dulled.

Even the most intrepid USIS country program is doomed without active support from the embassy, especially the ambassador. I feel this old problem is much less acute today although it still crops up frequently. Our mammoth effort of persuasion at times gets bogged down by top embassy officials who have no sympathy with what USIS is trying to do. Such Foreign Service fossils are increasingly rare. One may hope the breed will become extinct in a few more years. Most of the younger ambassadors and political officers I have met in Asia and Africa are eager to exploit propaganda possibilities and inclined to listen to their USIS advisers.

USIS in my experience still lacks



the *esprit de corps* that the generally high caliber of its people justifies. The next ten years should see the end of inferiority feelings vis-à-vis the embassy, the hangdog attitude and the mumbled admissions of frustration that you still encounter in some USIS offices. Area specialization and longer tours of duty for USIS officers are essential, in my opinion, to foster a deeper sense of professional competence. An inexcusably small number of USIS operatives knows the language of the country where they are assigned. This deficiency must be overcome.

The content of the USIS program in any country is the subject of endless and, I suppose, helpful debate. To me the important thing is that no standard mixture of fast-media activities, culture and other ingredients can be concocted in Washington and universally applied from Saigon to Saskatchewan. As far as I know, there is nothing in the law or the prophets that ordains a post cannot long endure without an information officer, a press officer, a radio officer, a films officer and a cultural affairs officer, not to mention a public affairs officer. Where the press does not exist for practical purposes, as in many newer African countries, I think we can safely ignore it. Where there is no culture we need not strain to create it.

Bureaucracies crave uniform tables of organization but the world is still heterogeneous. Let USIS also be.

I think I will not be accused of expressing a self-serving opinion

when I say USIS posts often spend too much time catering to the needs of American reporters, editors and other displaced citizens of the Republic. Although I know from personal experience that the catering can often be rewarding and pleasant for the recipient, if I understand what USIS is all about it is not primarily intended to ease the travail of American news-gatherers in far-off lands. Of course, USIS has a service to perform for our correspondents abroad but not at the expense of its primary mission—to influence the people of the country concerned.

The “people” cannot be defined as a handful of English-speaking editors in the capital who can dine acceptably in the PAO’s house and whose views can be congenially cabled to Washington as evidence of “program effectiveness.” I know some editors and senior reporters in New Delhi who rarely face the harsh necessity of buying their own lunch or dinner, so bounteous is USIS generosity. In the early months of the Congo crisis when only one newspaper appeared regularly in Leopoldville, its editor, who represented nothing but himself, was lionized by a succession of earnest USIS officers intent on unearthing at least one Congolese “opinion-leader.”

In general, however, our USIS officers suffer from an understandable human weakness for moving in circles where they meet the least political or social friction. “Pro-Western” editors are on the guest list much more often than the Left-wingers. The boss of the rickshaw-

pullers union is rarely invited. Cultural programs are launched on the sympathetic campus of Baroda University in Western India instead of in the hostile halls of Calcutta University. Yet Calcutta University, with its thousands of students who still regard Fidel Castro as a hero, cries out for the relaxed but persistent attentions of Americans who know how to put ideas across.

USIS should thrive on hostility, not run from it. Retiring to the paper-lined redoubt of the PAO’s office when the local “pro-American” regime is overthrown is no substitute for an information policy in adversity. I remember in pre-revolutionary Iraq, USIS set up a lavish audiovisual center and virtually became the royal government’s propaganda ministry. When the regime fell in July 1958 the USIS program shriveled to mimeographing the daily wireless file for internal distribution. Our propaganda efforts should not be so easily unmanned by temporary defeats. Planning for bad times is even more important than for the balmy days. To go from fawning compliance with the local government’s every whim to a kind of cata-tonic stupor hardly reflects constancy of purpose.

I expect the next decade will find USIS more mature, more self-assured, less frenetically anxious to please Afro-Asian “opinion,” more aware of Latin American realities and more conscious of the truth that propaganda can never substitute for policy. It might also be remembered that in propaganda, as in politics, the last word has never been uttered.



"That policy guidance must have been a bit dated."

Will Western unity and economic development, rather than just popularizing the United States, become goals of an expanded USIA?

Information Goals

by ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL

OF the four great instrumentalities available to nations for influencing the world around them—diplomacy, armed forces, money, and information—the last is both the most powerful and the least understood. And because it is least understood its power and utility is often overlooked. If we budget for information less than four percent of what we budget for foreign aid and less than one four-hundredth of what we budget for armed might, it is not because the impact of each is in that proportion; it is because that represents the ratio of our confidence that we know what to do in each of these areas to help achieve national goals.

For information efforts to be given a role more proportionate to their significance, requires above all progress in our understanding of what the effort is all about. Hopefully a beginning of this revolution in understanding is in prospect for the next ten years. USIA's past ten years were years of growing maturity

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in many ways. There were triumphs and failures; enthusiasms and demoralization; expert operations and foul-ups; and always hard and loyal work. But most important of all, the past ten years were years in which this agency outgrew a number of politically imposed clichés. A whole succession of what information and propaganda could and should do gradually eroded. Immediately after the war there was a widespread notion in the country that it would take only a bugle blast of freedom to cause those under communist oppression to successfully throw off their chains. That fantasy gave way to the equally unrealistic demand that our information program convert people everywhere to the support of the United States, as though there were nothing else on our audiences' minds but the merits of a foreign country several thousand miles from where they lived. And when that demand also failed, some would-be friends of the information effort tried to justify it as not a political thing at all, but rather an act of faith in the value of cultural interchange.

Able and hard working professionals in the field never accepted these oversimple notions, but the

practitioner on the firing line could not provide a rationale for overall strategy, and felt helpless to produce deeper political understanding at home. That is not his job but the job of the top-level national leadership and of policy researchers in government and above all outside of it. It is a job which only now shows signs of beginning to be done, thanks to enlightened and open-minded leadership, and to some stirrings of thought about the problem in our universities and media.

Perhaps in the next ten years a few homely truths will become part of our national understanding of the information effort. Perhaps by ten years from now it will be ABC in international politics, just as it is in advertising circles, that, to be listened to, messages must serve the needs and interests of the audience, not those of the sender. And as a corollary we will recognize how much we need to know about the detailed desires, interests and attitudes of our audiences. An advertiser who spends one-half of one percent on market research (which is about what USIA spends on its audience attitude studies) would disappear in the competitive maelstrom of American marketing. In the international

competition, which is far more complex, our policy makers must learn to use the hard and laborious products of detailed field research.

Perhaps by ten years from now it will also be ABC to people in all parts of the government that information efforts, just like diplomacy, should be designed to achieve the limited goal of persuading a country to take those measures which it is concerned about in its own self interest and which also happen to coincide with our own concerns. Too often in the past the goals we have set for propaganda have been more far reaching than the goals we have expected our other policy instrumentalities to achieve. Our diplomatic goal in a country might be, for example, to get it to bolster its own defenses; our information goal to win it to our world view and ideology.

That is asking too much. What distinguishes the information program is not unique goals, different from those of the United States government as a whole, but rather unique techniques. The USIA is above all a pool of skills. Its people know more about how to get a news-break, what sort of radio copy gets an audience, where the students congregate for coffee, what magazine the local artists are reading, than any one else in the government. Its people know how to write a poster or to stage an exhibit. These are valuable skills and ones which can be put at the service of any substantive goal. They should be mobilized for the same practical, achievable, effective purposes that we set for our diplomacy, or for any other instrumentality.

If that practical image of USIA is increasingly accepted in the next ten years, it will increasingly mean that USIA will concentrate in each country on those special goals of that country itself which the United States too sees as constructive and progressive.

In Europe that means concentration on Western unity. In Europe

our diplomacy is not so much designed to win direct support for us as a nation, but rather to win an ever more solid common defense and unity. USIA is serving its proper purpose just as much when it makes itself an instrument of European unity as when it disseminates American information.

So, too, with economic development. It is in the American national interest that poverty-stricken lands find their way to rapid economic growth. That is a goal that they deeply care about and that we, too, in our interest want them to achieve. In such lands USIA is serving its true goals if it becomes in effect an information instrumentality for local economic development. USIA libraries can become sources of technical books for underfinanced engineers and students. Its motion pictures can as properly teach people about sanitation in their own country as teaching them about symphony orchestras in the United States. If American money and, in some places, American arms are being devoted to helping nations to find the path to growth and stability, certainly American communications expertise — the best in the world — can probably be used for these purposes too.

Finally USIA in its next ten years will have a crucial role to play in the opening up of totalitarian societies to the winds of knowledge. It can help facilitate a desirable evolution in what promises to be a dangerous decade in those states. Now for the first time in years polycen-

trism and intellectual ferment give to anyone who will address himself to the problems on the minds of those living under tyranny, rather than to our own problems, a real chance to be heard.

In conclusion then, what does one outside observer see in the crystal ball for USIA's next ten years? It is a growth of civic understanding of the functions of USIA in a world of political struggle. The prerequisite for such understanding is research both in the government and outside; and that hopefully will develop. The outgrowth of such understanding will be direct and effective participation of USIA in promoting, through information technology, those foreign civic goals which are also ours: economic development, western unity, freedom and openness in public life.

It will not be a cheap effort. But as it moves in a constructive and rational direction, the information effort will simultaneously require and justify expenditures much more nearly of the magnitude which we devote to our other instrumentalities of national effort.



"Malone may not be the best information officer in the business, but you must admit he always has a ready answer."



EDITORIAL

Coming of Age

NEXT month marks the tenth anniversary of the United States Information Agency's debut as an independent U.S. Government Agency. The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, speaking on behalf of those members of the American Foreign Service Association who are not themselves part of USIA, takes great pleasure in congratulating our friends and colleagues on this notable occasion.

Millions of words have poured from the presses and through the airwaves during the short but stormy life of USIA and many of the men and issues which loomed large in the foreground during its infancy can now be seen somewhat more in perspective. The "Spirit of Geneva" has flown and the "Spirit of Bandung" is sorely wounded while such issues as Hungary, Suez, Quemoy and Matsu are at least temporarily in eclipse. Instead, the high tension words of the early Sixties are Cuba, the Congo, the Plaine des Jarres and outer space. The more the words change, however, the more the problems remain the same and the need for informed, articulate spokesmen for the views of the United States is as great as ever.

Members of the Foreign Service who witnessed the birth of the newly independent agency in 1953 will remember that, as with Owen Glendower in "Henry IV," the earth seemed to shake and the heavens to tremble at its nativity. Perhaps as a result of this prenatal conditioning, representatives of the Agency have in the past sometimes fallen into the habit of imitating Glendower's imperious pronouncement, "I can call spirits from the vasty deep!" On these occasions, unimpressed bystanders have longed to repeat Hotspur's angry retort, "But will they come when you do call for them?" Luckily, the stage of juvenile bravado now seems outgrown and there is within USIA as well as the rest of the government a more realistic appreciation both of the significant role to be played by the information officer and a recognition of the limits to his powers of persuasion.

With increased maturity has come increased stature,

symbolized by the Director's place on the National Security Council. From this vantage point the Agency enjoys its long-sought opportunity to be heard on policy questions before decisions are taken, rather than afterwards—when there is sweeping-up to be done. Some of this increased stature is, of course, directly attributable to the high quality and personal prestige of the Agency's last two distinguished Directors, George V. Allen and Edward R. Murrow. In fact, there is more than a little truth to the suggestion that the nation's policy makers heed the voice of USIA because they have been listening to Mr. Murrow for twenty years and can't break the habit.

Hand in hand with increased stature and responsibility has come increased professionalism all along the Agency's far-flung battle line. This development is the result not only of greater experience and more thorough training of its staff but is also a measure of the success USIA has had in attracting highly qualified young men and women into its junior echelons. Here too, Mr. Murrow's example seems to have been contagious, for increased professionalism at the top has clearly encouraged greater professionalism throughout the organization.

On its tenth anniversary, therefore, USIA can look back with satisfaction at ten years of solid growth. It has labored hard and successfully at its job of keeping open the existing channels of communication with the great world public and seeking unceasingly for new channels, new spokesmen and new ways of making known the views of the United States to the rest of the world. It can also look forward with confidence to the years of challenge that still lie ahead, for there is no shortage of grievous problems on the horizon and beyond it. There can be no doubt that there is a continuing job to be done in this area and no doubt about the willingness of the men and women of USIA to take it on. We wish them well in their great endeavor.

← Chinese Temple, Calcutta by Yoichi R. Okamoto

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS



BRUGGE

by Henry Paoli

Broader and Warmer Vistas

THERE ARE DAYS when walking downtown in 96° weather is like a dream sequence, as though one had crawled into the oven and were lost in limbo. The streets feel soft under foot, the sidewalks reflect back the sun's hot glare. But in Washington until there has been one such day the winter has hardly been forgotten, summer has not yet begun.

It was on such a day this past month that the Exhausted Bureaucrat left the cool (though unsprinkled) confines of New State to come over to see us, en route to a conference at 1776.

"Just attended one of the science lunches," he reported.

"Science lunches?" We'd heard of FE and varied types of regional lunches.

"Yes. Sixth in the series of lunches with the Secretary, Assistant Secretaries and the Undersecretary. Usually have a talk by an expert, followed by questions and answers."

"On outer space, for instance?"

"Ranging on topics as diverse as outer space, lasers, nuclear power development, population control and food explosion."

"Sounds very pertinent. The man

of science seems to be the man of the hour."

"You know, the interesting thing about the scientists—and something not too well appreciated perhaps—is that today they actually *do* have the answers to all of these problems. But working them through lies in the political, sociological and psychological realm."

It's clarifications like that that make E.B. such a welcome visitor in our office. New vistas suddenly appear, when he talks. "Knowing that the answer is already at hand often takes much of the tension out of the situation," we said.

"But don't underestimate the difficulties, vested and powerful interests, conditioned mentalities—all make negotiating difficult. The job of the diplomat doesn't become easier, it's just that one can see the possibility of success."

ADP and OJT

"Wonder how many problems and games theories are being run through the machines these days," we hazarded, referring to a news story of a recent UN decision which the machines had researched.

"Ah, yes, data retrieval. Well, it's a busy section. Larger than ever and probably more useful than ever."

"With less sickness and compensatory leave per unit than other divisions?" we interrupted.

"Well, seriously, eventually fewer people will be needed to do the amount of work. A machine is being used administratively for personnel, payroll, fiscal accounting, statistical jobs such as passport, visa, communications, etc. Individuals who are displaced by the automation are being retrained at government expense. Some become programmers; their retraining includes both additional schooling and on-the-job training."

"The NEWSLETTER had an interesting story of Maggie's work in February, I remember, 'Maggie Does Magnificent Things on Her Magic Magnetic Tapes.'"

"Hard to say what the future shape of things will be with the machine having an ever-increasing credence. It could mean that there will be increasingly more attention to facts and less to opinions."

Entered Tom, Swiftly

"By the way, we're just on the verge of the big trek home, for home leave and change of assignments. There are two things, not necessarily related, I think you should warn your home-coming readers about:

"Swifties," and the almost certain upping of taxi fares next month. Some may remember Tom Swift as a boyhood hero but even they may have forgotten the adverbial style of writing or not know of today's punning versions.

"The SATURDAY REVIEW had a good one recently: 'Our countries have just broken off diplomatic relations, he said disconsolately.'"

"I'm not sure they should be encouraged but they do seem to come right off the top of the head," we replied woodenly, "and from the most unexpected sources."

"But there was another item SATURDAY REVIEW published recently which may start something. It was a straight-faced suggestion that since we live in the country of the condensed novel, and textbook, and even of recorded bits and pieces, 'highlights' from opera, perhaps art, too, should be marketed by the piece. The famous smile of the Mona Lisa, for instance, four inches of it; or the colorful glass of absinthe by Toulouse-Lautrec; or Dali's watch. Or as our Twenty-Five Years ago columnist would say, the navel of the Venus de Milo. Great Square Inches in Art, for only \$4.95, plus postage."

"The only difficulty in this land of commercial hunger is whether it isn't already being implemented," E.B. said.

"That was a helpful bit of implementation on women's rights last week, signing the equal pay for women for equal work," we ventured.

"During President Radhakrish-

nan's visit here it was pointed out that in India there are almost twice as many women proportionately in the Parliament as we have in Congress. Incidentally, I'm not sure that that of itself proves anything."

Goldfish Bowl

"The Department of State," E.B. began again, "has had to get larger and larger to accommodate the size of the job each year. Even ten years ago there was a tendency to think that the job would never be understood and appreciated by the American people. Now we're busier than ever because of the increased interest in foreign affairs. (Fred Dutton, in reporting to the Hill last week, mentioned the enormous amount of mail received by Congress which must be researched or answered by New State.)

"Not that this is an accident. During the past two or three years the old attitude of 'Nobody really understands' has been thoroughly jettisoned. By annual conferences for editors throughout the country, by special publications such as the 'Department of State, 1963,' by more widespread speaking assignments New State has been helping to develop a constituency."

"Anything in this rumor of later hours for New State?" we asked.

"As a matter of fact, yes. It would make a good deal of sense; is favored by many. Nine to six would help relieve the traffic congestion."

"With so many Departments getting to work progressively earlier, and State getting later it may mean the cocktail hour will be the one common meeting place to do business?"

"Speaking of sociabilities—the new 'Diplo-nots' seems to be filling a real need. There's now an easy meeting place for F.S. staff personnel and their counterparts from the other embassies around town."

"Understand the international center which was much under discussion in the JOURNAL a few years ago is actually getting under way, too."

"Yes, we hope to have the story in an early issue."

Art Round the World

"Many people liked the Far Eastern cover in May. We have a particularly beautiful one coming soon by

another artist in the Far East, Nancy Eastman, wife of FSO Harland H. Eastman."

"That was a fine art show we had at New State last month. Seems to me our posts would benefit, too, by having more exhibitions of our artists' work. Certainly it enhances good relations when the works exhibited include paintings of the local scene."

"I remember Bob Sivard's exhibition of paintings, held in the old Rothschild mansion of USIS, Paris. The press notices were excellent, the turnout large and appreciative. Probably many Parisians found their way to USIS who had not been there before."

"The difficulty one runs into, of course, has to do with payment for the pictures on exhibition. Naturally people want to buy them, and most officers have children to educate so they would be glad to sell them. But it becomes a bit delicate—so many things enter into the equation that many ambassadors would rather not encourage such showings."

"But, E.B., it's not too different from the sale of writings, is it? And in that case the officer need only get clearance. It's even encouraged."

"Well, there's one important difference. The money for writing in most cases is not coming from the local population; so there would be no

question of the money being turned back to local charity. *Noblesse oblige.*"

"Speaking of charities, I gather the demands on American personnel (particularly in the so-called less developed countries) are constant, which makes our overseas people less than eager at times to be dunned in behalf of Washington charities."

"In most countries where the income tax is very low, or non-existent, the money is raised for charities and the 'rich Americans' are expected to contribute to a series of benefits, bazaars, kermesses, concerts. Add to this the fact that most of the Service maintain home ties outside of the District and make contributions to their own college, church, etc., and you see why many overseas feel they should not be subject to pressure tactics which are used to make the various charity campaign figures look good."

"It's a valid point, E.B. It seems pretty easy at times to decide how generous the other fellow should be. Just for the record, though, the overseas per capita response to the UGF, for instance, is always higher than that of personnel around the Department. For the record, too, embassy personnel here are heavily dunned by our Washington charity organizations."

Portrait of E. B., Ruminating

by Earl J. Wilson





Old Singapore, in the 1850's

The Civil War in Singapore

by RHODA E. A. HACKLER

ACTING Vice Consul Francis Davis Cobb sat down at his desk in the United States Consulate at Singapore on December 22, 1863, and wrote to the Secretary of State in Washington: "I must inform you that the Confederate Steamer *Alabama* anchored in this harbor at dusk yesterday the 21st inst. and has this morning steamed to a private company's coal wharf at New Harbor this Island where she is at this moment."

Commander Raphael Semmes, C.S.N., skipper of the *C.S.S. Alabama* had brought the American Civil War halfway round the world to the Eastern Seas, and he was delighted with himself and with Singapore. He had taken three prizes already down near Java and Sumatra, had received a cordial welcome and full cooperation in Singapore and, best of all, had found twenty-two American ships laid up in Singapore harbor. In his "Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States," Captain Semmes reminisced on how in the Far East he had "sent a thrill of terror through all the Yankee shipping, far and near. . . No ship could get a freight, and the commerce of the enemy was as dead for the time being as if every ship belonging to him had been destroyed."

Back in 1861, when war appeared imminent in America,

the British Government sent instructions on neutrality to its colonial governments. Officially the British deplored the war, while acknowledging the rights of both Northern and Southern States to wage such a contest. Britain warned her colonies to follow a course of strict neutrality: American ships, both Union and Confederate, were allowed to remain for only twenty-four hours in a British harbor, and during that time might take on a limited amount of coal, such supplies as they might reasonably have immediate use for, and could make only vital repairs necessary to assure continued seaworthiness. The Government of the Straits Settlements accepted the official British Government view of strict neutrality, of course, but the outspoken sympathies of many British, both at home in England and in the Colonies, leaned heavily toward the Southern cause.

The morning after her arrival, the *Alabama* moved from her anchorage in Singapore harbor to a coaling wharf. Her crew were immediately set to taking aboard coal and supplies while Captain Semmes visited among the British merchant community in Singapore and lunched with British officers at their mess. When coaling was completed Captain Semmes issued an open invitation to all Singaporeans to visit and inspect his ship. A goodly number of citizens availed themselves of the opportunity to see with their own eyes the fearsome and almost legendary sea raider, although

RHODA E. A. HACKLER studied Far Eastern History at the University of Malaya while her husband, FSO Windsor G. Hackler, was Consul at Singapore.

Vice Consul Cobb grumbled to Washington that "curiosity rather than sympathy led many to visit her."

The editor of the Singapore STRAITS TIMES returned to his office to write a glowing description of a ship which he forecast, quite accurately, as assured of a place in history. "The *Alabama*, once seen will not be readily forgotten. She is not large, being, we should say, barely 1,000 tons register; but still she has the air of a dare-devil craft which would hesitate but little to test her strength against a much stronger enemy. . . Everything on deck is in splendid order and of the very best material. Her engine room is also a picture of neatness. . . The impression which an inspection of the *Alabama* gives, is that she is essentially a handy craft, capable of the most rapid movements and thoroughly effective to the extent of her strength." The STRAITS TIMES concluded, "Whatever may be our impressions when we sedately view the mission of the *Alabama* it is impossible in the presence of the little craft not to be momentarily carried away by an enthusiastic sympathy for her case. When talked to here of the hard push the South had for it, Captain Semmes, pointing to the Confederate ensign floating above him, said 'It is no matter, that Flag never comes down.' It is a bold and confident boast;—time will tell us if it be a true one. No one who will visit her, can deny that the *Alabama* is officered by gentlemen, courteous and obliging."

VICE Consul Cobb did not say so in official despatches, but he may well have been among the crowd of sight-seers who thronged the decks of the *Alabama*. He had tried to communicate with the Confederate ship's crew on the night the *Alabama* dropped anchor in Singapore harbor but was warned off, no boat being allowed to approach the ship's sides, and the next day he found the coaling wharf to be fenced in completely. Without any explanation of how he garnered the information, Cobb wrote to Washington that "The report of her crew being discontented and insubordinate I can confirm, the confinement in irons and strict watch prevented much desertion, about ten succeeded in leaving her and as many were found here to join her I should judge."

If Vice Consul Cobb sounded defeated, it is understandable. He was not a career vice consul, but a businessman from Boston, trading in Singapore as a partner in the firm of Hutchinson & Co. Business was bad enough with United States shipping tied up all over the world and the last regular U.S. Consul, J. P. O'Sullivan, had sailed from the island over three years before on sick leave, suffering from "Java fever and liver complaint." O'Sullivan had left a fellow American, Alexander Hutchinson, in charge of the Consulate, but after more than a year and a half Hutchinson had had to go to Europe on business. With no word or sign of O'Sullivan, he turned over the work of the Consulate as well as that of their joint business, to his partner Francis Cobb. In 1862 the American community in Singapore was small, numbering less than twenty men, women and children. Drawn mostly from seafaring New England stock, the Americans sided loyally with the Union, but they were outnumbered in the trading community, most of the other merchants being outspokenly sympathetic to the Confederacy. Then, too, the Union naval forces near Singapore consisted only

of the U.S.S. *Wyoming* which was described by the editor of the STRAITS TIMES when he saw her in the Singapore Roads as "not a formidable vessel, her armament being four 32 pounders and two pivot guns, one of which is an eleven inch gun." The U.S.S. *Wyoming* was obviously not much of a threat to the C.S.S. *Alabama*, and, anyway, she managed always to be where the *Alabama* was not. When the *Alabama* was in the Sunda Straits the *Wyoming* was in the port of Singapore and when the *Alabama* sailed into Singapore harbor the *Wyoming* sailed into that of Hong Kong. When the *Alabama* left Singapore for the Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean, Vice Consul Cobb had to pass on to Washington the rumor that the *Wyoming* was somewhere in the Philippines. Surrounded by, not hostility, but certainly lack of sympathy, harried by the distressed crews of three Union ships already sunk by the Confederate, the acting Vice Consul could do nothing about the *Alabama* but report her presence and her depredations to Washington. Not a happy position.

The *Alabama* was British built. While the Government of Great Britain urged neutrality on her colonial government, the C.S.S. *Alabama* was being built by Laird Brothers in Birkenhead, England. Mr. James D. Bullock, the Confederate Purchasing Agent in England, contracted for her in August of 1861 and construction started immediately. The British Government could not have been unaware of the work being carried out in the Laird yards. Certainly the American Consul in Liverpool, Thomas H. Dudley, knew what was going on, and warned not only his own government, but also the British authorities, making repeated efforts to prevent the *Alabama's* being finished and allowed to go to sea.

The *Alabama*, soon to become the scourge of Union shipping, started life in Birkenhead as *Ship 290*. When Union Consul Dudley first got wind of her, Laird Brothers maintained that she was being built for the Spanish Government for use in their war in Mexico. Dudley didn't believe a word of it, and neither did Minister Adams in London, but their protests on every level to the British authorities were met with the polite reply that Laird Brothers was violating no law and nothing could be done to prevent the anticipated sailing of *Ship 290*, now named the *Enrica*. And sail she did, at the end of July 1862, amid deepest secrecy.

CAPTAIN Semmes took command in the Azores in early August and immediately renamed his ship. This time she became the C.S.S. *Alabama* and it was as the *Alabama* that she became the terror of Union skippers the world over. On September 5th she captured and burned her first prize, a Yankee whaler, the *Ocmulgee* out of Edgartown, Massachusetts. This was the beginning of a reign of terror that lasted almost two years and took the *Alabama* and her crew to the shipping lanes of the North and South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, where she captured sixty-six Union ships before she was finally tracked down, beaten and sunk by the U.S.S. *Kearsarge* just outside of Cherbourg Harbor in July of 1864.

In 1862 and early 1863 hunting along the Atlantic shipping lanes had been excellent, but after a year Captain

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SINGAPORE

Semmes headed the *Alabama* around the Cape of Good Hope in quest of further quarry. The Straits of Malacca and Sunda, east of the Indian Ocean were particularly attractive to the raider, for in those waters a large number of American merchantmen carried on the profitable Far Eastern trade. Yankee sailingmen in the East had followed the career of the *Alabama* closely with trepidation and growing alarm. In November of 1863 their fears were confirmed. The *Alabama* was reported off Sumatra.

On November 21, 1862, Vice Consul Cobb in Singapore reported the melancholy news to Washington that the *Alabama* was in the Eastern Seas, and he had just received from Batavia the crews of three ships captured by the raider. The *Amanda*, 600 tons, bound from Manila to Queenstown with a cargo of sugar and hemp was caught on November 6th in the Indian Ocean and burned. A few days later the *Winged Racer*, 1770 tons, headed for New York with another cargo of sugar and hemp was overhauled and burned, and in mid-November the *Contest*, a 1198 ton clipper, sailing from Yokohama to New York was also captured and burned. The crews of these ships eventually made their way to Singapore, where Consul Cobb found himself deluged by distressed seamen, and very few ships on which he could place them.

Hiram E. Swane, the Chief Officer of the *Amanda*, told Cobb that the *Alabama* had first appeared on their horizon flying the Union flag, but that she had used the British white ensign later when she overtook the *Winged Racer*, and Cobb was able to pass on this morsel of information, together with Swane's description of the *Alabama's* crew, for what it was worth, to Washington. "The crew of the *Alabama* are principally foreigners, viz. French, Dutch, English, Irish and almost every nation, and from what I could hear while on board, they have generally been taken out of prizes. While on board, the greater part of our men were asked to volunteer, one did, he was a Dutchman. The Officers of the *Alabama* are all Southerners except one who is an Englishman. . . The *Alabama's* crew consists of 160 all told. The crew boast that none of them have either been wounded or sick since the ship has been on commission. The Officers of the *Alabama* stated that the capture of our vessel and the *Winged Racer* made up their number of prizes to 59."

Even Captain Semmes in his "Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States" admitted that he had a mixed crew. Eighty of the ninety men, mostly British and Irish seamen, who were originally recruited in England to take the *Ship 290* on sea trials, were later persuaded to sign on for the longer voyage contemplated in the *Alabama*. This crew was augmented by volunteers from among the sailors of captured Yankee ships, until by November 8, 1862, little more than two months after she set sail from the Azores, the *Alabama's* complement was up to 110 men. They were initially an unruly bunch, but Captain Semmes stated, "I had around me a large staff of excellent officers who always wore their side arms and pistols when on duty," and trouble with the crew was slight. The twenty-four officers were mainly Southerners, many of whom had sailed with Semmes before in his previous ship, the *Sumter*, and they were under orders to care for the men as well as to discipline them. Semmes boasted, "in the three years I was afloat, (both in the *Sumter* and in the *Alabama*) I did not

lose a man by disease." and because of the business he was engaged in, capturing unarmed merchant vessels, he did not lose a man in action either until the fatal duel with the *Kearsarge* which finished the *Alabama's* career. Of his crew, Captain Semmes wrote, "The sea is a wide net, which catches all kinds of fish, and in a man-of-war's crew a great many odd characters are always to be found." Yet he insisted on the men's loyalty to the ship, to the Southern cause and to himself. Describing recreation of an evening aboard the *Alabama* he remarked that "entertainment generally wound up with 'Dixie', when the whole ship would be in an uproar of enthusiasm, sometimes as many as a hundred voices joining in the chorus; the unenthusiastic Englishman, the stolid Dutchman, the mercurial Frenchman, the grave Spaniard, and even the serious Malayan, all joining in the inspiring refrain, 'We'll live and die in Dixie!'"

Coaled and supplied, at 9 a.m. on December 24, 1863, the *Alabama* sailed out of Singapore Harbor and up the Straits of Malacca. Vice Consul Cobb did not report this to Washington until January 8, 1864, by which time he was forced to add, "Her depredations since bear a marked importance." The day she left Singapore the *Alabama* encountered the *Martaban*, a British registered barque, Captain Samuel Bartlett Pike commanding, proceeding from Moulmein to Singapore with a cargo of rice. The *Martaban* had been an American ship, the *Texas Star* out of Boston, but had just been sold at Moulmein to Mark R. Currie, a British subject, and she carried legal documents to prove the transfer. Papers or no papers the *Texas Star* was a Yankee ship as far as Captain Semmes was concerned, and even Vice Consul Cobb had to admit, "From my interview with the Master of the *Martaban* I am inclined to believe the sale of his vessel at Moulmein was what is termed a 'bogus' sale, i.e., a commission paid a party to represent ownership and thus obtain a certificate of British Registry to claim English nationality."

Captain Semmes boarded the *Martaban* and the moment he reached her deck all doubt as to her true nationality left the Confederate captain's mind. He noted first the "brannew" English flag, then the unmistakably American lines of the ship, the Negro cook preparing potatoes and codfish for the next meal, and the Yankee look of the officers. Semmes describes the skipper as ". . . long, lean, angular-featured, weather-tanned Yankee skipper . . . Puritan, *May-Flower*, Plymouth Rock, were all written upon the well-known features. No amount of English custom-house paper or sealing wax could by any possibility convert him into that rotund, florid, jocund Briton who personates the English shipmaster. . . . When he told me that I 'hadn't ought to' burn his ship, he pronounced the shibboleth which condemned her to the flames."

Captain Pike and his crew were put ashore at Malacca and the *Martaban-Texas Star* burned in the Straits. The sinking of the *Martaban* caused a sensation in Singapore. This was not a case of a Confederate ship sinking a Union ship, a necessary and even romantic action in their view, but a Confederate ship sinking a ship flying the British flag (however flimsy her right to that ensign) and most important of all to the merchants of Singapore, a ship carrying a cargo from a British business firm in Burma to a British firm in Singapore. The Singapore newspaper editors who had described the *Alabama* in glowing terms just a few days before now admitted to being ". . . momentarily car-

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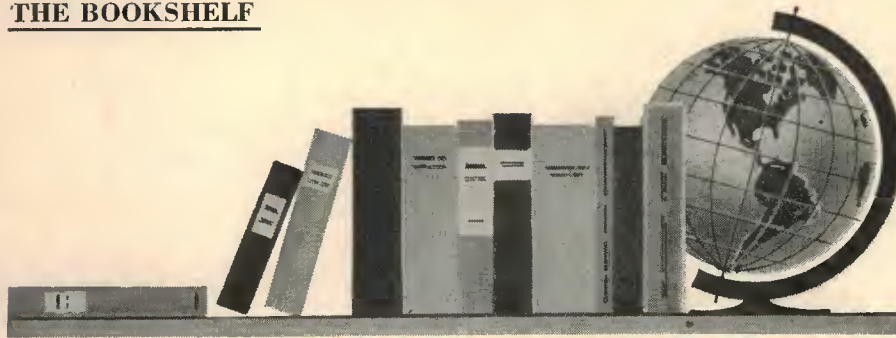
SINGAPORE

ried away by an enthusiastic sympathy for her case" and the vessel they had called only a week before a "dare-devil craft" was now a "reckless marauder," and of her captain, previously depicted as "a gentleman, courteous and obliging," it was now declared that, "It is a disgrace to civilization that he should be allowed to pursue his mad career unchecked."

The sudden change of nationality of the *Martaban* was not unique. She was only one of many United States ships which changed ownership on paper during the Civil War. Another, the *W. A. Farnsworth* foundered in the Arctic Ocean in 1877, still carrying the British papers she had taken out in Singapore in 1863 as protection against the Confederate raiders. Typically, the *Farnsworth* had always been captained by Americans, been manned by an American crew and engaged in American trade. In fact for seven years prior to her sinking she had not so much as put into Singapore harbor, and although she purported to be a merchant vessel when she got British registry, a glance at her crew roster showed that she had aboard more than twice the manpower needed to handle a peaceful merchantman. Her location at the time she foundered in the Arctic Ocean suggested that she was actually a whaler, and whaling had nothing to do with Singapore. The *Farnsworth*, like the *Martaban*, had sought legal refuge within British law during a time of crisis and even the British Government had to admit at the time of the *Farnsworth's* sinking that such transfers of convenience had existed for other than normal business purposes. Captain Semmes, by the capture and destruction of the *Martaban*, simply demonstrated how little protection this legal dodge would be to any ship he encountered.

These legal transfers were slipshod at best and usually extended only to the ship's papers. To his report on the *Martaban* Vice Consul Cobb added the enlightening statement of that ship's steward, George W. Porter of New York. Porter could not write but he could talk, and he proclaimed loudly and before witnesses that he "was never informed by the Captain or any officer that the name of the ship had been altered from *Texan Star* to *Martaban* or any other thing; I was under the impression that I was serving on board an American ship until the day before we were burnt, when I saw the British ensign flying." Cobb checked with Captain Pike and that worthy admitted to him that most of his crew was not informed of the change and they were still sailing under American articles.

The merchants of Singapore petitioned the Governor and their lamentations about the *Martaban* and the depredations of the *Alabama* sailed back to London, but there was little the British Government could do in the case. The only constructive things that were done were done by Vice Consul Cobb in Singapore who labored to repatriate the American seamen from the burned ships and at the same time to foster the Union cause whenever possible among his fellow merchants, and by the *U.S.S. Kearsarge* on June 19, 1864, outside of Cherbourg Harbor when she beat the *C.S.S. Alabama* in a fair fight and sank her. It is perhaps ironic to find that the day after the *Alabama* ended her career in French waters, Vice Consul Francis D. Cobb turned over his consular duties in Singapore to Isaac Stone of Wisconsin, the first professional Consul to appear on the island since before the Civil War began.



Terror as Peacemaker

MANY FOREIGN SERVICE officers must have wondered why intelligent, patriotic, and responsible citizens apparently feel guilty of betraying their civic duty if they do not attempt to master the intricacies of the negotiations in Laos—and then blandly, nay, eagerly, confess to a vast ignorance and lack of curiosity over the problems of military strategy in the thermonuclear age.

Pierre Gallois, a retired French Air force general and a former SHAPE strategic planner, has produced in "The Balance of Terror" an easy briefing for the intelligent layman who wishes to escape the emotional traps of the Right's "let's get tough with 'em" and the Left's "ban the bomb" sloganeering. Gallois has also advanced, and sought to defend, a particular set of theoretical principles derived from a cold and passionless contemplation of the conditions under which nuclear strategy must operate.

Gallois holds that the existence and proliferation of thermonuclear weapons and invulnerable delivery systems render war and aggression less, not more, likely, and actually serve the interests of democracy and peace. The combination of an invulnerable city-busting deterrent and the credibility of its use will, according to Gallois, prevent a resort to arms at any level, in view of the high possibility of escalation from conventional or tactical nuclear to thermonuclear warfare.

It is in his analysis of conventional war that Gallois is most open to question. It would seem quite possible that a city-busting deterrent may deter a thermonuclear attack more strongly than it will deter conventional attack, and that conventional warfare need not of necessity escalate inexorably through

the use of tactical nuclear weapons to the strategic level. The author needs to defend his thesis that NATO cannot match the Bloc in conventional capability.

"The Balance of Terror" is nevertheless solid and thought-provoking. The fact that it is written by a European increases its interest for the American reader. The translation leaves something to be desired: there is no reason to confuse the reader by introducing the term "dissuasion" in place of the standard word "deterrence"; repeated references to the "Libyan" crisis of 1958 are puzzling until one remembers that the French word for Lebanon is "Liban."

—JOHN W. BOWLING

THE BALANCE OF TERROR—*Strategy for the Nuclear Age*, by Pierre Gallois. Houghton Mifflin, \$4.00.

Three on the Secret (?) War

WITH the recent and continuing outpouring of books about espionage, counter-espionage, and assorted clandestine activities, one cannot help but wonder (a) just how much secrecy really remains and (b) who is minding the cold war store while so many who presumably should be writing books, instead. Be that as it may, three of the best of the current crop are "A Short Course in the Secret War," by the pseudonymous Christopher Felix (American); "Anatomy of Spying," by Ronald Seth (British); and "Treason in the Twentieth Century," by Margret Boveri (German). With "Anatomy" concerned mainly with intelligence and espionage and "Secret War" with covert and clandestine political opera-

tions, the pair offer clear, no-nonsense views of both sides of the cloak-and-dagger coin. Of "Treason," the London TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT observes that "[Margret Boveri's] task necessitated not only venturing into the tortuous and shady mazes of espionage and propaganda but also treading upon the dangerous minefields of collaboration and resistance." Could it be that what she has dealt with constitutes the real substance of the coin?

—S. I. NADLER

A SHORT COURSE IN THE SECRET WAR, by Christopher Felix. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$5.00.

ANATOMY OF SPYING, by Ronald Seth. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$5.95.

TREASON IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Margret Boveri. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$5.95.

For a Scientific Appraisal

THIS is a basic book on international affairs by a team of authors whose texts have been college staples for the last two decades. It has the solid character of a work molded by years of classroom experience and careful revision, but the most striking feature to most readers will be the fresh, modern approach. It deals with the world we are facing today and attempts to give the reader a foundation for dealing with the international problems of that world.

The book leads off with a chapter on "intellectual perspectives," an attempt to get the student to think straight, and it moves on to a wealth of subjects which a few years ago were unknown, taboo or considered unnecessary. To mention a few—nuclear weapons, birth control and transnational norms. The authors have little patience with the old method of teaching international relations by a study of history. Instead they appraise the world scientifically and realistically, rejecting many of the traditional, comfortable views which Americans hold dear. Some readers will disagree but their minds will be thoroughly activated in the process.

The authors have provided a variety of views by giving over almost a third of the 735 pages to excerpts from other sources. The well balanced and often lengthy selections are a liberal education in themselves. It is an excellent book.

—LESLIE L. ROOD

FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, by Sprout and Sprout. Van Nostrand, \$11.75.



Cyprus

Jack Grover

De Gaulle in 1940

THIS VOLUME by an RAF liaison officer with the French is valuable as an account of the formative period of General de Gaulle and his war history to the end of 1940. The second half of the book deals with de Gaulle's political career over the past two decades and telescopes into a brief survey some of the rapidly growing literature on that subject.

Perhaps more instructive than the detailed account of some dim episodes from an early phase of the war is the constant reminder that there is a distinctively French point of view about external affairs. Grinnell-Milne, a writer with a real sympathy for his subject and an engaging style, has shown how DeGaulle's personality, sense of history, and methods made him epitomize this factor more than any other French politician of the past generation. This is in effect a summary of de Gaulle's struggle to reestablish the notion that contemporary France is "a power, to be considered, consulted."

But the best part of the book is in the six chapters on the beginning of the Free French movement in Britain, the Dakar episode, and the skirmishes along the African coast in the summer

and fall of 1940. This was a fantastic campaign in which the weather played havoc with an expedition and provided the first real test of de Gaulle's leadership. It brought out his desire to be regarded "less as a friend than as an ally of consequence" and his aim "to lead France back to self-respect," to "restore standing in the eyes of the world." In retrospect, it turned out to be a success story on a grand scale.

—E. J. BEIGEL

THE TRIUMPH OF INTEGRITY: A Portrait of Charles de Gaulle, by Duncan Grinnell-Milne. Macmillan, \$5.00.

Spain's Economic Future

THIS broad study of Spain's economic structure and potential is of particular importance for two reasons readily apparent to observers of the Spanish scene—it is frank, and it assumes that Spain is now inevitably committed to becoming an "integrated" member of the Western economic community. While not lacking either in tact or sympathy it is as firm and objective as any report that the World Bank (IBRD) has published, and more

so than some. It shows up, rather by implication and reflection than by criticism, those anomalies that are curious features of the Spanish politico-economic structure, and it makes helpful suggestions for effecting adjustments toward what is considered more "normal" (and more competitively healthy) in the society of the West. The report is of considerable interest to the student of international economics and to the research staffs of large American export-manufacturers and banks which can, by analysis, identify those sectors of the Spanish economy that may profit most by the implementation of the program recommended.

It is to the credit of the Spanish Government that a faithful and unabridged translation into Spanish was published for public sale in September 1962 by the Oficina de Coordinacion y Programacion Economica, Madrid.

—CHARLES F. KNOX, JR.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SPAIN. Report of a Mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, \$8.50.

Borderlands

PROFESSOR JACKSON'S slim volume is essentially a historical-geographical handbook, well illustrated with clear, simple maps. It concisely telescopes and summarizes the myriad advances, retreats, clashes and treaties which have for over three centuries marked the progress of Czarist, and then Soviet, power eastward into the peripheral areas of Chinese hegemony. The Russo-Chinese-borderlands, historically a zone of tension, have become "stabilized" since the Chinese Communist ascendancy in 1949.

The sub-title of this study poses the question—is the 4,500-mile Sino-Soviet border a "zone of peaceful contact" or one of "potential conflict?" The author asserts that as long as there is ideological solidarity between Soviet Russia and Communist China, this vast frontier will be a calm, stabilized one.

As the maps in the study show, large sectors of the frontier are still undemarcated, particularly in the Mongolian region. Perhaps the most complicating factor is the existence along the Sino-Soviet frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), claiming the attributes of independence, and achieving, in 1961, membership in the United Nations.

—SAM FISHBACK

RUSSO-CHINESE BORDERLANDS, by W. A. Douglas Jackson. Van Nostrand, \$1.45, paperback.

The Status of Astronautics Today

IF you are a space buff, this book is a must. If you are not, but share a layman's curiosity about the space program, or are perhaps a bit skeptical about the program, this volume offers a short course in the over-all dimensions of the program, a moderately technical exposition of the scientific theory and technology involved and—most interesting—the reflections of several eminent practitioners in the field on the political, military and economic effects of the space age.

Wernher von Braun describes it as "a book which sums up the status of astronautics as it exists today." This reader, at least, does not find that the book measures up fully to his description.

This book is a compilation of reports and discussions at the annual Symposium of the American Rocket Society held in New York City in the fall of 1961. It contains selected excerpts from the record of four panels at that Symposium. The editors are Vivian Grey, Associate Professor of Aeronautical Engineering at Princeton University and a long-time active member of the Rocket Society, and his wife, Jerry

Grey. The list of contributors—drawn from government, industry and the universities—reads like a page from the hall of fame of space exploration.

Due perhaps to the effort to cover so much ground and to serve both a technical and lay audience, the book is spotty and does not engage the full wisdom of its contributors. The chapter on global effects, however, contains a refreshing statement on domestic economic effects and a fascinating chapter by Professor Morrison on extraterrestrial contact in which he argues mathematically the likelihood of the existence of other planets like earth in the cosmos, describes the forms of life which may be found on these planets, explains why we have not yet received intelligible communications from beyond the solar system and suggests what to do about it.

The final chapter, a critical evaluation of the space race, raises such matters as the difference in philosophy and emphasis between the U.S. and Soviet space programs, the veracity of Soviet statements of their space achievements, the relative value of the scientific content and output of the U.S. and Soviet

programs and the apparent ambivalence of U.S. intentions in space, i.e.: the heavy military cast of a space program which we profess to be for peaceful purposes. The reader will be surprised by the directness, and indeed the content, of the comment on these problems.

—ROBERT F. PACKARD

SPACE FLIGHT REPORT TO THE NATION, edited by Jerry and Vivian Grey. Basic Books, Inc., \$7.50.

Vagaries and Values

A NEW TWIST in subjecting to scrutiny the vagaries of mankind (for once not limited to those of Americans) appears in this slim volume in which a report on the earth, its inhabitants and the latter's singular activities and mores is submitted as though prepared by an extraterrestrial observer. It is written in a laconic style with not infrequent insertions of dry humor and, if its propositions are not new, the point of view from which they are approached is a novel one which could inspire reassessments of certain values on the part of an occasional reader—none of them likely to be cheerful.

—JOHN H. BURNS

AS IT IS ON EARTH, by Jules Romains. Macmillan, \$4.00.

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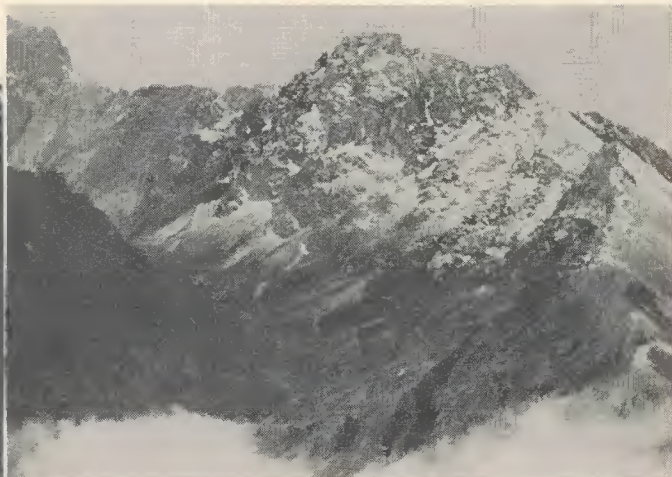
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South of the Border:



"Boy and His Horse," Honduras
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2. Air Rescue at Quito . . .



Mt. Pichincha where five students were lost for seven days . . .



One of the Air Force planes which joined the search . . .



1. Buenos Aires



. . . Reunion, after an ordeal, for one of the students and his mother.



3. Maracaibo



4. Silvia, Cauca, Colombia



5. Las Pilas

1. **Buenos Aires.** Ambassador Robert McClintock entertained actress Elizabeth Scott and a host of other American and foreign artists on their return from the Film Festival held at Mar del Plata. The Ambassador and Miss Scott are shown during the festivities.

2. **Mt. Pichincha.** U. S. Mission personnel in Quito joined in the rescue of five students from the Catholic University of Quito who had climbed the 15,410 foot volcano west of Quito. Caught in adverse weather conditions, the students took a wrong turn and were lost for seven days. Nine Embassy and USIS officials and relatives took part in the week-long search, helping to arrange for bloodhounds, radio communication, and other rescue services. In addition, the Caribbean Command and the Sheriff's office of Polk County, Florida assisted. From the Embassy and USIS, those assisting in the dramatic rescue were: Ramiro Lopez, Earl Lubensky, James F. McKernan,

Raymond Ladd, Nelson Davila, Guido Falconi, Mrs. Elizabeth Bernbaum, Chris Lubensky and Glenn Faurot.

3. **Maracaibo.** The fifty-mile hike made inroads on the American Consulate here, with Vice Consul Arthur M. Odum, Vice Consul Rolfe B. Daniels and Administrative Assistant Ray Riddle, Jr., setting off. After a few hours, however, it was agreed that twenty-five miles in the tropics is equal to fifty along the C & O towpath.

4. **Silvia, Cauca, Colombia.** Ambassador and Mrs. Fulton Freeman pose in poncho, hat and belt fashioned by the Guambia Indians.

5. **Las Pilas.** Ambassador Aaron S. Brown holds a prospective student at the inauguration of the new Alianza para el Progreso school. The school was built in the rapid time of six weeks, under an all-out effort of the local community, which donated free labor, materials and land.



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Don't Stir up the Natives or . . .

Ho! for Weeping Water, Nebr.!

by SAX BRADFORD

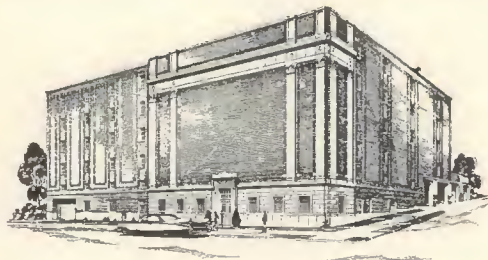
Editor's note: During World War II special booklets were prepared for GIs going overseas for the first time, to soften the shock of unfamiliar customs and attitudes. We understand the Japanese, always a little in advance, are already at work on booklets for their touring nationals, preparing them for some of the strange customs and habits they may encounter in their first trip to the USA. The following may help others to withstand an almost certain cultural shock to their systems when touring among the natives of the USA.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Unprecedented numbers of foreign tourists are expected to explore the United States soon, due to travel promotion planning and a relative rise in overseas living standards.

Now is the time to see this quaint and colorful country before it is completely spoiled. Although most of the natives have given up the old ways and have become fully domesticated, there are still fascinating places where tribal rituals can be observed and photographed. Tourists should be warned, however, that the wild animals have almost completely disappeared.

A vast and sprawling country, the USA is better taken in regional bites. Since air travel has replaced rail, distance between populated centers and airports, covered by taxi or airport limousine, has become the major factor in planning a trip. Thus, more time must be allowed between New York and Idlewild or between Washington and Chantilly than, say between Idlewild and San Francisco. When airport waiting time is added, a thirty-day tour of the United States should be divided into fifteen days sightsee-

SAX BRADFORD, now Public Officer in Mexico City, has served in various posts overseas as well as in the Department and in the Information Agency.



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WEEPING WATERS

ing and fifteen days trying to get off the ground. (This is particularly true during the winter months.) Tourists unaware of this peculiarity of American transportation are often disappointed.

Once arrived at a population center, the foreign tourist is well advised to rent an automobile and drive an hour or two into the suburbs to find a motel. From the motel he will usually have a good view of a split level limited access turnpike, or at least will hear it all night. If the car rental agency has an agent at the airport, the city can be completely eliminated and the tourist, after a night in the motel, can go on to the next airport stop.

Some standard warnings to tourists are now being compiled, in order to reduce disappointment and discomfort. Among those under consideration are:

1. Drink only tap water. The beer is poor, the wine is worse and the coffee is insipid.

2. Do not bring excessive quantities of toilet paper. There is plenty.

3. Do not try to make casual conversation with an American. You will have to listen to his life story in return. Psychiatry is expensive in the USA.

4. Do not reveal your nationality. If the cab driver discovers you are a Punjabi (or a Kurd or a Cornishman) he will say: "Yeah, I caught you guys on TV last week. The man said you're making better cameras now than the Germans. Learned how to grind lenses. Say, that's O.K."

5. Do not be disturbed by children firing guns. These are toys, and harmless. The word "kapow!" simulates firing.

6. You will see adults eating breakfast food and peanut butter sandwiches. Do not retch, but turn quietly away and watch something else.

The attention of tourists is drawn particularly to the puberty rites of the American native, of which the twist and the bossa nova are most fascinating to foreigners. It is recommended that these be observed first on television before the traveler ventures into the quarter where these exhibitions are held. This cushions the psychic shock.

Among the indigenous customs of more lasting interest are the expense account, the family station wagon and the TV western. The expense account was a social device designed originally to beat the income tax but is now tied philosophically with the Credit Card. The Credit Card in turn is wrapped up in the new concept: "Live now, pay later." This slogan is Hegelian in concept, giving the impression that everything is free if it is willed to be free. This leads to a kind of trance or euphoria (which can be furthered by a new drug called a tranquilizer) which lifts the individual out of crass capitalism and puts him up on a level called Cloud Nine which corresponds to the oriental achievement of Nirvana, but of course by non-Buddhist stages. The metaphysical process involved, from the expense account to Cloud Nine, is esoteric and difficult for a foreigner to grasp unless he is willing to spend some time with the subject. The short trip (or Scottish rite) is made, particularly on North Beach, San Francisco, by young men

in tight pants and chin whiskers known as "beats" (or in Russian as beatniks).

The station wagon is the vehicle in which the suburban mother lives. She arises before dawn, drives to the 6:45 (a train), takes the children to school, drives to the market and freights home the day's take of cokes, candy, cookies, sparkling water, popsicles and corn flakes, drives out to lunch, retrieves the school children, drives them separately to cubscouts (a club), dancing class and the orthodontist, brings them back, meets the 7:15, goes off to PTA (another club) and so forth. These cars, uniform in style and usually containing a collie dog, can be seen speeding along the streets and roads at all hours. They are following children and husbands, as the Laplander's sled follows the reindeer herd. They are difficult to photograph except at stop lights.

The TV western serves the same purpose for the poor that opium provides for the ricksha driver of Far East ports. The TV western is a series of gunshots exchanged between the Good Guys (wearing white hats) and the Bad Guys (wearing black hats) over the possession of the sheriff's daughter. This spectacle, like a bullfight, has a pre-arranged ending. The only question is how many shots are to be fired before the Good Guys get the sheriff's daughter. The element of suspense having been ingeniously eliminated, the noise and flickering lights gradually put the viewer to sleep. When you hear the natives asking each other "Ya gonna watch Bootsmoke or Gunstraps?," the question refers to which TV western has been chosen for the evening. This is a matter of some importance in the American home, as a Bedouin might choose which horse he will ride to the oasis.

Anthropological studies carried out in the U.S.A. by teams of foreign scientists have revealed an interesting aboriginal life in certain remote parts such as the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee and Vermont. The ordinary tourist will never see these. Like the Hairy Ainu of Japan they are a racial or ethnic remnant, in this case probably from Plymouth Colony or Jamestown. The aborigines make rough textiles, live by growing plants in the ground and drink a clear liquid called white mule in the south, apple jack in the north. Some of them are blond, showing the typical aboriginal inbreeding. A social peculiarity is that they live within their incomes. They have almost no contact with modern American life.

Travel experts are studying a method of describing the American cuisine without causing wholesale cancellation of reservations, and have tentatively decided to say nothing. Waiters and *maitre-d's* at tourist centers are being cautioned to receive with a straight face such astonished inquiries as: "Is *this* an omelet?" or "What do you call that stuff under the catsup?"

A word about purchases: The local department stores, or "flea markets" sell a variety of artifacts such as nylon hose, fountain pens, souvenir ashtrays and milk chocolates. The catch is that the sales persons do not have time to wait on you. A professional shopper service is available in most large cities, and this is recommended.

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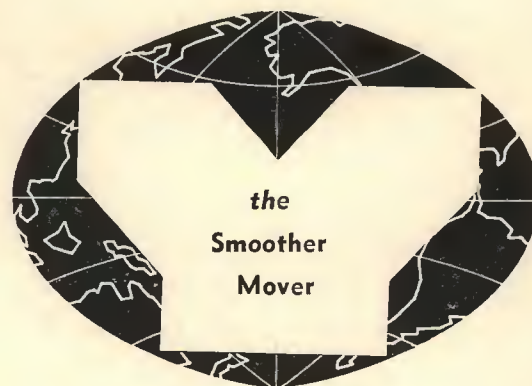
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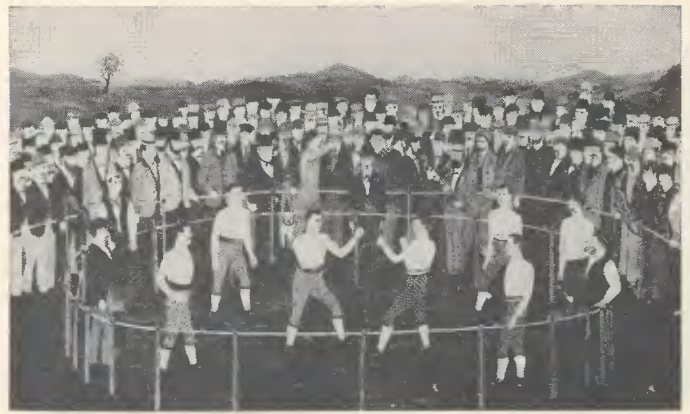
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The Soviet View of Revolution

by LEON CRUTCHER

“THE KREMLIN has repudiated the principle of revolution . . .”

“The Soviet state has gradually transformed itself from the foremost exponent of the revolutionary principle—a principle according to which the masses are justified and foreordained to overthrow governments of exploitation and to establish regimes of people’s choice—to a state which cannot tolerate the right of revolution.”

These and related assertions in N. Spencer Barnes’ “The Soviet Repudiation of Revolution” (December, 1962 issue of the *Foreign Service JOURNAL*) tend strongly to suggest a misconception of Communism’s original and present theories of revolution.*

Before one begins to speak of changes in the Soviet attitude toward revolution, it is well to recall the classical, Leninist theory of revolution. Lenin and the views of history and politics he projected had as little to do with the people’s choice expressed through revolution as with the people’s choice expressed through the machinery of parliamentary democracy. Furthermore, they were bent on destroying exploitation only in terms of the underlying definition that all non-Communist

regimes are exploitative and that all non-Communist regimes must go in the course of the Communist conquest of the world.

The order in which they should go has always been a purely tactical question. This remains true in spite of various *predictive* theories that revolution would in fact occur in this or that type of situation. The point here is that, in fixing upon next targets, the prevailing degree of exploitation, or the will of the people being exploited in one country or another, had no normative or moral value whatever in the eyes of Communist leaders. These factors were merely social data to be used in tactical schemes designed to strengthen the regime within the USSR and to accomplish results outside the USSR which might tend to bolster the power of that regime.

Lenin was perfectly candid about this. His concept of the revolutionary vanguard expressed his understanding that what the masses wanted, and what Communism wanted for them, were unlikely to coincide without planning, not to say force. His writings show as cynical a hostility toward the non-Communist worker and the non-Communist revolutionist—and, indeed, the Communist revolutionist who shows any signs of deviationism—as toward the most exploitative capitalist known to the mythology of the movement. We need look no further than Communism’s cooperation with Hitler to satisfy ourselves that Lenin’s disciples were quite prepared to follow in practice what they preached in theory—the suprem-

acy of tactics over principles and the supremacy of ends over means.

Not only was there, from the beginning of Soviet Communism, no concern for the people’s choice—there was no real concern for Communism as a popular movement, except as the principle of power dictated that there must be soldiers as well as generals in the army of Communism. The Bolshevik leadership was always quite definite in its belief that Communism as a popular movement would be “popular” through the imposition of mass conformity rather than through any organization of democratic spontaneities. The carrying out of the revolution within Russia by a handful of devoted followers of one supreme leader and a tiny band of protégés—a literal caricature of a popular movement—in no way violated Communist conceptions of revolution or the people’s will—else what is “democratic centralism” all about?

Democratic centralism is founded on the contempt for popular will which sustains all dictatorships—and that contempt runs to the faithful party member just as readily as to the unconverted. Whether the leadership be individual, like Stalin’s, or more collective like Khrushchev’s, the principle that policy and power are for the leaders rather than the followers remains as revered today as it was when Lenin was expounding it.

Communist theory does, of course, hold—or implicitly promise—that after a long period of social transformation, during which human nature will be

*I address myself specifically to Mr. Barnes’ discussion of Communist attitudes toward revolution. I leave aside another matter equally deserving of comment: the author’s mixing up of Communist views on revolution and the “right of revolution” sometimes advocated by democratically-oriented Western thinkers. The distinction between these two radically different doctrines is of primary importance.

remade to the will of the leadership, the individual may become worthy of participation in something like popular government. (It might be more specifically accurate to say that they used to talk about the withering away of the state—but now they don't talk.) We should not overlook the possibility that circumstances may arise in the Soviet Union at some future time which will make it advantageous to the Communist leaders to drag this promise out of the back room and display it in connection with some program of action. Neither should we discard the possibility that at some future time the new middle class, devoid as they are of the very concept of freedom, may push in some direction which will tend to make for changes in the power-holding arrangement. We must not even close our eyes to the possibility that genuinely widespread or popular feeling may at some future time become a live consideration in the exercise of power within the Soviet structure.

But when we begin to speak of a repudiation of revolution by the leaders of Communism we must be careful to see the existing situation as it is. Actually, at one point Mr. Barnes states the present attitude of the Soviet leadership toward revolution quite accurately: "It encourages the event only because and only when the anticipated result will be an extension of Moscow's

hegemony or influence." This is indeed the present attitude—but it is also the traditional, hallowed, and unreconstructed attitude.

It is important to recognize this, and, because of the peculiar temptations the present period holds out to the hopeful, it is important not to see change where there is none. It is tempting to deduce that because certain things are happening in the Soviet Union (or could happen) and because certain situations are developing (or may develop) outside the Soviet Union—that these situations may bring about more hopeful prospects for the toning down of Soviet militancy.

But the contemplation of possibilities can obscure the terrible continuity that confronts us in actuality. Ten years after the death of Stalin transitions within Soviet society still have not moved into the arena of practical politics or modified the exercise of power by the Soviet leadership. The transition from Stalin, far from initiating a decay of doctrine, has placed power in the hands of leaders who give indications of greater belief and less cynicism than the old master. Was Khrushchev not deceived by his own boasts of power when he rushed rockets into Cuba—the most deadly ploy yet undertaken in the history of the Soviet Union, and one which Stalin's realism would undoubtedly have forestalled?

Furthermore, will the generation of leadership which takes over from Khrushchev be less or more imbued with the phobias and fanaticisms which created the Cold War and imperil the world today?

Volumes could be written on these questions. It is not my purpose to deny that change is possible in the Soviet Union, or that change, if and when it comes, can be for the better. But our awareness of what may happen must not blind us to what has not happened. Specifically:

1. Developments within the Soviet society and power structure favorable to the safety of the West and the hopes of humanity still remain for the future. Their non-occurrence during the decade following the passing of Stalin is a gloomy portent.

2. The Communist view of morality—that there is no moral test but the welfare of Communism—stands unchanged.

3. The supremacy of tactics and of ends has not been questioned. Revolution, war, threats, lies, propaganda, trade, education, subversion, cultural relations—all of the instruments and techniques of power—are all used when Soviet self-interest dictates.

In this context it is of genuine importance not to find change where there is only adaptation—or hope where there is only possibility.

“Power Plus Sugar” Outmoded?

by J. K. PENFIELD

MR. Maffitt's persuasively reasoned comments on the Herter Committee report, in his "dissent" in the April JOURNAL, are based on his conclusion that most of the Committee members apparently do not appreciate that "the practice of diplomacy is a profession." It is indeed surprising to encounter this attitude, not only among people with the intelligence and international experience of the Committee members, but also, it sometimes seems, even within the Department and the Service itself.

It is quite true that almost everyone who pretends to know anything about international affairs gives lip service to the proposition that we need a corps of professional foreign affairs officers just as much as we need a corps of

professional military officers. Many people, however, fail to draw the appropriate conclusions from this statement. They probably also confuse in their minds professional competence in a technical field (agriculture, petroleum, fisheries, administration, civil aviation, etc.)—which we need and have made increasing efforts to recruit in recent years—with professional competence in the conduct of foreign relations. We are, therefore, continually saddled with the kind of recommendations Mr. Maffitt comments on and the kind of actions described by Mr. Henderson in his "The Foreign Service as an Institution," also in the April JOURNAL.

The confusion and the general failure

to follow through logically from premises to conclusions is probably due in the first instance to the difficulty of isolating and defining the "professional" elements in the practice of diplomacy. I'm particularly conscious of this difficulty because I wrote an article on the subject a few years ago, in the March, 1960 JOURNAL, which turned out to be less lucid and persuasive than I had hoped it would be.

Another element of the problem is that the spotlight of public attention is usually incompatible with the successful execution of professional operations in the foreign affairs field. Such operations are therefore generally understood and fully appreciated only by those who are associated with them or have inside knowledge of them. Two of

the outstanding ones with which I am personally familiar are the Trieste settlement and the final round of negotiations on the Austrian State Treaty. It is true that because of their importance they got a full share of publicity, *ex post facto*. But I very much doubt whether there is any very general appreciation of the fact that the professional competence of Ambassador Thompson was the decisive factor in their success. On another level, I notice that tribute was paid in recent Congressional committee hearings (which in this case can hardly be expected to attract general public attention) to Ambassador McClintock for his role in arranging for the gratis acquisition of an Embassy building site in Buenos Aires. I know nothing about this event but I would not be surprised to learn that it was a professionally conceived and executed operation.

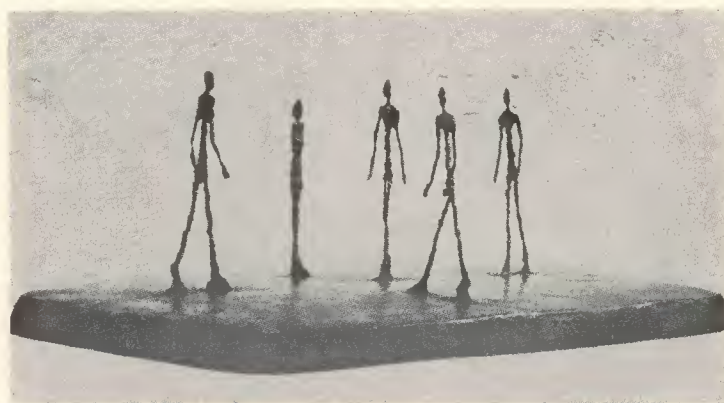
Still another factor in the equation is a variation on the point made by Mr. Henderson in his letter referred to above. The Department has become so large, so impersonal and so institutionalized that it has lost an essential degree of rapport with the field. The "program," whether it be training, career planning, administration or a peripheral substantive operation, as-

sumes such importance that it must be carried through at all costs. It is natural that those charged with the responsibility for such a program do their best to promote it. But at some point someone with sufficient authority must realize that the effective professional operation of each post depends upon specific factors unique to that post, which are not always compatible with straitjacketing it in a series of rigid programmatic molds, and must weigh this fact against the program—not as a program, *per se*, but as a factor affecting the promotion of our national interests at the particular post.

Perhaps the most important element in the failure to appreciate the nature and importance of professionalism in the conduct of our foreign relations is the fact that, by and large, we have needed much less of this quality in the post-war period than we have at other periods in our history. Our policies are based on principles to which all free democratic peoples can subscribe, we have wielded dominant economic power in the world and near-dominant military power, and we have been willing to use both to achieve our foreign policy objectives. Straight pressure hacked by ultimate power, plus a generous ladling out of the sugar,

constitutes an almost unbeatable formula. This is generally the case even when we confront the comparable power of Moscow in non-bloc third countries, though not, of course, in the framework of U.S.-Soviet Bloc bilateral relations. Even a Third Secretary, with this combination behind him, usually has had no trouble making contacts and getting results that could not be equaled by most of his higher ranking foreign colleagues, no matter how great their professional competence. If a community thinks it gets along satisfactorily with only the services of its trihal witch doctor, the professional standards of medicine there are not likely to be outstanding.

The question is, how long can this situation continue without endangering our national interests? The commentators are fond of pointing out these days that General de Gaulle's current attitude is merely evidence that our post-war European policy is turning out to be a success. It begins to look as though our days of being able to rely on power plus sugar are numbered and that we had better start now to develop more professionalism in the conduct of our foreign relations to assist in the successful implementation of the policies which are elaborated to meet the new situation.



"Walking Men"

by Alberto Giacometti

Consuls, Courts and Citizens

by ANDOR KLAY

MANY OFFICERS of the Foreign Service are attentively awaiting the outcome of a case of litigation now before the Supreme Court of the United States. Recorded as "*Schneider v. Rusk*," the matter involves a document known especially well to those of us who at one time or another initiated the like of it, received Departmental approval for it, signed and sealed it, and passed it on to an American citizen—whereupon that citizen ceased to be one.

Last autumn, our highest Court "agreed to pass on the constitutionality of the Federal statute that strips naturalized Americans of their citizenship if they return to their country of origin and reside there more than three years" (New York TIMES, October 16, 1962). The legal action behind the announcement was brought by a recipient of "Form FS-343," one Mrs. Angelika Schneider.

Born in Germany in 1934, Mrs. Schneider was taken to the United States in 1939 by her parents, who became naturalized citizens and through whom she gained derivative citizenship. She lived in the United States for twenty years, traveled to Germany in 1956 and married a German lawyer. Except for a brief visit to America in 1957, she has been living in Germany ever since. In 1959, she was served with a "Certificate of Loss of Nationality of the United States" by our nearest Consul. Upon failure to obtain redress from the District Court and the Court of Appeals at Washington, she requested the Supreme Court to review the case on alleged grounds of having been "deprived . . . of her citizenship without due process of law," claiming to have been "subjected . . . to adverse consequences as a naturalized citizen which are not imposed upon native-born citizens." Her argumentation has been focused on the question of equal status of all American citizens under the Constitution, whether native or naturalized. She challenges the constitutionality of Section 352 (a) (1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 which provides that any naturalized citizen who resides for three years in the country of his origin shall (unless exempted under other provisions) lose his American nationality.

Mr. Klay, a contributor to the JOURNAL for the past twelve years, was Consul and First Secretary of Embassy at Belgrade before his present assignment to Frankfurt am Main as Political Officer.

Sometime this year, the Supreme Court is expected to speak.

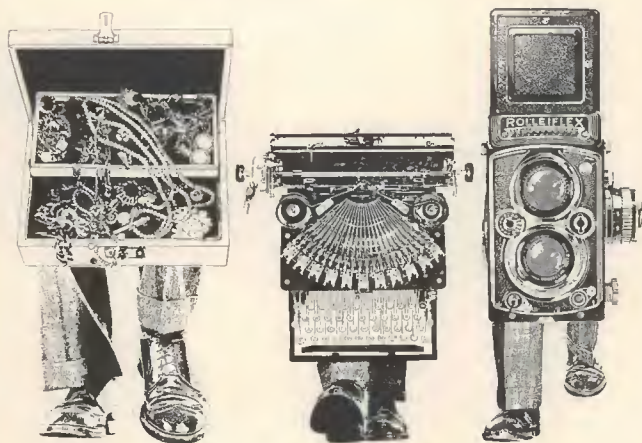
Expatriation and naturalization have been the fountain-heads of our national existence; all Americans are immigrants one or more steps removed. At the time of the 1960 census, the total population of our country (179,325,653) included 9,738,091 foreign-born persons, and during the fiscal years 1952-1961 a total of 132,450 individuals became naturalized American citizens. According to Mrs. Schneider's attorneys, "during a recent twelve-month period," 1,244 naturalized citizens lost their American nationality as a result of a total of 12,547 adjudications under two particular Sections of the statutes now in force.

Until as late as March 2, 1907, we had no law specifying the conditions under which American citizenship was lost. Only self-expatriation had been considered, cited already by the first occupant of the position now held by the Mr. Rusk of "*Schneider v. Rusk*." Secretary of State Jefferson wrote: "Our citizens are certainly free to divest themselves of that character by emigration and other acts manifesting their intention." However, the Act of 1907 contained a proviso to the effect that no American national should be allowed to expatriate himself while the United States was at war. The same Act served as a milestone in the evolution of restrictions with which the present case is concerned.

The restrictions have resulted from various problems created by the extended stay of naturalized American citizens in foreign countries and especially in the country of former nationality. The most recent versions are in the Nationality Act of 1940, the Act of June 27, 1950, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. The particular restriction now challenged by Mrs. Schneider first became part of our laws in 1940. Its constitutionality has never been passed upon by the Supreme Court, the forum which in 1913 declared that "under our Constitution a naturalized citizen stands on an equal footing with the native citizen in all respects save that of eligibility to the Presidency."

One sophisticated legal consideration spelled out in the Act of 1940 advanced the assumption of fraud with respect to the original naturalization in certain cases, on grounds of extended absence from the United States. According to it, whenever a naturalized citizen returned within five years

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of his naturalization to a foreign land and remained there, his stay was to be considered evidence of a lack of genuine original intention to become a permanent citizen of the United States. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, his naturalization could be canceled as having been obtained by fraud.

The statutes have always exempted persons in certain categories from the restrictions, among them those receiving compensation from the Government for disability in its service, or attending a foreign university for a period of not more than five years.

One curious element in the broad picture has come to be reduced almost to zero, with the passage of time.

Until 1952, a so-called Declaration of Intention, popularly known as "first paper," had to be filed by the person who intended to become a naturalized citizen. In the document, manifesting the *bona fides* of the intention, he declared the complete abrogation of his former allegiance. The paper is no longer required, although it may still be filed if the applicant so desires. According to the law as it now stands, any legally admitted alien resident over eighteen years of age "may make . . . a signed declaration of intention to become a citizen"—but "nothing in the law shall be constructed as requiring any such alien to make and file a declaration of intention." The first part of this strange little provision seems to suggest some useful purpose which the declaration would still be allowed to serve, while the second part negates the document's original role and eliminates its erstwhile practical purposes.

Thus the Declaration of Intention, first established in 1795 (shortly before the first compulsory registration of aliens), has in effect ceased to exist. A century ago it still carried so much weight that it nearly led to an armed collision between American and Austrian naval forces on Turkish waters and caused major diplomatic and legal controversies.¹ Even as late as 1918, there was a Federal law in force, under which an alien seaman who had filed the document and served three years on an American merchant ship was "deemed a citizen of the United States for the purpose of . . . serving on board any merchant vessel of the United States."

Probably the last notable incident connected with the "first paper" while it was still a required document involved a Swiss expert in rocket and jet propulsion. Dr. Fritz Zwicky, professor at the California Institute of Technology, was denied Defense Department clearance because he failed to sign a Declaration of Intention. Under the Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulations, any immigrant alien to be eligible for security clearance "shall have formally declared his intent to become a citizen of the United States." The scientist who pioneered the first attempt to shoot earth satellites into space and received the American Medal of Freedom, declared that he desired to remain a Swiss citizen. The implications of his stated reason are present in "Schneider v. Rusk"; he said that he wished to be able to stay abroad indefinitely at any time, something he could not do if he were a naturalized American citizen.

¹The first full account and documentation can be found in this writer's "Daring Diplomacy" (Univ. of Minn. Press, 1957, pp. 246).

by Andor Klay

Already a century ago, along with conflicts and irregularities in immigration and naturalization processes, both the Federal Government and a number of our States were much concerned about discrimination against naturalized citizens.

Successive Administrations kept urging the Congress to pass legislation in this connection. The need was a practical one; the spirit reached back to Chief Justice Marshall who declared in 1824: "A naturalized citizen . . . becomes a member of the society, possessing all the rights of a native citizen, and standing in view of the Constitution on the footing of a native."

Some States made efforts of their own to prevent the use of two different scales. Maine, for example, resolved shortly after the Civil War that "wherever the American doctrine is denied and the rights of naturalized citizens are violated thereby, it should be regarded as an offense against the United States . . . Justice and honor alike demand that the Executive of the Government should take immediate and efficient measures to restore such naturalized citizens to all the rights and privileges belonging to native-born citizens." Wisconsin demanded that "no distinction be tolerated between native-born and duly naturalized citizens." Maryland urged that the Congress "pass such laws as honor and justice and the true policy of the country demand in fully securing to all naturalized citizens the same rights of person and property both at home and abroad which are now possessed by the native-born."

The impulse toward applying restrictions had been provided not only by domestic incidents but also by attitudes and acts of foreign governments which, harking back to the "divine right" of kings, insisted on maintaining antiquated principles of perpetual allegiance with respect to our naturalized Americans. Less than a century ago, on January 27, 1868, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs sharply rebuked other governments in that connection, insisting that since they permitted emigration, they must also have recognized expatriation as a legal consequence. The chairman of the Committee, General Banks, submitted a bill "concerning the right of American citizens in foreign States." This contained not only a resounding declaration of the principle of the equality of native and naturalized Americans but also a startling retaliation clause.

Under the clause, if a naturalized American was denied recognition of his exclusive American citizenship and taken under arrest by his native country, or if his release was unreasonably delayed or altogether refused, the President could order the retaliatory arrest of any subject of that country who happened to be within the jurisdiction of the United States at the time.

The bill, with its explosive tit-for-tat clause, was adopted in the House by an overwhelming vote of 104-4. But when the matter came before the Senate, long and violent debate ensued over the clause. Many feared that it might easily result in giving the President the Congressional power to declare war. The proviso was rewritten to the effect that in interposing on behalf of Americans, the President might use only "means not amounting to acts of war." In this sense, the bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 39-7, the

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CONSULS

House concurred, and the measure became effective on July 28, 1868.

The definition of the American position concerning full and effective expatriation was formulated and put into effect in the same year. Dignified and unequivocal, it was often called "Emancipation Proclamation for Adopted Americans" by editorial writers of American foreign language publications who always preferred "adopted" to "naturalized" in view of the latter's apparent suggestion of an "unnatural" previous state of existence. Indeed, the Foreign Service MANUAL (Vol. 8, par. 218) calls naturalization "the act of adopting a foreigner and clothing him with the privileges of a citizen."

Before 1907, legal distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens were purely procedural, not substantive. It was in the Act of 1907 that a so-called "rebuttable presumption" emerged, to the effect that a naturalized citizen who returned to the country of his former nationality for two years had voluntarily abandoned his American citizenship. This presumption ceased on his return to the United States. It was "easy to preclude, and easy to overcome."² The naturalized citizen residing abroad could simply avow his continued allegiance; he was not automatically deprived of his citizenship.

Not too many traveled abroad then, and few stayed for long. On the other hand, taking merely one figure from our own days, more than 100,000 passports were issued in 1961 alone to naturalized American citizens.

Loss of nationality means, as the Foreign Service Manual puts it, "complete and absolute termination. . . A person who has lost United States nationality is, for all intents and purposes, an alien as regards this country, and his position is no different from the alien's who has never possessed United States nationality." Never to be able to obtain American citizenship is psychologically much less painful than to have lost what Longfellow called

a second native land by predilection,
and not by accident of birth alone.

A naturalized American,³ in his preface to a German edition of a novel written by a naturalized Englishman,⁴ spoke of

cases of individuals of one nation falling in love with the life forms of another one; of deliberate and definite emigration, complete personal and intellectual naturalization into another sphere, as though nature had made a mistake and human intelligence had corrected it.

Countless are the individuals, forming an immense procession advancing from the days of the founding of our nation, who can be so described. President Kennedy, in a recent speech saluting immigrants, put them at 40,000,000. Many have had to combat unexpected circumstances and conflicting demands of situations to maintain the status; many have lost it legally without losing internal attachment to it. "*Schneider v. Rusk*," illustrating some of the predicaments involved, may end up on a dusty shelf in the archives—or it may bring an explosion, the impact of which would affect large numbers of our citizens and long reverberate in our consular establishments throughout the world.

²*U.S. v. Gay*, 243 U S 353, 358.

³Thomas Mann.

⁴Joseph Conrad.

The Department therefore commends . . .

by JAMES CARSON

OUTSIDERS tend to think all the honors of the Foreign Service are passed out at the Department's annual awards ceremony. Insiders know that an almost endless series of commendations go to people as official-informal letters. Just last week on a rove through the Department, our roving reporter came across the following examples:

Dear Mr. Commercial Attaché:

Your recent reply to a trade inquiry from Bizball Industries explaining that no one had ever sold a dollar's worth of goods to the Bulani tribesmen and that in your opinion such sales were unlikely in the next twenty years was greatly appreciated. Frank, honest reporting of this sort makes it possible for those of us in the Department, and in the Department of Commerce as well, to avoid dissipating our energies on non-productive projects and get on with the job of selling exports where they can be sold. I have asked that a copy of this commendation be placed in your personnel file.

Sincerely,

Dear Mr. Consul:

The Department wishes officially to commend your performance last year in issuing 78,890 visas without once referring to Washington for an advisory opinion. Your effective, thorough, and imaginative understanding of visa law and regulations made it possible to release three employees from the advisory opinion staff. Each of them recognized the great public service you had performed, and all three asked me to send you their congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It has come to my attention that during the fiscal year ending June 30, only one telegram from your post was sent to the Department. The fact that in this one message you were able to combine reports on the overthrow of the Inshaw, the suicide several days previously of Vice Consul Elbert Pulham, and the burning of the chancery makes your performance all the more commendable.

Frankly, no one here in Washington much cares what happens in the Shawdom of Exansee. Your calm and courageous acceptance of that fact is an inspiration to us all.

Sincerely,

Dear Ed:

Now that the shooting has stopped out there, it is time for me, writing on behalf of the Assistant Secretary, to express the Department's sincere appreciation of your superb reporting of the crisis and your thoughtful suggestions on courses of action the United States might take in response to it. Your argument that "giving weapons to both sides might be counterproductive" actually carried the day in our showdown discussion.

Keep up the good work!

Sincerely,

Editor's Note: For some reason, none of these letters had been signed, but we feel sure they will be in the mail soon.

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Basic Training at FSI

by GODFREY HARRIS

TODAY most new Foreign Service officers are introduced to their career in the Department of State with an assignment of approximately six months training in the Foreign Service Institute. During these thirty-one weeks of continuous class work, they attend the A-100 Basic Course, intensive language training, the Consular Operations Course, and Area Analysis introductory study. For others, initial training varies in length depending on language needs and the first post of assignment. Whether it is initially to be three, six or more months at FSI, this time has a distinct and lasting influence on the officer's attitudes and interests.

Beyond a brief description of the various courses, the focus here will be on their subject matter, the quality of presentation, prospects for retention, and some ideas for the future. At the outset, it should be noted that the opinions expressed are constricted by a view of the training from September 1962 until April 1963, by language training in Spanish, and by Area Analysis concerned with Latin America. It should also be pointed out that the writer's attitudes toward the training program have been colored no doubt by his formal educational background, teaching experience at the university level, and a comparative six-month period of officer training in the Army. Hopefully, though, this background may offer as much perspective as prejudice for commenting on the FSI program.

The A-100 course has clearly caused the greatest amount of debate among its graduates. It is a basic, introductory look at the business of foreign policy, surveying American government at the living level. The new officer, joined by his parallel trainee from USIA, visits Congress for a day, sits with the Labor Department, trains for three days at the Commerce Department before traveling to a Field Office and is briefed at a nearby industrial or military site. Back home at FSI, the class hears representatives from all the Department's Bureaus and most of their principal subsections. It gets a short look at the foreign policy roles of the Departments of Defense, Interior, and Agriculture, as well as those of Food for Peace, AID, ACDA, and USIA. The greatest proportion of the presentations are based on the

lecture method, with only some class participation, practical application, and home study.

In many respects it is hard to quibble with the course content itself. In terms of subjects and interests covered, it seems fairly complete; but in terms of priorities and presentation, it lacks necessary balance. Instead of raising those with little background to the level of the majority, the majority is forced back to a level which is sufficiently elementary to dull any desire for immediate intellectual growth. The rationale of this approach is based on the precept that the slowest will learn while the advanced review. But its failing is evident in the variety and complexity of questions raised after each formal presentation. The resultant pattern of unrelated and uncoordinated information is difficult to mold successfully into the listener's understanding of the subject.

A-100 seems also to suffer from a difficulty in achieving agreement on its basic purpose: is it to be fundamentally trade school in approach—the “how to” and “how now” aspect of diplomatic life—or is it to serve more grandly in the tradition of posed problems, suggested analytical tools, and tentative solutions. Cognizant that officers will soon be rotating around the functional sections of a mission in the Central Complement program, the course settles on a combination of these two approaches. Unfortunately, within the eight weeks neither can be sufficiently developed. An extension of time aside, if the course could be clearly segmented along the following lines, instead of its present rather casual division, a more meaningful total presentation could be offered: (1) Describe the machinery employed in the construction of U.S. foreign policy and the means for its application by overseas missions; (2) Give the fundamental knowledge necessary for the accomplishment of the tasks the student will be assigned in the field; and (3) Develop the nature of the problems confronting the United States and our present policies toward meeting them.

Beyond this, A-100 suffers from the system of utilizing a separate instructor for each subject covered. The Course Chairman, acting for the most part as an administrative coordinator, teaches only sparingly. Since these individual instructors cannot fruitfully build on previous teaching, the student more often than not is pelted with a hail of disem-

FSO-8 GODFREY HARRIS, after six months at FSI, is now serving in the Department, pending transfer to Guatemala.

bodied facts and opinions. Each instructor is forced to spend a good portion of his time filling in the general background necessary to support his thesis. This is often not only painfully repetitious, but it destroys the interest of the student when his reception, at the beginning of an hour, is perhaps highest. The opposite approach, stemming from the same causes, often is worse. The speaker chooses to assume too much background, leaving many things unsaid in such statements as: "Since you no doubt already know that . . ." or "From your readings, you have noticed that . . ."

Decidedly more important, however, is the heavy emphasis placed on functional experts as instructors. A number of problems arise from this situation: (1) The press of daily business often forces a shuffle in speakers with a resulting dismal lack of preparation by the substitute; (2) Familiarity with the subject causes many speakers to spend minutes professing ignorance of where to begin or how to proceed on what is always to them a highly complex subject; (3) Many times the lecturer merely offers a case study of his most recent problems, whispering to the class the contents of the latest classified cable traffic; or (4) Some simply choose their moment on an FSI platform as an ideal vehicle for the recruitment of new officers into the specializations they represent.

It seems to me that in order to avoid these problems, a single instructor, or a team of permanent instructors who have coordinated their material, should be designated to teach the A-100 course. Guest speakers should still, of course, be utilized when appropriate to the subject matter. Most university survey courses, which also cover a wide variety of disciplines, successfully manage their topics with a similar system. Placing the emphasis on professional teachers, in the best sense of that word, would help solve many of the problems and difficulties experienced by A-100 to date.

Language training lasts from four to six months. Classes consist of four to six students, sitting six hours a day. The familiar pattern of parroting a native tutor in a daily system of exercises and controlled conversations is utilized in conjunction with the professional linguist who provides the grammatical analysis, explanatory help, and administrative contact for the student. The system is well known to most in the Foreign Service; it is intensive, exhausting, and difficult work. But it has the singular advantage of successfully teaching grammatical control, a sustainable vocabulary, and in the end, confidence for speaking. It equips the student with the tools for saying, in the complementary structure of a foreign language, what he would want to say in English. After this training, the majority can communicate, can discuss a multitude of subjects, understand a variety of accents, and in general, have the basic foundation on which to further improve their language ability.

It is the examining process which causes the greatest amount of anguish and frustrated debate in the language training program. The test, divided into speaking and reading segments, usually consists of a fifteen-minute conversation with an experienced native speaker on subjects of professional interest. It is the difficult task of the native speaker to maneuver the student into grammatical areas

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There is, these days, far too apologetic and self-critical an attitude on the part of Americans toward their efforts in the East, too much of a tendency to take at face value such books as "The Ugly American" and "A Nation of Sheep." In this country there is too little pride in, and recognition of, the admirable work done by most American officers and representatives in the field—in the Foreign Service, the USIS, the foundations, the universities and the like. As an Englishman who has worked with them in the field, I am glad to bear witness to this.

Sir Richard made this point in his keynote address before a thousand members and guests at the May Conference on the Far East, sponsored by the World Affairs Council at Asilomar.

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BASIC TRAINING

where the full range of his capabilities can be tested without the loss of conversational continuity. The linguist listens to the discussion while noting the degree and frequency of errors as well as the fluency, accent, and vocabulary of the student. Later he oversees the student's oral translations of short reading passages. Together, the native speaker and linguist decide whether the student was understood on a level which adequately reflects his position and education. Errors in pronunciation, comprehension, and grammar are then weighed in assigning the actual rating.

The pressure and tension involved in this examination, upon which removal from probation, promotions, assignments, pride, and hard work all rest, are really sufficiently brutal to please any new Ph.D. history instructor. It takes but thirty minutes to transform a crumbling FSO into a shattered human wreck. It is this intense pressure, built as much on desire as fear, which confronts so many so uniformly. It is this intense pressure which also often leads to totally inequitable results. While a student may be chattering fluently in the last four weeks of the course, the exam itself is sufficient to knot his tongue and fog his brain. In addition, anything from a sick baby to fouled travel arrangements, can cause enough preoccupation, mental muddling, and blurred ideas to mar the performance of the best of students. Given these factors, the overall validity of a one shot, non-stop, no-appeal exam can surely be questioned.

A variety of alternatives has naturally been suggested by the beleaguered student. Some believe that the final test ought to be eliminated entirely in favor of a judgment of ability made by the linguist and tutors during the final week or two of class. Others suggest a meaningful day-by-day evaluation of the student's progress and ability (according to standards developed for the amount of time in training) which would bear on the final rating. Such daily evaluations might also serve to inspire continuous, conscientious preparation. An examination, it seems to me, would still be necessary to organize and culminate the total learning, but the surrounding pressure would not have such a crunching total effect. De-emphasizing the present exam might also help in reducing the amount of time (sometimes two weeks) now devoted to its preparation. It has been surmised by many that all does not in fact depend on the one examination, but that many decisions are made before one enters FSI's "Maternity Ward." To merely surmise this does not in fact ease the pressure. It should be noted that some linguists are now giving progress exams which must be of great help to the student in evaluating his achievements. For those who have no standard against which to judge pre-test accomplishments, the pressure and tension can be truly frightful. The final results can be worse.

The Consular Course is an intensive, four-week introduction to a highly complex field. Given the volume of required reading, the preparation of case material, and the concentration of formal lectures, the student feels like a prize goose stuffed for market. But he does have some con-

by Godfrey Harris

fidence that at last he may be able to contribute professionally to the service soon after arriving in the field. He knows the types of decisions he will make, the responsibilities vested in him by law, and the real human problems with which he will have to deal.

The course, naturally, gives some people a lot of trouble. It is criticized mostly by those who would like to avoid talk of citizenship, visas, and protection; their self-image of a Foreign Service officer is that of a political reporter *cum* policy maker and does not include labor in the consular field. Yet one valid criticism often heard is concerned with the length of the course. Given the nature of the homework the administrative problems confronting many officers, and the occasional loss of available teaching time, this course might be legitimately extended by a week. To the slow, the methodical, or the meticulous, reading in manuals and texts are dreadful burdens in evenings far too short for such purposes. In lengthening the course, there is a feeling that more could be absorbed with the attendant added possibility of better retention. The quality of instruction (from departmental lawyers outside of the teaching profession) is, by and large, good. The answer perhaps for this pleasant aberration in the general teaching level at FSI is that this area of the Department has something definite to say and wants to say it well enough to maintain the necessary field support for its total operation.

The area training course is divided into two parts: a one week introduction to the problems of understanding different cultures and emerging societies; and a two-week look at specific world regions. The first week is labeled a seminar in foreign area analysis; it is surely not a seminar and it does little analysis. Rather it seems merely an exercise in learning the behavioral approach to the social sciences. It is an infused theoretical statement of what specifically the behavioral approach looks at and how it differs from more traditional methods. Since the debate among social scientists over this approach is a continuing one, the lectures become a convenient arena for testing the behaviorist's defenses. Because of this and the size of the subject, the student merely gets a flavoring of its application to political science, psychology, sociology, and economics. More significantly, he gets little idea of how it may specifically relate to his particular work.

In many ways the course resembles a university's Thursday afternoon lecture series; interesting but not vital; impressive but perhaps not pertinent. Lacking firm internal coordination, there is limited hope for any lasting retention. Listening to individual scholars present their life's work within an hour or two is hard enough. But with no marriage of ideas nor symposium of thought, the student is assailed by a string of ideas nearly impossible to assimilate into a useful body of new knowledge. Finally, without the common ground necessary for the exchange of ideas between professor and student, the course is forced back to the lecture method with all its problems of overstatement and generalization.

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BASIC TRAINING

By the time the average student reaches the final two weeks of area training, he has been assaulted for six months with a variety of new material. He is preoccupied by his immediate plans for the future whether it is travel to a post, a few days leave, or a new departmental assignment. Because of this, he easily and quickly blots out the relevant from the nice-to-know; the specific from the general. The fact that he may mentally relax at precisely the wrong moment underlines the need, especially in these last two weeks, for proper motivation.

It strikes me that too often motivation is an assumed precept. The student, by his presence alone, is supposedly indicating that he has a desire to learn, has interest in the course material, and has willingness to develop his knowledge. The Foreign Service officer, pressed by career, examination, or a performance rating, is assumed to be sufficiently motivated that further exposition and explanation of what he is to learn and why is unnecessary. This is particularly unfortunate. While background and career do offer impetus to further learning, this type of motivation only brings the officer to a threshold of receptivity. It certainly is not enough to achieve all possible training objectives. To carry the student beyond this threshold requires a continuous evaluation by the instructor of how a subject relates to the general level of concern and perspective of the listener.

The area analysis course moves into its second phase with a more detailed, but still necessarily generalized look into the major regions of the world. Each seems to follow a standard pattern (outside of the behavioral approach, amazingly enough) which flits through a basic historical, geographical, social, and economic brush over the area. Interspersed through the ten days are brief looks at groups, problems, and American policy in the area. It is general in approach; grounding in concept. It might properly be described as guided study, providing the framework for more thorough investigation into the individual's country of assignment.

What might be suggested for the future in order to make this segment more meaningful is something which approaches, to my way of thinking, a real seminar. Each student would be assigned readings on the country of his assignment within specific topics (i.e., religion, political structure, history, etc.). Bringing his impressions to the group, listening to others, and learning from the subsequent discussions conducted under the guidance of the instructor or an expert in the field, would not only give the student the background of the literature available about his country, but also provide the rooting experience which comes from articulating newly learned material. A general area picture, if such a thing is valid, would arise in the course of these discussion sessions and thus satisfy the broader objectives of the area program.

At the heart of this whole discussion has been the assumption that training itself is necessary and significant. Foreign Service training specifically should always be that

and more. It follows that FSI's training for new officers, to which more than six months is devoted, can be of immense importance in creating the type of civil servant—the type of Foreign Service officer—which fulfills the highest standards sought by this government. It is an opportunity to train officers in such a manner as to make full use of these men and women immediately in their first assignment. If it is to do this, another careful evaluation must be made of what is being taught, how it is being taught, and what results are desired or expected. It has been said that a good deal of "surgery" has already been performed on these courses. Doubtless mere surgery is not the answer, but rather a fresh look at the basic training program is required. A change in the role of the course coordinator, a revision of the sometimes inequitable language testing process, a braking of the furious pace in the Consular Course, and a basic improvement in the generalized Area Training program may all be in order.

In the light of the proposed National Academy of Foreign Affairs, the opportunity for such a fresh approach may soon be close at hand.

Heard on the Hill:

Academy of Foreign Affairs

MR. ROOSEVELT: Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to establish a U. S. Academy of Foreign Affairs. Its enactment will have far-reaching effects on our future diplomacy and relations with the rest of the world.

May I call to the attention of my colleagues the remarks of the President at his press conference yesterday concerning the need for such an Academy of Foreign Affairs. The President noted the urgency of the situation by pointing out that our Ambassadors face a multitude of specialized problems in the trouble spots of the world, and therefore need special training in close cooperation with the Department of State.

Quite frankly, I have been greatly concerned over the past few years at the numerous remarks dealing with the quality of our Foreign Service, remarks such as "Today we have probably the largest best paid third-rate service in the world." This comment was made in an article by William P. Cochran, Jr., which appeared in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL of March 1963. What is more alarming is that it comes from a man who had devoted 30 years of his life to the Foreign Service of his country, and no doubt knows what he is talking about.

Mr. Speaker, we pride ourselves that our Nation leads the world in every field. Can we afford to be represented by officers who are not sufficiently seasoned and are intellectually unprepared for the challenges of our nuclear space age? The answer is obvious.

In my judgment, the time to act is now. The need for the Academy is urgent, for the only kind of diplomacy that we can afford today is the best, and this does not mean in quantity, but in quality.—*From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.*

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Where in the World?

F.S.-Retired Addresses

THE list of retired Foreign Service personnel together with their addresses which in recent years has accompanied the September JOURNAL will again be prepared this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request. Those wishing to receive this year's list should so inform the Association. The list will be furnished without charge to those who ask for it and will be mailed in September to each applicant. Please let us have your request by August 10.

Yes, I would like to receive the list of retired F.S. personnel

to: AFSA, Suite 301, 1742 G Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Letters to the Editor

Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's full name. The Journal takes no responsibility for its writers' opinions. All letters are subject to condensation.

Local Personnel for the New Diplomacy

AMBASSADOR Poullada, in a recent issue of the JOURNAL, has properly called attention to certain important lacunae and weaknesses in "Personnel for the New Diplomacy." There is another and fully as important a gap in our efforts to redesign Foreign Service personnel policies and procedures in line with the Service's present and future responsibilities. That gap lies in the failure to give high-level attention to the submerged element of the Foreign Service iceberg—the poorly rewarded but loyal and indispensable local employees who form the continuing backbone of our Foreign Service establishments.

If we were to devote only a small fraction of the time and talent which we devote to analyzing and surveying our policies as regards U. S. personnel to the even greater problems of an unsatisfactory, antiquated, cumbersome, and often personally humiliating personnel policy affecting our local employees, much greater returns in Service efficiency and morale would be forthcoming.

A first step would be to designate a senior officer of the Department, with a small staff, to act as the watchdog and champion of local employee morale throughout the Service. Under his guidance, a careful study could be made of world-wide policies affecting local employees, and a set of recommendations could be made which, after review and translation into law and regulation, could become the basis of an enlightened personnel system for local employees.

Among some of the steps which might conceivably be recommended by such a group would be:

(a) In recognition of the "imponderable" disadvantages in many local situations of career employment with the U. S. Government, and the inadequacy of impersonal local wage studies to encompass these disadvantages, a kind of elite career service of local employees might be formed. This service would fill the half-dozen or so truly responsible, 24-hour-a-day positions usually held by local employees in a large Embassy. Recruitment would be "up from the ranks" of ordinary local employees. Compensation would be based partially on local wage scales and partially on wage scales for U. S. employees holding positions of comparable responsibility.

(b) An ironclad guarantee of eligibility for a non-quota immigration visa for local employees with twenty years of faithful service.

(c) A survey of positions in Foreign Service establishments with a view to determining just what positions should be held by elite local employees and what should be held by junior U. S. officers and employees.

(d) Changes in security laws to allow for limited security clearances to be given to certain elite local employees; this might be combined with a policy of providing such employees with the opportunity to work in Washington for periods of two or three years, where their experience and outlook should prove quite valuable.

Many Foreign Service officers whose careers have depended upon the loyalty and intelligence of local employees in critical situations would doubtless agree that a thorough study and a reform of our policies and procedures affecting local employees is long overdue.

JOHN W. BOWLING

Washington

A Record?

I wonder if any Post can top our record. In the past year, we have had six (6) Principal Officers:

ROBERT G. MCGREGOR, Consul General
IVAN B. WHITE, Consul General
IRVING G. CHESLAW, Chargé
M. GORDON KNOX, Chargé
IRVING G. CHESLAW, Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
BORIS H. KLOSSON, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
WILLIAM C. DOHERTY, Ambassador

ROBERT E. WASKA

Kingston

Dep't. of Further Amplification:

Ms. Mary Van Rensselaer Thayer has questioned the accuracy of my reference to her in my article "Himalayan Wedding" in the May 1962 issue of the JOURNAL. In fact she states the incident never took place. I regret this misunderstanding, particularly with a lady for whom I have long had high regard.

Will you please be kind enough to publish this letter in the next issue of the JOURNAL? Thank you very much.

THEODORE C. ACHILLES

Washington

Himalayan Division

As a professional journalist who has spent much of a lifetime setting down facts as they actually happen rather than as one would like them to happen, I would like to correct a flagrant error. The error is in an article titled "Himalayan Wedding" written by Theodore Achilles, amateur reporter, who covered the event in the May issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. I, too, was a guest at the wedding.

Possibly to make his story even more entertaining, Mr. Achilles fabricated the fascinating fact that I not only utilized his bathroom but was, he did not explain how, locked into it from outside. To further embellish this unique adventure, the author conjured a direct quote reminiscent of Ethel Merman in "Call Me Madam."

"Hey, don't go off and leave me locked in the john in the heart of the Himalayas," I was said to have cried "in an anguished yowl," as Mr. Achilles, my presumed host, sauntered off to dine at the Palace.

This colorful incident was the *clou* of a paragraph in which Mr. Achilles described, in minute but somewhat inaccurate detail, the plumbing fixtures offered guests at the wedding of Miss Hope Cooke and the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, in Gangtok, the Sikkimese capital. Mr. Achilles, his wife and daughter, with other VIP's, were housed in a series of elegant, cane-woven apartments (surely not bamboo "huts" as the author described them) built especially for the occasion and enclosed in a compound close by the Palace.

I was housed in a new hotel, some distance away, from which we commuted up and down the mountainside to wedding festivities in a gleaming



Gobbi

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HIMALAYAN (Continued)

hus. As there was a continuing round of parties I had time for only a single inspection of the charming VIP compound and during this quick, accompanied tour, unfortunately noted neither Mr. Achilles' bathroom nor its interesting outside lock.

The new hotel had not been entirely completed in time for the marriage and Mr. Achilles described minor plumbing inadequacies from hearsay. "The roof was waterproof and so were the faucets

and facilities" and "our facilities were popular with hotel dwellers even though the doors closed only by latching from the outside."

But alas, Mr. Achilles' reporting proved shaky again. This intimate "facility" which he mentions so delicately, and which he quotes me as mentioning so indelicately, was not "waterproof"—at least in my bathroom. I found it quite adequate and needed no other. Though had I known about the outside lock on Mr. Achilles' bathroom, I admit I might have been tempted to let him

latch me in. It would have made an arresting conversational gambit at any Washington dinner party.

Like Mr. Achilles, I was the guest of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, in his exquisite country. It was a lovely, unforgettable experience. Like most of the many other guests, I have found no necessity, either in word or writing, of making light of the Maharaj Kumar's warm and generous hospitality.

MARY VAN RENSSELAER THAYER
Washington

Letters to the Editor

Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's full name. The Journal takes no responsibility for its writers' opinions. All letters are subject to condensation.

An "Appalling Amendment?"

I WAS rather appalled by the latest proposed amendment to the Foreign Service Act, mentioned in the May issue of the Department's NEWS LETTER. According to this fourth proposal, as I understand it, Officers returning from non-hardship posts overseas to an assignment in the United States would no longer be permitted to take home leave but would have to use their annual leave instead.

It seems to me that the Department underestimates the difficulties an officer encounters upon returning to this country—especially an Officer with wife and children in tow. For instance, before he can settle down to work, he has to search out accommodations, usually beginning with temporary housing at rents high enough to spur him to make herculean efforts to find permanent housing as quickly as possible. But even after having located suitable quar-

ters to see him through the next four years, the officer often faces delays in assuming occupancy due to mortgage and other problems.

The thirty or so days of home leave the officer now acquires is usually insufficient time to do everything that should be done before assuming his new duties. Now the Department is proposing that a returning officer use his annual leave for this purpose. What if he doesn't have enough annual leave to his credit to do all the things he must do? Must he take leave without pay?

On my last return from a non-hardship post it took me more than a month to find a house to buy, only to learn that I was a bad credit risk because I hadn't worked up any debts during the past five years.

Now the Department wants to take away home leave. Why?

STANLEY P. HARRIS, FSO
Silver Spring

Never, Never the Same

FORTY years' overseas experience in the service of a foreign government, and a much briefer period in the domestic service of my own, have given me not only the treasured friendship of many men and women in the U. S. Foreign Service and State Department but also the opportunity to observe the evolution of our diplomatic and consular establishments and the reaction of my Service friends to these changes.

It has been interesting and somewhat amusing—at least to an outsider—to recall the anguish with which every reform and reorganization has been greeted by those who thought themselves adversely affected.

Shortly after the passage of the Rogers Act, a legation secretary (whose moment of glory up to that time had been teaching the ladies of the American community how to curtsy to visiting royalty) wept in his champagne at the thought of diluting the Diplomatic Service by adding several hundred consular officers, whom he apparently regarded as a little above "tradespeople." "The Service will never be the same."

Many years later, I foregathered with a group of close friends, all retired from the Foreign Service, who wept in their gimlets over Wristonization. (Two

of these friends had been ambassadors, a rank to which they could not have aspired when they joined the old Consular Service.) "The Service will never be the same."

And now the prophets of doom and the pejorative flagellants of the present generation weep in their martinis (and in the pages of the Foreign Service JOURNAL) over the Herter Report. "The Service will never be the same."

Could I send the following message to the rank and file of the Foreign Service and their wives? All of us who have made careers in government have passed through periods of growing pains, discouragement and frustration, but don't let the *laudatori temporis acti* and crapehangers who write in the Foreign Service JOURNAL get you down. You are in a Service second to none and you are doing a magnificent job on the front line of our national interests and security.

Of course, the Service will never be the same; it never has been. It has, in the opinion of this close observer, improved beyond recognition during the past fifty years and will continue to improve during the next fifty.

L. K. LITTLE
Inspector General, (Retired)
Chinese Customs Service
Washington

Battle of the Bulge

ONE of the matters of concern during the Wristonization period was the distortion in the FSO class structure resulting from the influx of officers in the middle grades. Now, nearly a decade later, we are on the eve of the large scale selection-out process, particularly of class 3 officers, necessary to remove the bulge.

This selection-out process under the ten-year rule will occur for many almost regardless of performance. Put another way, given the abnormally large class 3, the limited space in class 2, and the elimination of time in grade as having any bearing on promotion, large numbers of officers who have consistently performed well above average, often in the top quarter of the class, will face selection-out.

There are a number of ways of solving this temporary problem, selection-out at class 3 offering the quickest and simplest method. But is it the most equitable solution? This situation is sufficiently unique, it can be argued, that it actually constitutes a change in the rules of the game; i.e., for a period of years it will be far more difficult to be promoted out of class 3 than would be the case under more normal circumstances. Certainly the ten-year selection-out process was not devised to cope with a problem of this character.

In fairness to the officers concerned, what is needed is a published analysis by PER of the dimensions and implications of the problem, plus an explanation of the Departmental position. This would at least permit officers concerned to begin making, if necessary, personal plans for the day of reckoning.

Washington

WRISTONEE

Reason for Rarity?

E. B.'s tribute to Louis Halle in the April "Washington Letter," reminds me of the following gem from Halle's pen:

"One of the reasons for the rarity of statesmanship is that, in a world increasingly rushed to death, the long range waits on the immediate. What is urgent takes priority over what is merely important, so that what is important will be attended to only when it becomes urgent, which may be too late."

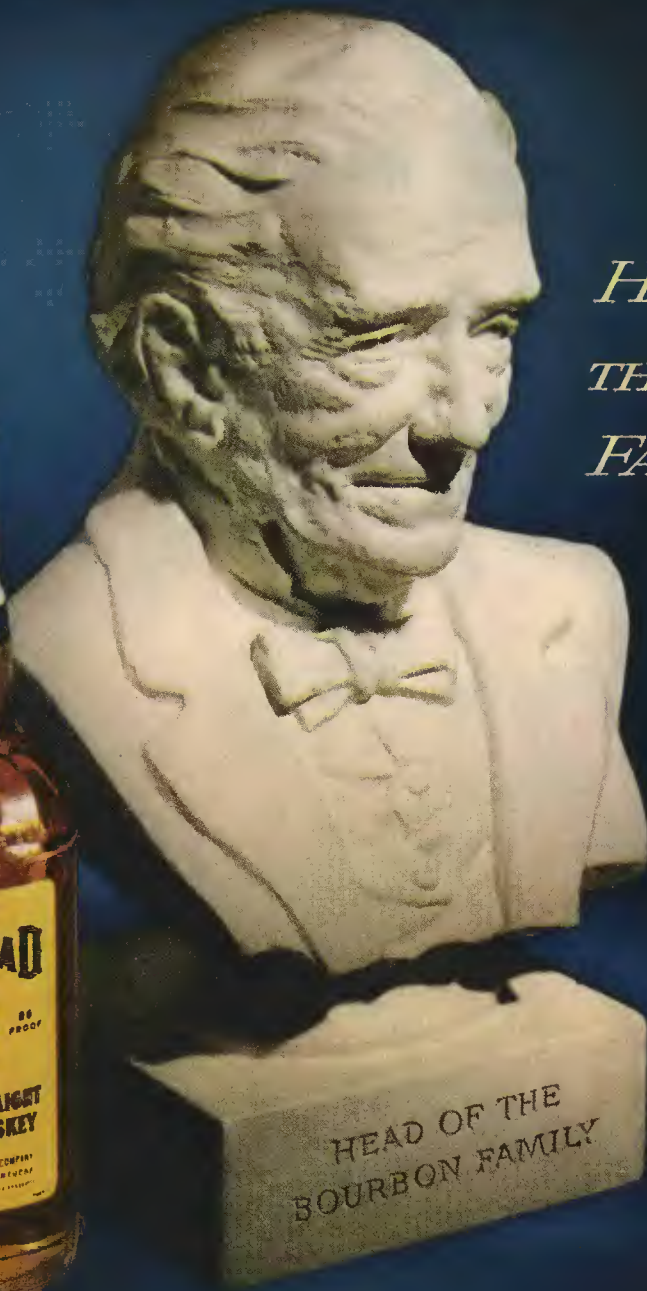
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