

Foreign Service Journal



OCTOBER 1959

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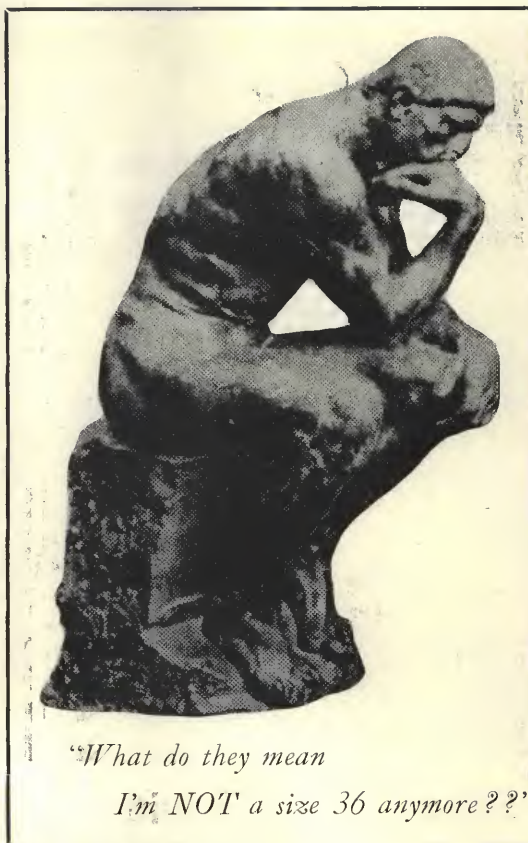
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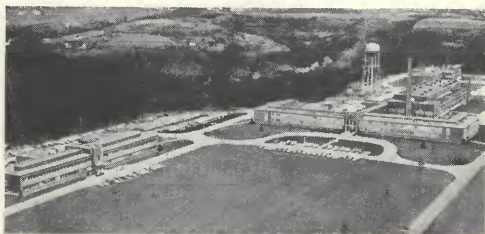
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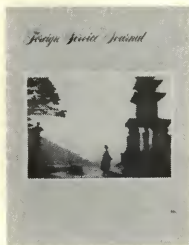
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Temple of the Flower Sutra,
A. D. 754

THE ABBOTT of the Temple, Kim Haun, stands before the Lion Pagoda, a three-storied stone pagoda built on the southwest slope of Chiri Mountain, Masan Township, Kurye County, South Cholla Province.

This monument and the one on page 27 are among those photographed in color which will be exhibited in the Lobby of New State this month and are from the collection of photos of ancient historic monuments of Korea. The exhibition was planned by Ardella R. Hall, Arts and Monuments adviser, and sponsored by the Korean government and the Korea Society.

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Selection Boards Convene

The Thirteenth Selection Boards convened on September 2, 1959 to review the records of almost 3,600 FSO's for promotion and selection out. These Boards will be in session for almost four months and have been instructed to put greater emphasis on the importance of initiative and of language proficiency, to disregard previous Board ratings, and to be fully aware of the importance to the Service of specialists.

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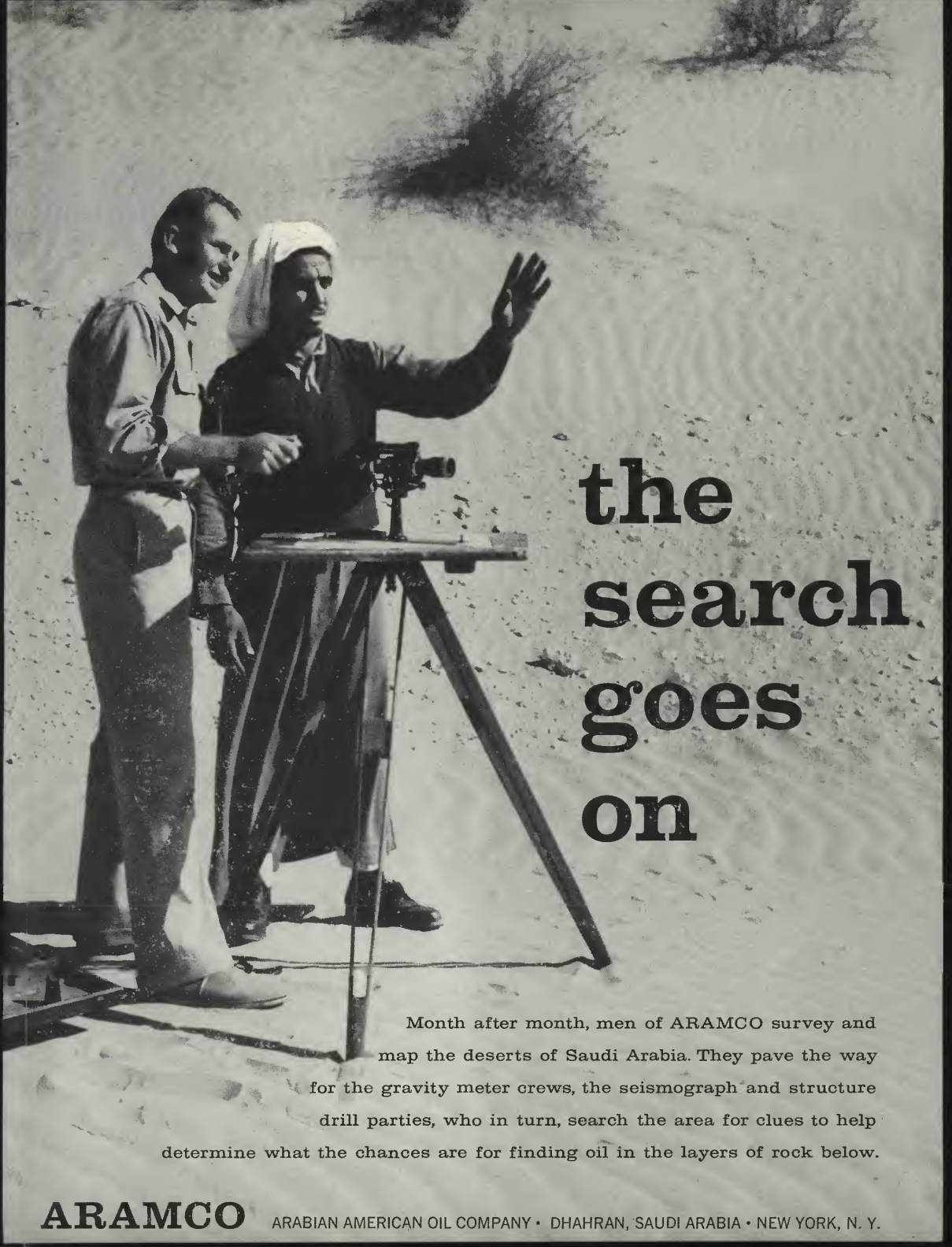
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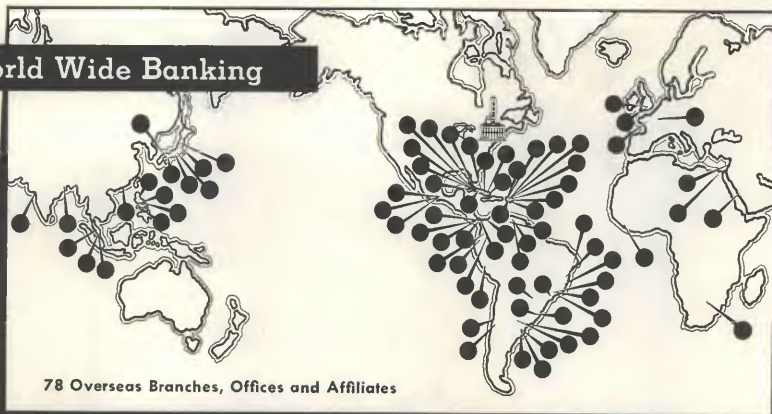
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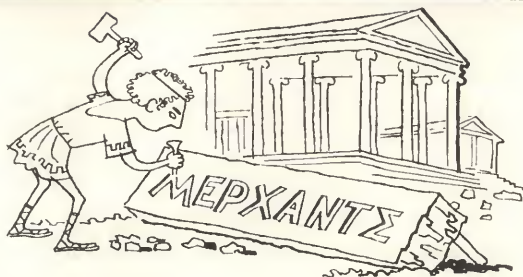


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BIRTHS

DENNIS. A son, Jonathan M., born to Mr. and Mrs. John M. Dennis,
July 16, at Prague.

DEORNELLAS. A son, John A., born to Mr. and Mrs. John L. De-
Ornellas, August 11, in Arlington.

KITAIN. A daughter, Leslie Jill, born to Mr. and Mrs. Burton Kitain,
August 6, in Washington.

MARRIAGES

CORINTH-REDECKER. Ingrid Corinth, daughter of Mrs. Horst Corinth,
of Berlin, and the late Dr. Corinth, and Lieut. J.g. John Brayton
Redecker, USNR, son of FSO Ret'd. and Mrs. Sydney Brayton
Redecker, were married on June 29, in Christ Church, Greenwich,
Conn. Lieut. and Mrs. Redecker will reside in Berlin, where
Lieut Redecker is currently stationed.

DEAN-HEILMAN. Mrs. Emily M. Dean and Ernest A. Heilman were
married on May 18, in New York. Mrs. Dean was formerly USIS
librarian in Ankara and Mr. Heilman was a member of the
New York University Group under ICA, teaching at the Political
Science Faculty of Ankara University.

RASMUSSEN-KINNEY. Ann Baker Rasmussen, daughter of Colonel and
Mrs. Kai E. Rasmussen of Washington, D. C., and FSO Gilbert
H. Kinney were married on August 8, in Washington.

VAN DE WATER-SHARP. Eugenia Chapin van de Water and Frederick
Dent Sharp III were married on August 15, at St. Paul's Church,
Washington. Mr. Sharp is currently assigned to the Department.

WARNER-WORTHINGTON. Katharine Warner, daughter of Mr. and Mrs.
Percy deF. Warner, and James Lemuel Worthington, Jr. were
married on August 22, at Woodstock, New York.

DEATHS

GRANT-SMITH. The Honorable Ulysses S. Grant-Smith, FSO Ret'd.,
died on August 27, in Washington, Penn. Mr. Grant-Smith entered
the Foreign Service in 1903, serving at Constantinople, London,
Santiago, Brussels, and Vienna. Before his retirement in 1930
he served as Minister to Albania and Uruguay. In 1948 he was
granted a private pilot's license and he was over eighty the last
time he took the controls.

GREW. Mrs. Alice de Vermandois Perry Grew, wife of the Honorable
Joseph Clarke Grew, former U. S. Ambassador to Turkey and
Japan, died on August 16, in Manchester, Mass. Mrs. Grew was
the mother of Mrs. Cecil B. Lyon.

HEINS. Fred G. Heins died on August 14, in Washington. Mr. Heins
entered the Department of State in 1924. He resigned to become
Secretary to the Governor General of the Philippines and of
Puerto Rico, but re-entered the Department in 1942. At the time
of his death he was serving as Special Assistant to the Director
of the Office of Special Consular Services.

HENRY. Gladys, wife of FSO Ret'd. Frank A. Henry, died on August
10, at their home, The Laurels, Nutley, Sussex, England. She was
76 years old and is survived by her husband and three daughters.

LEVERICH. Henry P. Leverich died on August 11, in Washington.
Mr. Leverich entered the Foreign Service in 1931 and served in
Zurich, Berlin, Lisbon, and the Department. At the time of his
death he was Director of the Office of Eastern European Affairs.

SATTERTHWAITE. Livingston L. Satterthwaite, FSO, died in Thule,
Greenland, August 26, in a helicopter crash. Mr. Satterthwaite
entered the Foreign Service in 1932. The posts at which he served
were Mexico, San José, Caracas, London, The Hague and Ankara.
He was Deputy Chief of Mission at Copenhagen at the time of
his death.

STOKES. Charles S. Stokes, FSO, died on August 31, in Washington.
Before entering the Foreign Service in 1957, Mr. Stokes had
served in Athens with UNRRA, American Mission for Aid to
Greece and ECA and with ICA in Benghazi and Ethiopia. At
the time of his death he was Officer in Charge of Politico-
Economic Affairs in the Office of Near Eastern, South Asian
Regional Affairs.

WATSON. Osborn S. Watson, FSO Ret'd., died on August 2, in
Blackshear, Georgia. Mr. Watson served as Trade Commissioner
at Peking, Canton, and London and as Commercial Attaché at
Stockholm, Caracas and Wellington. He retired from the Foreign
Service in 1946, after twenty-five years of Government service.

WOLF. Carol Gardner, wife of FSO Victor Wolf, Jr., died in New
York on August 31. Mr. and Mrs. Wolf had just returned from
their last post, Istanbul. Mr. Wolf is currently assigned to the
Department.



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25 years ago

by JAMES B. STEWART

Pirro and Marinella

THERE IS A chuckle in every line of David H. Buffum's tale in the October, 1934, *JOURNAL*, titled "The Honeymoon of Pirro and Marinella."

Pirro and Marinella were about to leave Sicily forever. The little donkeys had been sold and their new master was to be a youngster whose father had a place on Long Island. The Vice Consul noted that the following was stipulated on the Consular invoice: "Two live, dwarf, Sicilian donkeys, perfectly healthy; one male, one female; two Sicilian peasant carts, hand carved and painted; two sets of Sicilian harness with weather-proof, colored leathers." The tale tells of the love of Pirro and Marinella and ends:

"A problem belonging strictly to the practical side was to get the pair over the side of the steamer that was to carry them to New York, for both Pirro and Marinella were decidedly suspicious of the gangplank and obstinately refused to put a hoof on it.

"Finally a sling was placed around one of them—it happened to be Marinella—and she was hoisted protestingly into the air by a ship's crane, but not without a frantic, stentorian appeal to her spouse below.

"Pirro gazed upward with indignant eyes at his dangling Marinella. Oh! come on now; off the comedy; this is a little bit *too* thick! And his disapproval could have been heard for a half a mile; but by the same method of approach he was finally by her side and in a few hours anchors were up.

"Soon the Sicilian mountains had faded into the distant horizon. Pirro and Marinella were definitely off on their honeymoon."—DAVID H. BUFFUM, *Vice Consul, Palermo*.

Some F.S. Changes in 1934

SELDEN CHAPIN, Third Secretary, Quito, to San Salvador
RAYMOND P. LUDDEN, Vice Consul, Tsinan, to Yokohama
WALTER N. WALMSLEY, JR., Vice Consul, Prague, to Habana
GEORGE V. ALLEN, Vice Consul, Shanghai, to Patras
GEORGE W. RENCHARD, Vice Consul and Third Secretary, Baghdad, to Colombo



A son, John Godfrey Lowell Cabot, was born on August 8, 1934, to Mr. and Mrs. John M. Cabot, at Rio de Janeiro, where Mr. Cabot is Third Secretary of Embassy.

Comment, 1959: Twenty-five years later, John M. Cabot is back in Rio as Ambassador. John Godfrey has graduated from Harvard, has done his military service and is studying at the Harvard Business School. He is interested in aviation and has had a pilot's license for several years. Daughter Marjorie and her husband, Antonio Enriquez Savignac, are

A LETTER FROM **SOHIO** TO M. W. KELLOGG

The Standard Oil Company (Ohio)

"We are well pleased with the performance of this integrated unit. It has performed with fewer startup troubles than we had anticipated, and it has demonstrated considerably more operating flexibility than we had expected..."

(Signed) F. J. SANDERS, Engineering Manager
The Standard Oil Company (Ohio)
Cleveland, Ohio



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25 YEARS AGO

living in Mexico. She was also born in Brazil. Son Lewis, born at The Hague, is a sophomore at Harvard. Like his brother, he has a pilot's license. Daughter Elizabeth (Lissa), named for her mother, is a student at Milton. Many cheers for their dear Mother.



Culver Shufeld Gidden, a son, was born at Belize, July 13, 1934, to Consul and Mrs. Culver E. Gidden.

Comment, 1959: Culver, whose father is Director of the Department's Reception Center, Miami, served three years in the Army, and this fall enters Texas A. & M. as a junior. He is married to Nancy Rudy. The second son, David, was also born in Belize. He has just been discharged from the Navy. There are now seven children in Miami, of whom Robert, Lorna, Dale and Linda were all born in Belize. Michael was born in Las Vegas, New Mexico, Charles in Bremen and Patricia in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Grand total born in Belize—six.

And More Recently

Cecil W. Gray, Career Minister, Mexico City, is retiring from the ranks after thirty-six years of service in the field and in the Department.

Joe Gray, as he is known to his friends, started his long climb up the career ladder as a clerk at Buenos Aires in 1923. Ambassador Hill expressed the feelings of all of Joe's colleagues and friends when he said: "Mr. Gray's excellent work and his long and remarkable career are known among Foreign Service personnel in Washington and all around the world. Wherever I go, those who have worked with Joe ask me about him and tell me how much they admire him and his accomplishments."

Cheers! Joe. Joy be with you and yours.

"Ask Miss Bassel"

Three persons for whom I have the greatest admiration have just turned eighty-five. They are Cornelia (Nele) Bassel, President Hoover, and my sister Martha.

During all but the first of the five years that I was Director of the Foreign Service Officer's Training School (1928-1933) Nele was my assistant. Homer Byington was Chief of Personnel and most of my time was spent in carrying out the duties of an Assistant Chief—without title. And so a good share of the burden of the School fell on the competent shoulders of Miss Bassel. She continued with the School until it was shut down during World War II.

Literally hundreds of young vice consuls came under Miss Bassel's influence and one way they could always get an answer to a question was to "Ask Miss Bassel." And that, I may say, I am doing to this very day. She has an encyclopedic memory, is endowed with good health, is still active, and "her boys," many now Ambassadors, are scattered far and wide. If they but knew of Miss Bassel's eighty-fifth birthday, an affectionate "Happy Birthday" chorus would be heard around the world.

Welcome Words from Ambassador Charles E. (Chip) Bohlen: "All of us enjoy reading '25 Years Ago' since each item brings back a whole host of memories."

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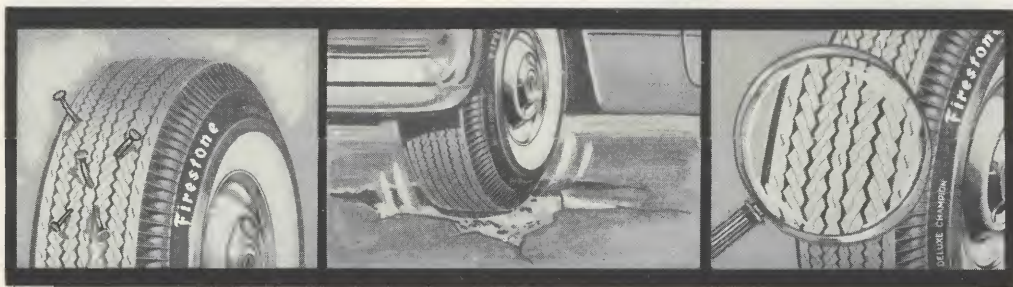
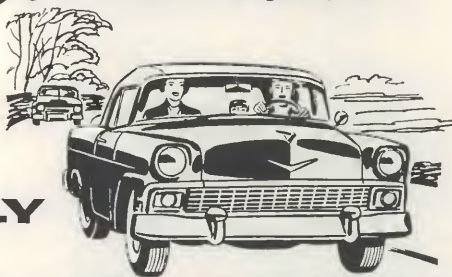
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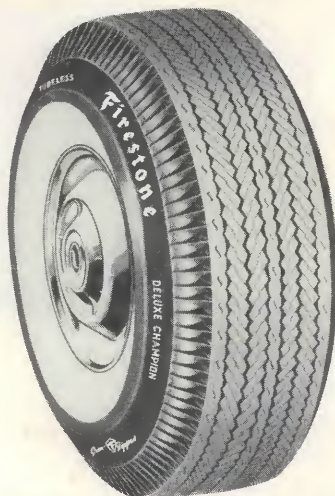
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Royal 675 Luxurystyling, genuine chrome grill. Long-life performance "C" batteries. Perma-wear covered Tan case.



Royal 710 Performs where others fail. Up to 400 hours of listening with low-cost "C" batteries. In saddle-brown Perma-wear.



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The Dulles Papers--

Landmark of History

By JOHN W. HANES, JR.

Architect's drawing
of Dulles Library



SECRETARY of State John Foster Dulles was a profound student of history, and he drew heavily upon his knowledge of the past in meeting the problems of the present. As a result, he was conscious of his obligation to future generations to provide a comprehensive and meaningful personal record of the important actions of his own troubled times and the background of those actions.

All during his eventful life, Mr. Dulles maintained careful records of his activities and correspondence with others. Because his career dated back to The Hague Peace Conference of 1907 (which his grandfather, John Watson Foster, attended representing the Imperial Government of China) and included contact with a vast number of the world's principal political and business figures since that time, this collection of personal documents is of tremendous historical significance. It includes material relating to Mr. Dulles' work at the time of the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, and material about his work on the Japanese Peace Treaty in 1950—and many other records of war and peace in between.

Some two years after his appointment as Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles began thinking seriously about the eventual disposition he wished to make of this important collection. He considered several institutions; and, perhaps not surprisingly, his choice finally was the library of his Alma Mater, Princeton. President Harold Dodds and Princeton Librarian William Dix were enthusiastic about the Secretary's proposal. They volunteered the complete cooperation of the University and its facilities in arranging, cataloging and preparing for scholarly use the papers which Mr. Dulles would give them.

About this same time, however, a more ambitious project was maturing in Mr. Dulles' mind. No problem existed about

his personal papers for the years before he became Secretary of State. But what about the record of his activities as Secretary? Most of the important documents involving these activities were official records of the Department of State, many of them highly classified. Clearly, they were in a very different category from the private papers of an individual. Equally clearly, however, many of them would be essential as part of any comprehensive collection of the papers of John Foster Dulles.

In this particular area, history provided little guidance. The precedents of our senior government officials who had faced this situation in the past showed no consistent pattern, and, indeed, provided some examples that appeared to be undesirable. Generally speaking, prior to the second World War, the papers of a public official could still be considered essentially private in nature. Government was more informal and vastly smaller than today. Far fewer matters were of such world-wide sensitivity that their secrecy needed to be carefully guarded even when they were happening, much less long after the event.

MR. DULLES could find no authoritative study of this matter since it had become a problem in the 1940's. No one had even pulled together the various laws, regulations and Executive Orders pertaining to the subject.

This in itself was a challenge to Mr. Dulles' legal mind. He became interested in solving this problem for himself, and in a way that would provide a desirable precedent for others to follow if they wished.

At the outset it was clear there were several facets to the problems. A selection would have to be made from among the thousands of documents produced daily in the Department of State. That selection would have to be based on certain presumptions and guide-lines in order to result in

a meaningful collection, rather than just a conglomeration of papers. Care would have to be taken that its establishment did not remove from the files of the Department of State any documents necessary to their completeness. Some arrangement would have to be worked out physically to segregate this collection in a location where it could be both useful and used. Proper security arrangements would have to be made to safeguard it. And, finally, suitable and legal means must be found to establish the collection, and to safeguard any legitimate interest of the government in its contents.

Mr. Dulles' first decision was that the collection should be carefully limited to the important matters in which he played a significant role as Secretary of State, or which had a significant influence upon his thinking. Secondly, he decided that the collection should not duplicate any other collection which would be made by the Historical Division of the Department of State in the course of its daily work of documenting American foreign policy.

MR. DULLES also decided that the collection should consist exclusively of copies of documents (preferably on microfilm, for ease of handling and storage) in order that the Department's possession of the original documents might remain undisturbed. He wished the collection to be at Princeton under safeguarded conditions; but, since many of the documents involved would obviously remain sensitive and classified for many years, he felt that title and control of the papers must remain with the Department of State during that period. Meanwhile, any access to or research in the papers should be subject to precisely the same conditions as are applied to the files of the Department of State itself. The entire project, of course, was to be carried out at no cost to the government.

The purpose would be to bring together now, with the advice and help of the actual participants, a collection of the really significant papers reflecting the major foreign policy decisions of Mr. Dulles' stewardship. Many years might pass before they became available. But if the task were postponed until that future date when all of them had been declassified and made public, any such collection would be impossible to create from across the years and from amongst the mountains of archives of the Department of State.

In order to get the project under way while the various legal problems and possibilities were being explored, Princeton agreed to finance for two years the work of some person selected by Mr. Dulles to work in the files of the Department of State, actually selecting and microfilming the collection.

After careful consideration of a number of persons, Mr. Dulles selected for this work Dr. Philip A. Crowl, a young and competent historian then employed by the Historical Division of the Department of the Army, who had earlier been an Assistant Professor of History at Princeton.

Dr. Crowl (who, of course, had first to receive a full security clearance from the Department of State) began his work early in 1956. He had several long conferences with Mr. Dulles, interspersed by meetings with a special board of historians established at Princeton University to give guidance to the project. As a result of these discussions, Mr. Dulles approved a basic list of major headings covering what

he considered to be the significant subjects about which the collection should be built. These subjects prominently included the complete records of the many international conferences and foreign visits which had become a hallmark of his method of operation. They also included specific topics, such as the events surrounding the termination of hostilities in Korea; and they included broad policy categories, such as the documentation relating to the building and strengthening of our alliances throughout the world—NATO, SEATO, and the many other bilateral and multilateral treaty arrangements which Mr. Dulles had labored so hard to build and strengthen.

As the work of collection proceeded, Dr. Crowl had many conferences with the different people who had participated in the events which he was documenting. He also kept in close and continuing touch with Mr. Dulles. Naturally, the original list of subjects underwent change in the light of the experience so gained, but it became increasingly clear that the original concept had been sound. The collection gradually took shape as a meaningful and manageable entity, uniquely reflecting the interrelationship of a great personality and the events of his times.

Dr. Crowl was able to finish his original assignment well within the two years, but by this time it was apparent that the work should go on for the duration of Mr. Dulles' career as Secretary of State. The basic collection having been made, the task of keeping it current would not be too demanding, nor was it a full-time job. At the urging both of Mr. Dulles and Princeton, Dr. Crowl, who had meanwhile been offered and had accepted another position in the Department of State, agreed to undertake this continuing assignment on his own time. By the end of 1959 the collection will be complete up to the date of Mr. Dulles' resignation.

The final collection will consist of approximately 40,000 documents on approximately 120,000 frames of microfilm, arranged by major category, but obviously not as yet indexed or cross-referenced. It is truly a monumental and pioneering work, and it represents a new landmark in the field of historical documentation.

WHILE this work of actual collection was going on, a parallel effort was being carried out to create a legal framework for the collection, and to arrange all the myriad details involved.

In the beginning, no particular difficulty was apparent. There is nothing novel in the government arranging for the storage of classified material outside of government installations, or even at private universities. The facilities for storage of documents in the Princeton Library were inspected by the Department's Office of Security and were found entirely adequate to meet the standards prescribed by the regulations. Nor was there anything unusual in making available classified documents of the Department of State to private individuals for purposes of historical research under stated conditions—the Historical Division of the Department had been doing this for years. It seemed necessary merely to draw up a contract between the Department and Princeton formalizing these matters, and establishing that the papers located at Princeton would remain the property

of the Department of State until they could be declassified and given to Princeton. Meanwhile any research in them would be subject to the Department's usual regulations for research in its own files.

Despite the fact that such a contract contained no single element that was new, the total concept was entirely original. For this reason it took over three years finally to work out all the problems. The agreement between Princeton University and the Department of State was finally signed on the 12th of May, 1959, and the "Princeton Project" became a reality.

Late in 1958, a group of Mr. Dulles' close friends—aware both of his intention to give his personal papers to Princeton and of the potentialities of the "Princeton Project"—had decided that these collections should be suitably housed and not merely made an indistinguishable part of the Princeton Library. These men had, accordingly, been discussing with Princeton the building of a special wing on the Library. It would be named after Mr. Dulles, but designed to house both his own papers and other significant Princeton collections relating to United States foreign policy during the first half of the twentieth century such as the Forrester papers.

PLANS for this wing were already going forward early in 1959 when Mr. Dulles was stricken with his final illness. In order that he might participate fully, these plans were speeded up, and in April Mr. Dulles was shown the finished drawings. His friends reported to him that the plans for the John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History were completely underwritten and everything was ready to start construction. Mr. Dulles himself chose a quotation from his own writings to go over the door of the Library. The "Princeton Project" had succeeded far beyond his original hopes.

Even after carrying out these careful plans, however, there remained a third group of Mr. Dulles' papers which were not suitable for handling under such arrangements.

During his tenure as Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles had carefully preserved certain papers reflecting highly personal aspects of his close relationship with President Eisenhower and with other prominent persons both in and outside the Administration. This small but important group of papers consisted for the most part of letters and informal memoranda of various conversations.

These papers were not "official records" of the Depart-

ment of State. Any information contained in them which was necessary to the operations of the Department had long since been made a part of the Department's records by other more formal documentation. Indeed, some had nothing to do with the Department of State, but reflected Mr. Dulles' personal role as a senior member of the Eisenhower Administration.

THESE papers also contained the views and opinions of the President and of other persons on a variety of subjects. Some of these subjects were of great personal delicacy and would remain so for many years.

Mr. Dulles devised a different method for these papers to insure that they were suitably preserved, and to take account of the peculiar problems surrounding them. He utilized a recent provision which the Congress had placed in the Federal Records Act. That Act authorized the establishment of Presidential Archives under the supervision of the Archivist of the United States. Each one might be located anywhere in the country, as has been done in the case of the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park and the Truman Library at Independence. The Congress also provided that other individuals prominently connected with a particular Administration might make private gifts of their papers to such a Presidential archive under whatever conditions they and the Archivist might mutually agree upon.

President Eisenhower had already decided to give his papers to an Eisenhower Library now being built at Abilene, Kansas. Mr. Dulles thought it proper also to give to the Eisenhower Library this last group of papers, so many of which intimately concerned the President.

In making this gift, Mr. Dulles attached certain conditions which the Archivist of the United States agreed to respect. Among these was that, when a suitable time had passed, the papers might be copied by Princeton University in order that its own collection of Dulles papers would thereby be complete.

The net result of John Foster Dulles' careful and imaginative concept will be to provide for the people of the United States an almost unprecedented insight into the historic events with which Mr. Dulles was associated all his life. It has carved a precedent for other high government officials to follow in the future which will protect the interests of the individual, of history, and of the national security.

"Less Stability"

"THE prosperous middle classes, who ruled the nineteenth century, placed an excessive value upon placidity of existence. They refused to face the necessities for social reform imposed by the new industrial system, and they are now refusing to face the necessities for intellectual reform imposed by the new knowledge. The middle-class pessimism over the future of the world comes from a confusion between civilization and security. In the immediate future there will be less security than in the immediate past, less stability. It must be admitted that there is a degree of instability which is inconsistent with civilization. But, on the whole, the great ages have been the unstable ones."—A. N. Whitehead in "Science and the Modern World" (Macmillan).

British writer Nancy Mitford was the first in this decade to try to classify what was being Done in fashionable circles, and what was not. Since her codification of U and Non-U, "In" and "Out" in the United States has understandably become the subject of considerable study, notably in *Esquire* and in Vance Packard's "The Status Seekers." We present here some criteria of what is "In" and what is "Out" for the man of the moment, the FSO in the Department of State, Foggy Bottom.

STATUS IN STATE

SINCE THE deletion from the "Biographic Register" of references to prep school background, it has become increasingly difficult to ascertain whether a Foreign Service Officer is IN or OUT. To fill this void some current measurements are outlined below: Complaints about a Washington assignment are inevitable, no matter how welcome a tour at home may be. Political desks are IN. Political-politico-economic, politico-military, politico-research and substantive-administrative designations deceive nobody but an OUTsider. The Secretary's small staff meeting is IN. Getting off the elevator at the Fifth floor is IN. It does not matter if you work there. A key to the Secretary's private elevator is much further IN than one from Phi Beta and Kappa. People who wear vests have, or believe they should have, one or the other). Signing out is OUT. Not signing out is IN. Eat-



ing in the cafeteria is *OUT*. Eating at The Club is *IN*. Referring to it as The Metropolitan is inconceivable. Admission to the Fifth floor dining room doesn't mean a thing. Even staff assistants eat there now. Gentleman and Jack (black label) are *IN*.

French-type wines, cheese-type salads are *OUT*. Absinthe is



Scotch-type whisky, French-type spreads and lettuce-type *BAD . . .* at lunch. The

190SL is *IN* but not so far *IN* as a shined-up 1916 Pierce-Arrow. Waving at another Mercedes is *OUT*. Wearing a checkered sports cap will get your parking permit cancelled. Wearing a Homburg will cause comment. A-i-r-c-o-o-l-e-d shoes are *OUT*.

The Waltz Club is *IN*. Ulcers are *IN*. Bachelors are often *IN*. Georgetown is *IN*—of course, only on the right side of Wisconsin.



The rest of Washington is *OUT* unless you are so far *OUT* that you are *IN*. Virginia is across the river. If one of your rooms is furnished solely with things from your



last post, it does not matter lessly *OUT*. Yellow-lined-tablet on the way *OUT*. "Upcoming,"



where you live. You are hopelessly *OUT*. Yellow-lined-tablet on the way *OUT*. "Upcoming," "orientation," and "challeng-

ing" should be *OUT*. Split infinitives are with us. Titles are big this year. The simple secretary is, however, the most useful—at both ends of the pyramid. Promotion is *IN*. Selection is *OUT*.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS

September, 1959

September '59 in Washington will not soon be forgotten. This was the year, they will say, when Congress adjourned just before breakfast after an all-day, all-night session, early on September 15. And this was the year that, at about the same hour, the Premier of the USSR embarked with his family and entourage by jet for his first visit to the United States.

Whether history books and raconteurs will remember the tensions before, after, and during that initial two-day visit to Washington is not for us to say now. But the 200,000 who waited and watched while the limousine rode slowly by with a serious-looking President between Mr. and Mrs. Khrushchev (Mr. K. apparently had his arm tossed around the back of the President), and the millions who watched the television coverage that evening will long remember the occasion and the tension.

It was impossible to say in advance what the individual or the mass response to the event would be. Here was something new, a world figure about whom all were curious and many suspicious, and here was a situation demanding politeness.

In one of the best up-to-date coverages of Russia and its problems today, Harrison Salisbury had given readers of the *New York Times* a vivid awareness of the changes on the theme of communism as well as the old theme itself. TV, with its roving eye, was as usual able to show things that couldn't be seen even by those actively participating in the ceremonies. More than 400 newspaper reporters, representing both national and international papers and agencies swarmed about on the day of the K. arrival. During his visit the newstands were quickly emptied of local editions, and still people read more to try to fathom for themselves the significance of the occasion.

The drama of the Soviet's successful launching of the moon rocket, equivalent, it was said, to hitting the eye of a fly six miles away with a thirty-caliber rifle, lent further emphasis to the occasion. Its importance militarily in terms of missile warfare, legally and geographically in terms of possessions, even religiously in terms of creed was discussed avidly that Monday and Tuesday, in every drug store, cocktail bar, and home in Washington. One taxi driver we talked with said

his fares had talked of nothing else that day.

This, in short, was a month when history was being made and it is doubtful that Washingtonians felt much need to seek drama for its own sake either at the theatre or movie houses. Added to this, the back-to-school-and-college or night classes, and the back-from-holiday fervor produced a further serious note to the occasion. Even the weather contributed to making this a memorable month, both golden and refreshingly cool after the long too-hot summer.

Foreign Service Legislation

Down on the Hill with time running short before adjournment many bills had to be tabled, but S.2633 was reported out of committee and passed the Senate without amendment.

The "Foreign Service Act Amendments of 1959" provides several measures of considerable interest to the Service, including statements on functional and geographic specialization and foreign language requirements, as well as provision for re-employment of FSO's-retired (without endangering their pension rights), and a housing allowance for FSO's when stationed in the United States, at the rate of 8, 11, or 13 percent (depending on whether the FSO is single, has one to three dependents, or has more than three dependents).

In Section 578 "Foreign Language Knowledge Prerequisite to Assignment" the bill reads:

The Secretary shall designate every Foreign Service officer position in a foreign country whose incumbent should have a useful knowledge of a language or dialect common to such country. After December 31, 1963, each position so designated shall be filled only by an incumbent having such knowledge; *Provided*, That the Secretary or Deputy Under Secretary for Administration may make exceptions to this requirement for individuals or when special emergency conditions exist. The Secretary shall establish foreign language standards for assignment abroad of officers and employees of the Service, and shall arrange for appropriate language training of such officers and employees at the Foreign Service Institute or elsewhere.

On "Relationship between Promotions and Functional and Geographic Area Specialization" section 626 reads:

The achievement of the objectives of this Act requires increasing numbers of Foreign Service officers to acquire functional and geographic area specializations and to pursue such specializations for a substantial part of their careers. Such specialization shall not in any way inhibit or prejudice the orderly advancement through Class 1 of any such officer in the Foreign Service.

The unanimous passage of S.2633 by the Senate this September certainly indicates an increasing awareness and interest on their part in the problems of the Foreign Service, and would seem to augur well for passage of the bill by the House when the Congress reconvenes early in the new year.



In September the National Symphony returned from its goodwill tour in South America.

Advise and . . .

One of the members of the Journal Editorial Board, who has reviewed Allen Drury's "Advise and Consent" elsewhere in this magazine, pointed out to us that in this much-discussed book on Washington politics scant attention had been paid to members of the Department of State, save one brief description of their entry into a Senate Committee Room flanking the Secretary of State. Of their entry he wrote: "Some were in their thirties, some were in their forties, some were in their fifties, but to them all clung an ineffable effluviun of faintly seedy youthfulness . . . all had the same expression of secret purpose and superior knowledge; and each was clad in a dark blue pin-stripe suit whose cuffs and pants-legs appeared to be cut just a trifle too short for him." CIA, our Board member pointed out, also received a cursory description but USIA and ICA—probably to their relief—were not mentioned at all. Nor was any branch of the military service.

Foreign Language Knowledge

In S.2633 Congress has taken into account the need for more language training for the Foreign Service. But the problem obviously is a national one and has its roots in the American school system which has neither encouraged nor provided adequate language training for today's world.

With the fluidity of the American scene, however, once a problem is fully recognized, from all directions suddenly the solutions begin to appear. This fall, for instance, under the National Defense Education Act nineteen centers for teaching twenty-three foreign languages rarely taught in this country will be active, teaching languages ranging from Arabic to Turkish and including Khalkla and Swahili.

The problem for many of the millions who deal with overseas problems or people, however, will continue to be that while they may have had adequate training in one or more languages they may be unable to use these particular languages and need others. For this reason the work of Dr. Mortimer Graves, a member of the NATO Study Group on Asian and African languages, as described in the *LINGUISTIC REPORTER*, is of particular importance. He is not the first to say that the science of languages should be taught to youngsters but his suggestions for its incorporation in the American school system are both practical and visionary.

Malvina Lindsay commented on Dr. Graves' article in her usual trenchant style in the *WASHINGTON POST*, just before she went on extended holiday:



From the color photographs of Korean historic monuments to be exhibited this month at New State.

Dr. Graves, she wrote "proposes a new unified language program that begins with a study of language in general and how it works in society. This should lead first to a better comprehension of English. The next step would be into the first foreign tongue, including a period of 'substantial use of the new language,' presumably by means of a course given in the language.

"The goal of such a program would be to help the student to learn how language works, first in his own, and then in a foreign context. Best results, Dr. Graves thinks, could be obtained from jumping from English into a structurally remote language, as Chinese or Arabic. . . .

"A course of seven or eight years in the 'progressive comprehension of language, native and foreign,' is advocated by Dr. Graves. At the conclusion of such a course, he believes the students would never have to take an elementary classroom course in any foreign language again—'acquisition of a new language should be a process about the equivalent of learning a new dance step, or at the worst, of learning to play the accordion after mastering the piano.'"

The need at the moment, of course, centers around the training of teachers to present modern linguistic science in every college.

Examinations for FSO's

Examinations will again be given in December in colleges and universities throughout the United States for recruits to the Foreign Service. It is said that last year's substantial backlog of successful candidates will be entirely exhausted by the end of this fiscal year.

Service Glimpses

1. **Turin.** Consul and Mrs. Charles K. Moffly (right foreground) receiving the American community and Italian officials at a reception in the USIS Library on the Fourth of July.

2. **Rangoon.** Aleksander Y. Kaznacheev (right) leaves the Embassy accompanied by Ambassador Walter P. McConaughy (left), Political Officer William Hamilton (right rear), and two officers of the Burmese army.

3. **Jidda.** At the Embassy's Fourth of July children's picnic we see Economic Officer Bill Toomey examining statistics on races and games prior to picking prize winners.

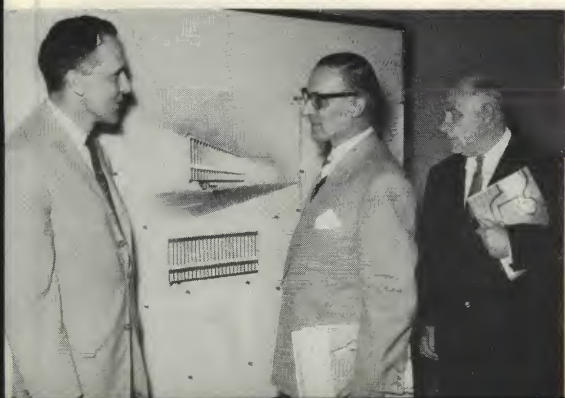
4. **Stuttgart.** Acting Consul General Bertus H. Wabeke (left), Public Affairs Officer Charles D. Chamberlin (right), and Mayor Josef Hirn of Stuttgart discuss plans and drawings for the new Amerika Haus to be built in Stuttgart.

5. **Kabul.** Following their wedding held in the ballroom of the British Embassy, PAO Barrett Parker and his bride, the former Pamela Mary Smeeton, pose with members of the wedding party at a reception in the garden of the American Embassy. Left to right: Terence Grady, British Consul; British Ambassador H. E. Michael C. Gillett, C.M.G., who gave the bride away; Mrs. Howard McVitty; Frank Swayze; the groom; Harry Downing, First Secretary, British Embassy; DCM Robert B. Elwood; and Howard McVitty.

6. **Iceland.** Vice President Nixon's plane stops for refueling near the Arctic Circle en route to Moscow. Pictured in the group are Deputy Assistant Secretary Foy D. Kohler, Brig. General Henry G. Thorne, Jr., Mrs. John J. Muccio, Ambassador John J. Muccio, Director of USIA George V. Allen, and Dr. Milton Eisenhower. The picture was made at 4 a.m. with natural Arctic sunlight.

7. **Mexico.** Consul Terrance G. Leonhardy, Principal Officer, and Consul Robert T. Shaw from the Consulate in Nogales, are pictured with the results of a three-hour fishing trip off Mazatlán, Sinaloa. The five sailfish averaged over 120 pounds each.





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EDITORIAL PAGE

A U.S. Foreign Service Academy?

THE APRIL ISSUE of the JOURNAL published an analysis of eleven bills introduced in the 1959 session of Congress which proposed the establishment of some form of United States Foreign Service Academy. Six additional bills on the concept were introduced before Congress adjourned. These seventeen bills fall into two general categories—those which would establish a four-year undergraduate West Point of diplomacy, and those which would establish a postgraduate academy from which FSO candidates would graduate into the Service.

Congressional concern with the recruitment and qualifying process of the Foreign Service has thus been made very clear. Inasmuch as bills proposing some type of Foreign Service Academy have been introduced in each session of Congress since 1955, it is probable that the academy concept will reappear with next year's Congress and that it will eventually be debated. (The academy bills did not get out of committee this year.) We can obviously expect the Congress to ponder the academy concept until it is more satisfied that the Service is fully qualified to meet the challenges of the times. It follows that the Department and the Service have a responsibility to debate the concept in an effort to reach a consensus and a position.

We believe that, at this stage, there is a large measure of agreement in the Foreign Service on a number of the important points at issue:

FIRST, the Department and the Service are probably preponderantly disposed against any concept of four-year undergraduate academy. Government-supervised undergraduate training would result in an undesirable uniformity; it would tend to inhibit initiative and individuality, which are among the primary assets of any Foreign Service officer. It would thus encroach upon the valuable diversity which American universities now furnish the Service. And it would be expensive.

SECOND, Congressional interest in the recruitment and qualifying process is to be welcomed and encouraged. Congress has a justifiable concern that the nation's first line of defense be manned as competently as possible. An objective appraisal of the areas of Congressional concern will profit us as well as the Congress.

THIRD, many could agree that, very early in the junior officer's career, some form of postgraduate training under Departmental auspices would serve a valid and valuable role by filling the lacunae of so many of the American universities, especially in languages, area training, and the subtleties of international Communism.

Intensive language and area training are vital tools and should be acquired as early as possible. It is also becoming increasingly essential that Foreign Service officers early acquire a sophisticated knowledge of Communist theory and practice. Such training would be greatly facilitated by access to classified information and the probing of controversial subjects beyond the normal university curriculum. These considerations argue for Departmental supervision of this type of postgraduate training and a situs of training in or near Washington.

FOURTH, any postgraduate institution set up along these lines should be established without prejudice to the appropriation of funds for the specialized training and educational assignments so necessary to the mid-career and senior officer.

Beyond these general considerations we find no consensus. How soon after selection should the FSO-8 be posted for postgraduate study along the lines indicated? Should graduation from a postgraduate academy be the final step in the qualifying process? Would postgraduate study be more profitable if the junior officer had an initial tour in the field? Should the reasonably large percentage of FSO's who in recent years have entered the Service with postgraduate degrees be assigned? Should the academy be administered by the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service—a logical arrangement if the academy were part of the qualifying process—or should it represent the first level of the Department's present training programs within the Foreign Service Institute? Should the course be one or two years? What should be the emphasis on languages? Certainly the young officer should be required to reach proficiency in a world language, as at present, but would it not also be useful to require him to attain at least a working knowledge of Russian, Chinese, Arabic, or one of the other "hard languages?" To what extent should Congress participate in selecting candidates or be represented on the board of trustees of a postgraduate academy?

These questions and the many others which could be posed should, we submit, be thought through in the months ahead. We cannot address our influence to this important subject until we have developed a position which should, preferably, represent a consensus. That done, there is every reason to believe that Congress would cooperate in aiding the Service to strengthen itself if severe self-scrutiny revealed areas for improvement. With these objectives in view, the JOURNAL invites comment and debate on whether the Service should move toward some form of U.S. Foreign Service Academy.

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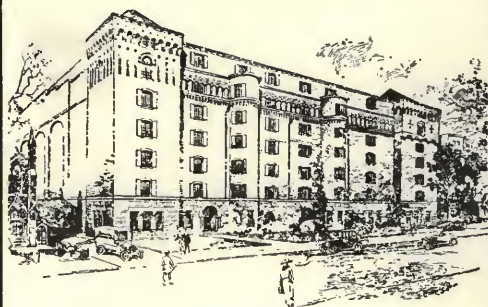
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Trade and Aid

In the Under-developed Countries

by Douglas Dillon

♦♦♦ **A**S THE wealthiest and most industrialized country in the world today, the United States remains the principal single, free world source for the foreign capital which the less-developed countries must have to supplement their own efforts. We must continue to take the lead.

We must do this, not simply as a countermove to Communism, nor as an exercise in charity, but in the same spirit in which the Marshall Plan was launched—as a cooperative endeavor, based on mutual respect and interdependence. Our primary aim must not be to achieve short-term political gains or expressions of gratitude. It must be to help the less-developed peoples strengthen their well-being and, thereby, their freedom and independence.

I have so far refrained from discussing the efforts of the Sino-Soviet bloc to penetrate and capture the less-developed countries with trade and aid as part of its overall drive for Communist world domination. I have done so because our foreign aid programs would exist even if Lenin had never been born. For in today's shrinking world, it is imperative that ways be found, first to halt, and then to narrow, the still-growing gap between our standards of living and those of the great masses of humanity in Asia, Africa, the Middle-East and Latin America. Such a task is deeply rooted in the traditions of humanitarianism that have always motivated Americans.



Paddy rice spread out to dry, Southern Taiwan

However, the growing economic power of the Soviet bloc is a force to be reckoned with in today's divided world. Let us look briefly at that world:

On one side we have the nations of the free world which have already achieved economic growth—not only the strongly industrialized countries of Europe and North America, but also Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

On the other side, we have the Communist empire, including Russia's Eastern European satellites and Communist China and its satellites. This bloc is led by the Soviet Union, which has made remarkable economic progress in recent years.

In between lies the great underdeveloped sector of the free world, which the Communists have openly identified as the major target in their strategy of conquest. If these countries find that they cannot achieve progress in freedom, as they would prefer, they will surely be tempted to try an alternative route to their goal. And today international Communism loudly proclaims just such an alternative route.

I am convinced that the events of the next twenty to thirty years will determine the state of the world for centuries ahead. I believe that the biggest single deciding factor will be the path taken by the peoples of the less-developed world in their impatient efforts to achieve social and material progress. Over the coming years, the newly emerging peoples will be heavily influenced by three factors:

First, the power of example: If international Communism is successful in projecting an image of the Soviet system as the magic blueprint for achieving rapid progress, it will have a powerful influence on men who are desperately seeking to lead their peoples into the Twentieth Century.

It is undeniable that the Soviet economy today is developing faster than that of the United States. Soviet annual growth in industrial production in recent years has been about seven to nine percent, as compared to the long-term average of a little more than four percent in the United States. . . . Faced with this prospect, it is imperative that the United States find ways of accelerating its own economic growth while always maintaining the stability of our currency.

By accelerating our domestic growth we will deflate the Soviet line that Communism represents the "wave of the future." We will demonstrate to the peoples of the newly developing nations that their aspirations can best be met in



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a free society. And, most important of all, we will create the climate and capacity at home which will permit us to continue the long term effort needed abroad.

The second factor which will influence the newly developing peoples is trade: The Soviet bloc has recently made substantial trade overtures to these nations. But Soviet trade can be, and is, turned on and off at will for political purposes. Once a country becomes dependent upon the Soviet Union for a large share of its trade, the Soviets do not hesitate to use this dependence as a means of blackmail and pressure.

The dangers for the underdeveloped nations are obvious. But trade they must. It is up to us to provide an increasingly attractive alternative. We must continue to take a leading part in reducing barriers to world trade. We must keep our markets open to peoples who are struggling to improve their lot and we must strive to find workable answers to the problems they face as a result of price fluctuations in their raw material exports.

The third factor influencing the developing countries is financial and technical aid: I have already outlined our own program. Mindful of our success, the Soviet Union five years ago launched its own aid drive as part of a general campaign to establish the Soviet "presence" in the newly emerging areas. As with Soviet trade, so with Soviet aid: Once a country begins to lean heavily on the Soviet Union for its development needs, political strings become very apparent and that country's independence is in jeopardy.

This, then, is the challenge: Are we, the peoples of the economically advanced free nations going to persevere in our efforts to help the one billion people in the free world's less-developed areas place themselves firmly on the road to progress? Or are we going to be found wanting in this supreme test of our free and democratic way of life? If we do not measure up to the challenge—if through unwise

From a talk by the Under Secretary of State delivered to the Harvard University Association in Cambridge, Mass., on June 11, 1959.



Sugar cane being harvested in the rain, Taiwan

or inadequate actions on our part we allow the newly emerging nations to be dragged one by one into the Communist orbit—then, as surely as night follows day, our own freedom cannot long endure.

This is a challenge of stamina and perseverance. It entails a coordinated, persistent effort over the next twenty, thirty, or perhaps even fifty years. We have never in our peacetime history faced anything to compare with it. If we succeed, and these peoples choose irrevocably the path of freedom, then indeed the future will be bright. For their example will be irresistible and international Communism as we know it today will become a mere nightmare before the dawn of universal freedom.

I believe that Americans can rise to the challenge. They are at their best in responding to such opportunity. For it provides that "remote and ideal object which captivates the imagination by its splendor and the reason by its simplicity," of which Lord Acton spoke and which, as that British historian said so eloquently, evokes an energy that is not inspired by lesser and more proximate goals.

.... "WE ARE in for serious trouble if we think that we are at liberty to get richer while most of the rest of the world gets poorer. In a poker game played with stacked cards, and where all the chips come to be concentrated in relatively few hands, the other players will be tempted to do one of three things: to change the rules, to quit, or to shoot from the hip."—Senator Fulbright, speaking at Columbia University.

HEARD ON THE HILL

An "All-American Service"

MR. Bow. Mr. Speaker, the fact that our Foreign Service is truly all-American and representative of every part of our nation, as well as every strata of society, is not generally understood, and I am pleased to include with my remarks today an excellent discussion of this subject by Hon. Loy W. Henderson, a distinguished career officer of the Department of State now serving as Deputy Under Secretary....

"Dear Mr. Bow: Thank you for calling my attention, . . . to the debate which took place in the House of Representatives on July 21 . . .

"I am able to confirm your impression that the Foreign Service is not an Ivy League club. Of the 3,427 officers in the Service, our records indicate only 649 received their bachelor degrees from the eight institutions which, I understand, constitute the Ivy League. The remaining college graduates come from educational institutions spread across the Nation, including forty-eight state universities.

"You inquired about the officers serving in the Secretariat. We select for work in the Secretary's office only officers of unusual capacity. They cannot, therefore, be considered as entirely typical. However, among the twenty-three Foreign Service officers assigned to that office, only three obtained their bachelor degrees from Ivy League schools, one is without a degree, and nineteen received their degrees from seventeen other colleges and universities.

"Every one of our fifty states, as well as Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone, is represented by native sons who are Foreign Service officers. The bulk of them do not come from wealthy families. They are men and women who have earned at least a part of their way through college. We have noted from their records that they helped finance their educations by working at occupations such as the following: filling station attendant, cowhand, janitor, hotel clerk, ice-man, salesman, merchant seaman, supermarket cashier, common laborer, luncheonette counterman, department store clerk, waiter, typist, riverboat deckhand, and lumberjack. . . .

"Unfortunately, there are still many positions in the Service in which a man with private means, willing to spend his own funds for the advantage of the U.S. Government, can be more effective than one without an independent income.

"Foreign Service officers are drawn on a basis of equality of opportunity from ancestors who came to this country from Asia and Africa as well as from Europe. Our files do not indicate the racial or ethnic origins of our officers. It is our policy not to show race or religion in the personnel records. I know personally, however, that the Negroes in the Foreign Service Officer Corps, for example, are not confined—as has been suggested—to one or two showcase examples. . . .

"It is my understanding that Members of the Congress would like to see a U.S. Foreign Service drawn from Main Street sources. If by this they mean that they desire a service which truly represents the United States from all walks of life and from every quarter of this country their desire, in my opinion, is already realized."

(From the Congressional Record of August 13, 1959.)

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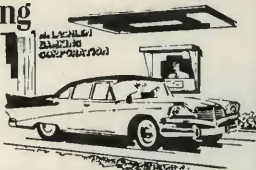
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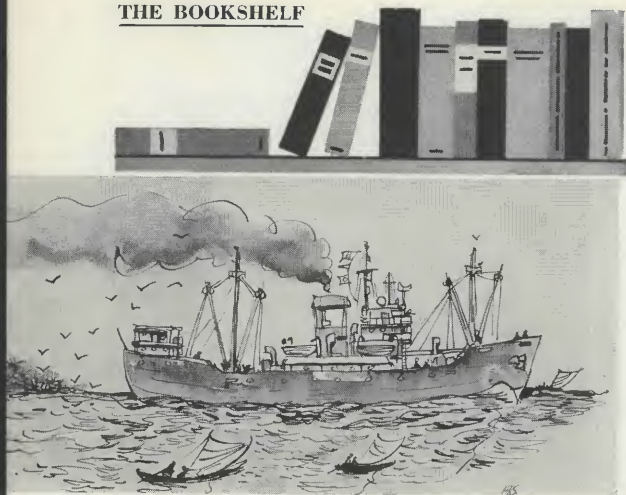


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"Advise and Consent"

Reviewed by JOHN H. BURNS

AS FORECAST by the Washington News Letter last month, this novel of the United States Senate has become the most widely read and discussed book of the year. The author, who has covered the Senate for the New York Times for a number of years, writes of that deliberative body with authority, perception and obvious affection. Although the book is billed as a novel of Washington politics, it is both more and less than that. The narrative which is constructed around the nomination by a post-Eisenhower President of a controversial man to be Secretary of State concentrates so exclusively on the Senate that other facets of Washington life are included only as they relate to that group.

None of this makes "Advise and Consent" any the less effective novel. In fact, by focusing on the Senate, which in a sense is a sort of distillation of the United States, it becomes more than a novel of Washington political life, it develops into a commentary on American political morals and probably the most forceful one to appear since "All the King's Men." And force is not the only thing that these two novels have in common. "There is always something," said Willie Stark, and now we have no less a character than the President of the United States echoing, "Well, there is. There always is. Somewhere, sometime, someplace everybody has done some thing. All you have to do is find it." Blackmail is what each man has in mind. This bleak philosophy has perhaps had a wider acceptance in government circles in recent years than facts would warrant or charity condone.

Nevertheless, this is not a cynical book and right, or at least what seems to be right, wins out in the end. In the process the author pulls the stops on most of the basic motivations of men: love, patriotism, sex, friendship, envy, ambition—especially ambition. Only religion is curiously absent. Curious because many members of the Senate, past and present, have been and are, deeply religious men and

ADVISE AND CONSENT by Allen Drury. Doubleday and Co. New York, 620 pp. \$5.75.

few will doubt that the author is drawing his characters from life while taking care that no single individual is identifiable.

Mr. Drury paints with the broad brush and relies rather heavily upon coincidence and the reader's flexible imagination. For instance, he presents as one of the leading characters, in a year that could not possibly be earlier than 1967, a Senator aged thirty seven who was an Air Force hero of World War II. There is also a good deal—quite a lot, in fact—of melodrama along the way, but who will contend that melodrama is anything new to the Washington scene? Whatever its faults, and it has a good many, this is an entertaining and suspenseful novel and well worth the midnight hours so many people are devoting to it these days.

Five Ideas That Change The World. By Barbara Ward. 188 pp. W. W. Norton & Co., New York. \$3.75

Freedom Chooses Slavery. By J. Freire d'Andrade. 139 pp. Coward-McCann, Inc., New York. \$3.50

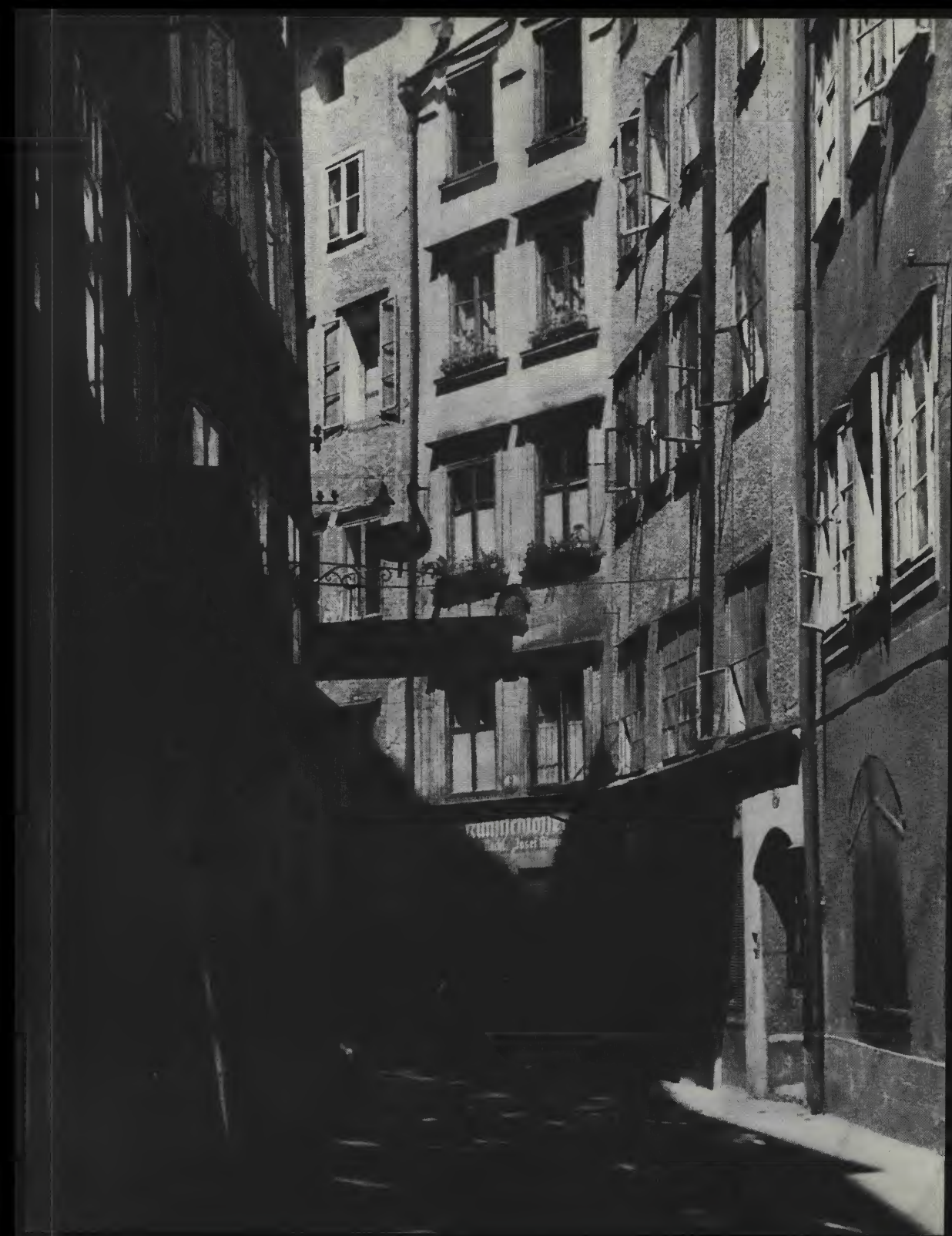
Reviewed by HENRY C. RAMSEY

We find in these two books, one by an author known to us all, the other by a less well-known Portuguese economist, two very diverse outlooks on the future of the West.

Miss Ward's "Five Ideas" are nationalism, industrialism, colonialism, Communism, and internationalism. The first three form the historic framework of the pre-1917 West, to which we can obviously not return because of the impact and interplay of the latter two ideas in the modern world, and all represent forces now at work in the ferment of the underdeveloped world. Miss West counsels that we understand our past, break with it to the extent necessary, and accept new relationships and responsibilities toward the former colonial world.

She finds Communism itself in crisis, a victim of ideological bankruptcy and evolutionary pressures, but a system which exerts enormous appeal because of its proven ability to carry backward countries speedily through the crisis of modernization. She thinks the Communists must be brought to shed their vision of world order by the Western Powers' gaining a new vision—one which would repeat "at the international level the acts of justice, vision, and generosity which enabled them to transform industrialism at home." She advocates a massive, concerted pooling of Western resources to assist underdeveloped societies toward modernization under new dispensations of Western internationalization.

Mr. d'Andrade finds no such vision, no such opportunities. He believes the most pressing problem of the West's foreign policy is to find ways of returning as large a part of the world as possible to an economy based on contentment—to something nearer the pre-1914 world, when currencies were hard, national borders easier to penetrate economically, and moneys more convertible because they expressed "human values." Clear in his condemnation of present trends, he is less clear on how they are to be reversed to his satisfaction.





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THE BOOKSHELF (continued)

"Communism in American Unions," by David J. Saposs, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1959, pp. 279 + xii, \$7.50.

"Labor, U.S.A.," by Lester Velie, Harper & Bros., New York, pp. 318 + xv, \$4.95.

Reviewed by MORRIS WEISZ

THE IMPORTANCE of our labor movement to that of other countries—our leadership and responsibility in world labor affairs almost parallels that of our Government in world affairs generally—makes desirable its study by persons concerned with our Foreign Service. The two volumes under review clarify, in different ways, some major aspects of current and past problems of American labor.

The Saposs volume is an analytical account of the recent history of the Communist thrust for control of our labor movement. More than thirty years ago, Mr. Saposs reviewed the early history of this effort in his classic "Left-Wing Unionism." In a sense, his current volume presents an effective documentation of his earlier conclusions on the nature and methodology of what, in the twenties, was an infant (and infantile) technique.

Predecessor labor movements which called themselves radical (the "Wobblies" and Socialists, for instance) were truly that; they believed in building a new society, one they thought would better serve the interests of the American people. The Communists' radicalism is different; its efforts are directed towards serving the interests of the Soviet Union. This overriding interest requires constantly changing tactics in the struggle to gain power in American unions. The Saposs book methodically dissects these tactics in American trade unions in a manner especially useful in answering the arguments of foreign Communists and their supporters, especially those in the uncommitted countries.

Following a review of the tactics Communists pursued in both AFL and CIO unions, Mr. Saposs gives us a description of how our trade unions rid themselves of Communist control. Here, again, is the documentation needed to refute the charge which has influenced so many "liberals" abroad, the claim that undemocratic "red-baiting" means were used here to destroy Communist control of unions.

The Velie book is different both in scope and approach from the Saposs volume. It considers the U.S. labor movement as a whole, in a journalistic review of both its historical background and the issues currently facing it. Mr. Velie's approach, however, is to personalize issues, to discuss them in terms of the motivations and peculiarities of the participants in events, rather than in terms of ideas, ideologies or the economic, political, and social factors which have so vitally affected our labor movement. He has thus given us a book which is interesting and will no doubt find many American readers. From the point of view of its usefulness in explaining our movement abroad, however, it is quite limited. It is largely a compilation of gossip—fascinating, most frequently accurate, but not sufficiently analytical to

Mr. Weisz is Chief of the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor; he has served as Chief of the Labor and Manpower Division in USRO at Paris.

cover, for all of U.S. labor, what Mr. Saposs has done so successfully in the single area of Communism in U.S. labor.

The chapter which discusses U.S. labor's interest in international affairs is written in a manner intended to be friendly. Here, however, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the author falls into the error of personalizing this interest to such a degree that the foreign reader might gain the impression that the sole basis for American labor's concern with international affairs is its opposition to Communism, and that this opposition is somehow due to Stalin's personal vendetta against an associate of thirty years ago. (Mr. Velie's breezy journalistic style permits him to describe this former associate somewhat contradictorily as "possessing self-effacement bordering on invisibility" and, in another connection, as "an unregenerate name-dropper.") The American labor movement is concerned—and properly so—in combatting Communist trade unions abroad as well as at home; but its international activities are far more diversified than Mr. Velie has given his readers to understand. It is interesting to note that, in this respect, Mr. Velie has fallen unintentionally into the error of making the same point which Communists advertise abroad: that U.S. labor, like the government, is really concerned only with the "cold war" against Communism—not in helping others. A broader canvass of U.S. labor's activities abroad would have pictured the vast amount of technical aid given to fellow trade unionists, as well as U.S. labor's participation in numerous international organizations where the economic and social, as well as the political activities of free trade unionists may be observed.

"Katorga": A Historical Study

Reviewed by DAVID HENRY

"**K**ATORGA" by Bernhard Roeder is the story of a German who spent five years in Soviet slave labor camps. The author describes, but does not emphasize, the horrors of "katorga," which is the Russian word for forced labor from the Greek word for galley and which a Soviet encyclopedia describes as "customarily one of the types of punishment for progressives" in the U.S.A.! In a direct and readable style he attempts to depict and analyze the Soviet system as a whole from its reflections in the life of the camps and from the case histories of their inmates. This effort proves most successful in its descriptions of what the author saw and heard himself but less so in its generalizations regarding Soviet life and the Soviet system as a whole. In recounting the stories he heard in the camps the author seems to fail to allow for the exaggerations and subjective distortions which must have crept into the narratives of men under such pressures and so isolated from the normal world.

In a sense, too, this book has become a historical study. The author himself points out that the "great majority" of the prisoners had left the camps before 1955 (p. 27). *Katorga* was a way of life for millions and a foundation stone of the Soviet system in Stalin's day; but now death and time have liberated most of the former slave laborers and the regime has conducted no campaign of mass arrests to replace them. The mortality rate in the camps was so high that organized terror was required to keep them replenished. Khrushchev is more sophisticated than Stalin—

he has discovered that slave labor is inefficient labor, as he admitted in his May 14 speech at Kishinev.

"Katorga" thus illuminates an important difference between the Stalin and the Khrushchev regimes in the USSR, i.e., the degree to which the latter has shifted away from the Stalinist practice of police terror and mass imprisonment. The present Soviet regime is a totalitarian dictatorship like its predecessor, but it would be a mistake not to recognize the fact that it has succeeded in running the country, increasing its power and prestige, and even apparently gaining the allegiance of a large portion of the Soviet population without widespread use of force and direct repression. This success is unpalatable to us as Americans, but the issues involved in our relations with the USSR are so vital that it is important to form decisions on facts alone, even unpalatable ones.

"KATORGA" by Bernhard Roeder. William Heineman, London. 271 pp. 21s.

"Political Change in Latin America," by John J. Johnson. Stanford University Press, 195 pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by RICHARD F. BOYCE

THIS book has the sub-title, "The Emergence of the Middle Sectors" and is Volume XV of the "Stanford Studies in History, Economics and Political Science."

Mr. Johnson was for fifteen months in 1952-53 Acting Chief of the South American Branch of the Division of Research for the American Republics, in the Department of State. He is now professor of history at Stanford University.

The purpose of the author is to describe the political emergence of the middle classes and how they have influenced the socio-economic orientation of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay.

This is a valuable historical study of Latin American politics, with special reference to political groups and parties, rather than to personalities, but it is remarkable in avoiding reference to Communist influence in the five countries and in ignoring the tremendous political influence of the laboring classes including the agrarians in Mexico, and urban labor in the other four countries.

The rise of the middle classes in Latin America is dependent upon the growth of domestic industry and commerce, as compared with foreign-owned businesses, and upon avoidance of violent political upheavals in which military or radical labor leaders are dominant. The middle "sectors," as Mr. Johnson prefers to call them, business men, educators, professional bureaucrats, certain military officer groups, writers and publishers, the secular clergy and professional men in general—do not thrive under dictatorships or during political instability. In spite of Mr. Johnson's very interesting study, the emergence of nationalism and labor is far more in evidence than that of the middle classes, to anyone looking at the whole picture in Latin America. In fact, it is more like looking for a needle in the haystack to find middle class influence in Latin American politics. It is there, but its position is precarious and fluctuates violently. One could wish them to achieve permanent control—but permanent stability is not likely for the present.

WORLD AFFAIRS

*A Foreign Service Reading List for 1959**

I. GENERAL II. UNITED STATES III. OTHER AREAS

I. GENERAL

- BRECHT, ARNOLD. *Political Theory*; the foundations of 20th century political thought. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 603pp. \$12.00
- CORBETT, PERCY E. *Law in Diplomacy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 290pp. \$6.00
- DRUCKER, PETER F. *Landmarks of Tomorrow*. Harper, New York. 270pp. \$4.50
- DU BOIS, CORA, and others. *The East and West Must Meet*; a symposium. Michigan State University Press, East Lansing. 134pp. \$3.00
- FAYERWEATHER, JOHN. *The Executive Overseas*; administrative attitudes and relationships in a foreign culture. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N. Y. 195pp. \$4.00
- GREENSPAN, MORRIS. *The Modern Law of Land Warfare*. University of California Press, Berkeley. 724 pp. \$10.00
- GRIMES, ALAN P., and ROBERT H. HORWITZ, eds. *Modern Political Ideologies*. Oxford University Press, New York. 535pp. \$5.00
- JACKSON, BARBARA (WARD). *Five Ideas that Change the World*. (The Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg lectures) Published for the University College of Ghana by Norton, New York. 188pp. \$3.75
- JENKS, CLARENCE W. *The Common Law of Mankind*. The Library of world affairs, no. 41. Praeger, New York, 1958. 456pp. \$12.50
- KING, EDMUND J. *Other Schools and Ours*. (Rinehart books in history and principles of education). Rinehart, New York, 1958. 234pp. \$4.00
- MOORE, BARRINGTON. *Political Power and Social Theory*; six lectures. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1958. 215pp. \$4.50
- NOEL-BAKER, PHILIP J. *The Arms Race*; a programme for world disarmament. Stevens, London, 1958. 579pp. 25s.
- OVERSTREET, HARRY A., and BONARO OVERSTREET. *What We Must Know About Communism*. Norton, New York, 1958. 348pp. \$3.95
- SCHUSCHNIG, KURT. *International Law*; an introduction to the law of peace. Bruce Pub. Co., Milwaukee. 512pp. \$9.50
- SIMPSON, JOHN L., and HAZEL FOX. *International Arbitration*: law and practice. Praeger, New York. 330pp. \$8.00
- SINGH, NAGENDRA. *Nuclear Weapons and International Law*. Praeger, New York. 268pp. \$6.75
- SLICK, TOM. *Permanent Peace*; a check and balance plan. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958. 181pp. \$2.95

International Economic Relations

- AGARWALA, AMNAR N., and SAMPAT P. SINGH, eds. *The Economics of Underdevelopment*; a series of articles and papers. Indian Branch, Oxford University Press, Bombay, New York, 1958. 510pp. 30s.
- ALLEN, WILLIAM R., and CLARK L. ALLEN. *Foreign Trade and Finance*; essays in international economic equilibrium and adjustment. Macmillan, New York. 512pp. \$6.00

*An annual feature prepared by the Library Division of the Department of State. Books published after October are included in the next year's list.

- BRAND, WILHEM. *The Struggle for a Higher Standard of Living*; the problem of the underdeveloped countries. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1958. 438pp. \$7.50
- BROWN, ARTHUR J. *Introduction to the World Economy*. Allen & Unwin, London. 212pp. 18s.
- FARIS, DONALD K. *To Plow with Hope*. Harper, New York, 1958. 223pp. \$3.75
- HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT O. *The Strategy of Economic Development*. (Yale studies in economics, 10). Yale University Press, New Haven, 1958. 217pp. \$4.50
- JOHNSON, HARRY C. *International Trade and Economic Growth*; studies in pure theory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1958. 204pp. \$4.00
- LAMARTINE YATES, PAUL. *Forty Years of Foreign Trade*; a statistical handbook with special reference to primary products and under-developed countries. Macmillan, New York. 255pp. \$9.00
- LETICHE, JOHN M. *Balance of Payments and Economic Growth*. Harper, New York. 378pp. \$6.00
- MASON, EDWARD S. *Economic Planning in Underdeveloped Areas*: government and business (The Millar lectures, no. 2). Fordham University Press, New York, 1958. 87pp. \$2.50
- MEZERIK, AVRAHAM G., ed. *Financial Assistance for Economic Development*. (International review service, v. 5, no. 51) New York. 71pp. \$1.00
- PROEHL, PAUL O. *Legal Problems of International Trade*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Ill. 453pp. \$6.50
- WALD, HASKELL P. *Taxation of Agricultural Land in Underdeveloped Economies*; a survey and guide to policy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 231pp. \$4.50
- WELTON, HARRY. *The Third World War*; trade and industry, the new battleground. Philosophical Library, New York. 330pp. \$6.00
- WOLF, CHARLES, JR., and SIDNEY C. SUFFRIN. *Capital Formation & Foreign Investment in Underdeveloped Areas*; an analysis of research needs and program possibilities prepared from a study supported by the Ford Foundation. Rev. (Maxwell School series 1). Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N. Y., 1958. 170pp. \$3.00

International Organization

- CLAUDE, INIS L. *Swords into Plowshares*; the problems and progress of international organization. 2d ed., rev. and enl. Random House, New York. 537pp. \$6.75
- GOODRICH, LELAND M. *The United Nations*. Crowell, New York. 419pp. \$7.50
- GOODSPEED, STEPHEN S. *The Nature and Function of International Organization*. Oxford University Press, New York. 676pp. \$7.25
- MACIVER, ROBERT M. *The Nations and the United Nations*. (National studies on international organization). Manhattan Pub. Co., New York. 186pp. \$3.00
- MUNRO, SIR LESLIE. *Inside the United Nations*; hope for a divided world. Holt, New York, publication announced for Fall 1959. \$3.50
- RUSSELL, RUTH B., and JEANETTE E. MUTHER. *A History of the U. N. Charter*; the role of the U. S., 1940-1945. Brookings Institution, Washington. 1958. 1140pp. \$10.00

World Politics

- ATWATER, ELTON, and others. **World Affairs**; problems and prospects. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York. 1958. 621pp. \$6.95
- BELOFF, MAX. **The Great Powers**; essays in twentieth century politics. Macmillan, New York. 240pp. \$4.50
- BRODIE, BERNARD. **Strategy in the Missile Age**. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., publication announced for September 1959. 450pp. \$6.50
- EMME, EUGENE M., ed. **The Impact of Air Power**; national security and world politics. Van Nostrand, Princeton, N. J. 914pp. \$12.50
- HERZ, JOHN H. **International Politics in the Atomic Age**. Columbia University Press, New York. 360pp. \$6.00
- MIKSCHIE, FERDINAND O. **The Failure of Atomic Strategy & a New Proposal for the Defense of the West**. Praeger, New York. 224p. \$4.50
- MOWBRER, EDGAR E. **A Good Time to be Alive**. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York. 179pp. \$3.50
- NEWMAN, BERNARD. **Danger Spots of the World**. Hale, London. 224pp. 18s.
- NIEBUHR, REINHOLD. **The Structure of Nations and Empires**; a study of the recurring patterns and problems of the political order in relation to the unique problems of the nuclear age. Scribner, New York. 306pp. \$5.00
- PEARSON, LESTER B. **Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age**. (The William L. Clayton lectures on international economic affairs and foreign policy, 1958). Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 114pp. \$2.75
- SCHUMAN, FREDERICK L. **International Politics**; the western state system and the world community. 6th ed. McGraw-Hill, New York. 1958. 745pp. \$7.50
- STRAUSZ-HUPÉ, ROBERT, and others. **Protracted Conflict**. (A Foreign Policy Research Institute book). Harper, New York. 203pp. \$3.95
- WARBURG, JAMES P. **The West in Crisis**. Doubleday, New York. 192pp. \$3.50

II. UNITED STATES

General

- BRUCKBERGER, RAYMOND L. **Image of America**. Translated from the French by C. G. Paulding and Virgilia Peterson. Viking Press, New York. 277pp. \$4.50
- BURNHAM, JAMES. **Congress and the American Tradition**. Regnery, Chicago. 363pp. \$6.50
- DE HUZAR, GEORGE B. ed. **National Strategy in an Age of Revolutions**. Addresses and panel discussions of the fourth National Military-Industrial Conference, February 17-19, 1958, Chicago, Ill. Praeger, New York. 282pp. \$6.00
- EINAUDI, MARIO. **The Roosevelt Revolution**. Harcourt, Brace, New York. 372pp. \$5.95
- HENKIN, LOUIS. **Arms Control and Inspection in American Law**. Columbia University Press, New York. 1958. 289pp. \$5.50
- HYNEMAN, CHARLES S. **The Study of Politics**; the present state of American political science. University of Illinois Press, Urbana. 232pp. \$4.50
- LARSON, ARTHUR. **What We Are For**. Harper, New York. 173pp. \$2.95
- MASON, ALPHEUS T., and RICHARD H. LEACH. **In Quest of Freedom**; American political thought and practice. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 568pp. \$6.95
- MILLER, RAYMOND W. **Can Capitalism Compete?** A campaign for American free enterprise. Ronald Press, New York. 264pp. \$4.50
- OGBURN, CHARLTON. **Economic Plan and Action**; recent American developments. Harper, New York. 287pp. \$4.75
- RANSOM, HARRY H. **Central Intelligence and National Security**. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1958. 287pp. \$4.75
- REIFF, HENRY. **The United States and the Treaty Law of the Sea**. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 451pp. \$8.00
- SALVADORI, MASSIMO. **The Economics of Freedom**; American Capitalism Today. Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y. 242pp. \$4.50

Foreign Relations

- BEMIS, SAMUEL F. **A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy**. Holt, New York. 737pp. \$10.00
- GRABER, DORIS A. **Crisis Diplomacy**; a history of U. S. intervention policies and practices. Public Affairs Press, Washington. 420pp. \$6.75
- HALLE, LOUIS J. **Dream and Reality**; aspects of American foreign policy. Harper, New York. 327pp. \$5.00
- LIPPMANN, WALTER. **The Communist World and Ours**. Little, Brown, Boston. 56pp. \$2.00
- PEETERS, PAUL L. **Massive Retaliation**; the policy and its critics (Foundation for Foreign Affairs series, no. 2). Regnery, Chicago, publication announced for September, 1959. 288pp. \$5.00
- SCHURZ, WILLIAM L. **American Foreign Affairs**; a guide to international affairs. Dutton, New York. 265pp. \$4.50
- SULZBERGER, CYRUS L. **What's Wrong with U. S. Foreign Policy**. Harcourt, Brace, New York. 255pp. \$4.50
- The United States in World Affairs, 1958**. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper, New York. 479pp. Annual. \$6.00
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM A. **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy**. World Pub. Co., Cleveland. 219pp. \$4.75
- WOLFERS, ARNOLD, ed. **Alliance Policy in the Cold War**. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 314pp. \$5.50

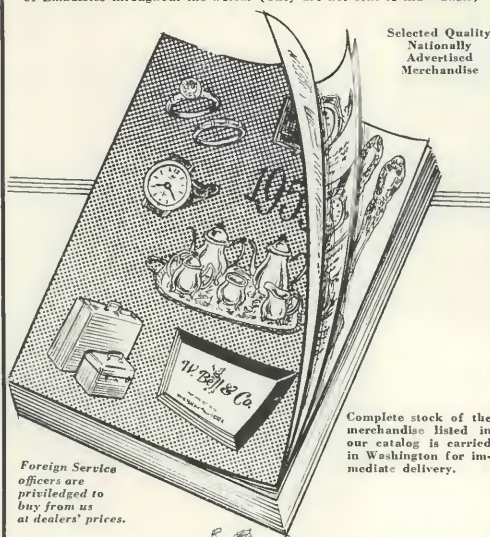
III. OTHER AREAS

Europe—Eastern

- ARMSTRONG, JOHN A. **The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite**; a case study of the Ukrainian apparatus. (Praeger publications in Russian history and world communism, no. 76). Praeger, New York. 174pp. \$6.00
- BASS, ROBERT, and ELIZABETH MARBURY. **The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy, 1948-1958**; a documentary record. Prospect Books, New York. 225pp. \$3.95
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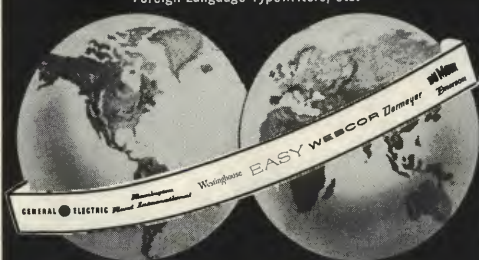
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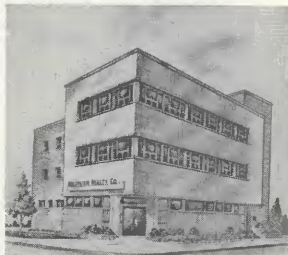
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"Boy, you're killing me," quoth the Chief one day. "Doesn't anybody else make decisions around here?"

Following this advice, the Staff Assistant screened even more stringently the documents addressed to his Chief, and one day sent to the files a paper which seemed to him to be of only remote significance. As a consequence he was summoned to the PRESENCE and assailed thusly:

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Views on Current Foreign Service Legislation

At the request of Loy W. Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, the American Foreign Service Association undertook a study of the legislation proposed by the Department, and on the basis of this earlier study responded to Senator Mansfield's request of July 29, 1959, as shown in the following correspondence:

July 29, 1959

Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite
President, American Foreign Service Asso.

Dear Mr. Satterthwaite:

I regret that a representative of the Foreign Service Association did not present the views of the Association on the several bills affecting the Foreign Service of the United States which are pending before the Committee on Foreign Relations. In order to make sure that this is not the result of inadvertence, I invite your comments on such bills, particularly if the Association has a different view from that of the Department of State. For your convenience I enclose a copy of the page proofs of the record of hearings containing all the pertinent papers.

MIKE MANSFIELD

Enc.: Copy of hearings held July 5 and 16, 1959.

P.S. It is possible the Committee may act on this measure within the next ten days.

M.M.

August 11, 1959

Dear Senator Mansfield:

Your letter of July 29, inviting the comments of the American Foreign Service Association on revised bills affecting the Foreign Service, is deeply appreciated. We strongly support the objectives of these bills and hope that favorable action can be taken during the current session.

We support S.1502 to adjust annuities under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system to reflect cost-of-living and salary increases. If it should not be possible to reflect the salary increase aspect, however, we urge immediate enactment of a measure which would bring annuities up to a level in harmony with increased costs of living, and an adjustment in the annuities granted needy widows under the provisions of Public Law 503.

During the period the Department has devoted to developing the Foreign Service Act amendments proposed in the bills S.443 and S.2233, several members of the Board of the Foreign Service Association have had an opportunity to participate in developing various features of the amendments, in connection with their official duties in the Department. While the Board believes that many of the proposed amend-

ments provide for needed improvements in the personnel system for the administration of the Foreign Service, there are several features, in addition to S.1502 itself, which it wishes particularly to endorse.

We believe that those features of the bills which will strengthen the Staff corps are of great importance. Among such amendments are: a new ten-class salary structure which would significantly improve the Foreign Service Staff corps salary schedule; provision for appointing Staff corps personnel at in-class salary step rates when their prior experience warrants such appointment; provision for a longevity pay system for Staff personnel; and the inclusion of certain Staff personnel in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system.

In the opinion of the Board, improvements in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system which would affect all participants, are urgently needed in order to up-date the system and to equate it with other Federal retirement systems.

A provision that would give the Secretary clear-cut authority to grant in-class increases as rewards for meritorious service to all categories of Foreign Service personnel is considered by the Board to be important as a worthwhile incentive throughout the Service.

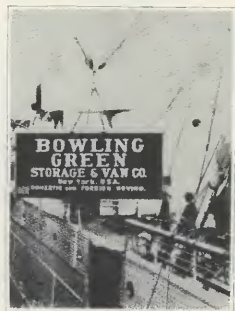
The Board also gives its wholehearted support to the proposed section which provides that officers and employees retired under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system and who have been re-employed in appointed positions in the Federal Government Service on a full time, part time, or consultant basis, will be permitted to receive full salary of the position to which appointed and in addition will receive such portion of their annuities as will make their total pay (i.e., the salary of the position to which appointed plus retirement pay) equal, during any calendar year, to the salary which the officer or employee was receiving at the time of his retirement from the Service. This provision would make it possible for a person who has retired from the Foreign Service to obtain employment in the Federal Government either full time or part time without the loss of his entire retirement annuity. Many cases arise in which the Government would like to have the services, particularly on a part-time or consultant basis, of retired members of the Foreign Service, but the acceptance of such employment would mean the sacrifice of their retirement and hence the Government may forego using their services rather than ask them to give up their annuities.

The Board has been advised that during the hearings it was suggested that the Secretary be authorized to provide a quarters allowance for Foreign Service personnel assigned to the United States in lieu of salary differential now provided on a limited basis for such personnel assigned to posi-

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F.S. LEGISLATION

tions above their personal rank. We have considered this proposal most carefully and earnestly recommend its enactment. It would offset to a significant degree the financial burdens which Foreign Service personnel, as distinct from persons regularly domiciled in the United States, bear as a result of domestic assignments which, in the public interest, must be made between periods of assignment abroad.

This is a matter of considerable importance. At present an assignment in Washington involves considerable financial strain for many officers, and the present transfer allowances do not begin to cover the most obvious costs such as re-equipping the family with new clothing. For junior and medium grade officers who have been provided with Government housing overseas, the problem is particularly acute, and yet officers in these grades are those who benefit from Department service. Many officers find it so difficult financially in Washington that they do not look forward to home assignments and the essential training they should have. The Foreign Service officer who must expect assignments in Washington should not be considered as being in the same position as the resident civil servant who is able to establish a permanent home and base his expenditures on that fact. Every time the Foreign Service family is uprooted and moved extraordinary expenses are involved for which there is no compensation, such as insurance for effects and additional or new furniture and appliances. A housing allowance would remedy in part the present situation, facilitate the assignment of officers to Washington at earlier stages and thus contribute to the efficiency of the Service.

The Board of Directors and I hope that these comments may be of interest and assistance to you in your efforts to improve the Foreign Service of the United States. We are deeply grateful for the opportunity to present the views of the American Foreign Service Association.

JOSEPH C. SATTERTHWAITE, President

RETIRED FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL who would like to continue to read of assignments, transfers and other personnel items may subscribe to the **FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS LETTER** by addressing a request to the office of the Director General, Dept. of State, Washington 25, D. C.

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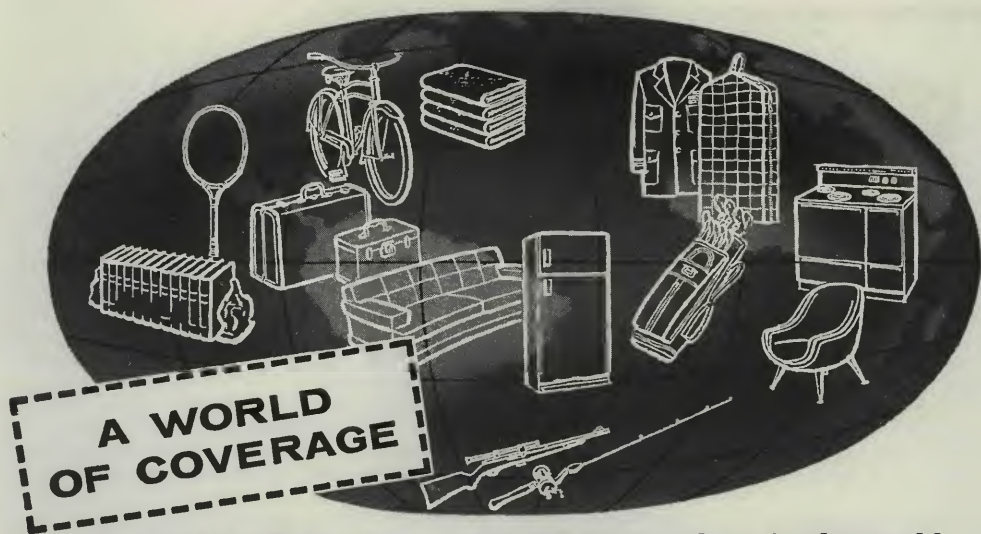
CHAIRMAN of the AFSA luncheon committee Norman Schute has announced that the Foreign Service luncheons for 1959-1960 will be held again at the Shoreham Hotel in the Blue Room at 12:30 p.m. Speakers, he reports, will be from varied fields, including journalism. and the schedule tentatively is set for:

October 24	March 24
November 24	April 28
January 28	May 26
February 25	June 23

Members of the Association will, of course, receive notices in advance of each luncheon. Robert Murphy, Under Secretary, was guest speaker for the opening luncheon of the season, on September 24, 1959.

CHRISTMAS, 1959

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The Rostow Doctrine

IN this week's and last week's issue, *THE ECONOMIST* has devoted sixteen pages to a summary of Professor Walt Whitman Rostow's recent Cambridge lectures on growth. They seem to us to represent one of the most stimulating contributions made to economic and political thought since the war. . . .

The essence of Professor Rostow's argument is that it is broadly possible to tabulate every country as being within one of five stages of growth. First, there are the traditional societies, in which the inaccessibility of modern science puts a ceiling on productivity; one need not waste much time talking about these because in the modern world there will very soon be no entirely traditional societies left. Secondly, there are the transitional societies, which are created once a country is rich enough to devote more than about five or ten per cent of its national income to investment and once a new leading elite has emerged which has the urge and scope to begin building a modern industrial society. The interesting feature of Professor Rostow's analysis here is how often, all through history, in Europe as well as in Africa and Asia, xenophobic nationalism rather than the pure profit motive has created that urge and that elite. Thirdly, there is the stage of the "take-off," a brief period concentrated usually within a few decades, when the economy and the society start to transform themselves so that economic growth becomes more or less automatic. Countries like Argentina, Turkey, and—most important—India and China are in the stage of take-off now.

It is the fourth stage which has hitherto proved most momentous for mankind. About sixty years after its take-off begins, a country has generally reached what Professor Rostow calls the dangerous stage of maturity. As each country comes up to it, as the imperatives of diffusing the new technology lose their obsessive control over men's minds, a three-way dilemma emerges in the maturing country's policy. Should it go straight on to the fifth stage of high mass consumption? Should it take out some of the new benefits by developing a welfare state society and by working less hard? Or should it use its new resources to pursue external power and influence, if necessary by aggressive war?

It may seem a bit absurd to draw up a neat timetable for such changes in national psychology, or for these sparks of militarism which have intermittently ignited the world; but, empirically, the case for about a sixty-year interval between take-off and maturity has in the past been reasonably good. For Britain, it ran from the 1780s to (say) the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851; for the United States from 1840-1900; for Germany, from 1850-1914; for Japan from 1880 to (say) Pearl Harbor; for Russia from 1890 to (say) its

first nuclear explosion in 1949. Perhaps the explanation for some such sixty year interval lies in the powerful arithmetic of compound interest applied to the capital stock of early industrial revolution, or perhaps in the broader consequences of three generations living under a regime accustomed to triumphant growth.

Such, in the very broadest outline, is the Rostow thesis. There is no need to swallow it whole, to say that the time intervals between stages in the past will always be exactly the same in the future, in order to use it as a framework for analysis. Two massive current problems are particularly interesting to discuss within it. The first concerns the great empire which has now reached its dangerous age. Russia has, on the Rostow thesis, come to technological maturity just about when past experience suggested that it might, given the timing of its take-off—communism has not noticeably either hastened or retarded the process. And the Russian government is now caught up in the three-way choice: High mass consumption? World power? Or an advance in their case not to the welfare state but to human dignity and freedom?

OBVIOUSLY, the task of the West, on this reading, is twofold. On the one hand, it must try to make the choice of attempted world domination so unattractive to the Russians as to be unattainable; it must maintain and reinforce a network of alliances which denies the Russians all the routes to a military breakthrough by piecemeal adventures with which they still toy. On the other hand, and here current summit-climbing comes in, the West must strive to make the choice of a high consumption economy (and, if possible, of a freer society) as easy, as natural and as face-saving for Mr. Khrushchev as it can.

This is not a simple task; it is rather like trying to psychoanalyse a rogue elephant out of its neurosis. . . . On the plane of national sentiment, Russia is a big country to have come to material maturity so late, but it knows that other big countries are coming up to maturity shortly behind it, while other groups of countries (such as those in western Europe or in the Arab world) are gradually coalescing towards single states. As with the leaders of Germany and Japan in the last generation, therefore, the leaders of Russia may feel dimly and resentfully aware that the only rational alternative to bidding for world domination will eventually be to accept a status as one middling nation-state among a good many. On the plane of individual sentiments, too, these brashly confident and nationalistic Russian leaders are almost a caricature of the leaders of other countries when they reached the prickly stage of technological maturity. . . .

To restrain and then cajole this powerful Russian colossus into the paths of peace is the first task of intelligent western statesmen in this generation. The second task is to cope

Reprinted from the (London) Economist, August 22, 1959.

equally imaginatively and sensibly with the other colossi that will be following close after. In the second half of our century, if the Rostow pattern holds good, China, India, and perhaps Araby and Indonesia are likely to come up towards the age of maturity. Once again, one need not quarrel about exactly when they are most likely to reach the most awkward age, in order to recognize that a period of acute danger could lie ahead as they approach it. Western strategy towards these countries should aim at making the dissipation of the nationalist impulse in eventual external aggression as unattractive and difficult as possible, but to make it as easy as possible for the Nassers and Soekarnos to build their domestic politics on the smoothest modernization of their economies and the reform of their societies. Even in this early formative stage the more they feel that they can concentrate on five-year plans—and the less, therefore, they feel the urge to concentrate on softening up their Israels, Kashmirs, West Irians and Formosas—so very much the better the prospect for our children.

A wise policy of this sort would require a great deal from the West. In the first place, it would require a lot of money; the capital needs for a program that would contain the developing countries by enriching them are far more than the United States can (or at any rate will) provide on its own. At the right time, perhaps just after the next change in American administration, European countries would be well advised to take the initiative in suggesting a joint effort. Secondly, such a program would require the establishment of a continuing joint organization for applying the aid funds, *à la Marshall Plan*; it the drive to Asian (and later African) maturity is this time to be a co-operative thrust, instead of a drive against others in the way, it is important that the leaders of these emerging countries should early acquire the habit of getting mixed up co-operatively with older countries' leaders on technical and economic committees, which should lie at the center of their policies. Thirdly, the program would require masses of tact; all these countries are in different stages of the advance to maturity—some in an early stage of transition, some in a late one, some at an early stage of take-off, some at a late one—and for each stage the character of capital aid, its scale and the West's time horizon in working with the country will vary. Fifthly, the program would require a definite decision now that a liberal import policy will be applied to these countries' manufactured goods as and when they become available; historically a search for markets has been a much more potent factor than the search for capital in tying the commercial to the military classes in newly mature societies. Finally, the analysis obviously has important implications for when a colony should be freed. . . .

All this may seem a sweeping set of policy conclusions to derive from a single series of articles. But they are, after all, policies which many people would advocate—indeed are advocating—without any reference to Professor Rostow's argument. Even the most ardent enthusiast for his articles would claim no more than that they set down some familiar truths in a new and interestingly formalistic dress; those who are irritated rather than tickled by the way in which he may seem to claim to have invented a diabolical law of perpetual historical motion, and embodied it in a steamroller, can take comfort from the fact that his whole point is that this steamroller's eccentricities are possible to avert. The extent to which we succeed in averting them will determine the future of our age.

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American Guides in Moscow

ONE OF THE more interesting features of the American Exhibition in Moscow this summer was its complement of some eighty Russian-speaking guides. Although unadvertised as an attraction, these young men and women were a major asset of the management in its program of portraying the American scene to the Soviet public. Their competence, tact and patience were as admirable as was their skill in giving information on a wide range of topics involving life in the United States.

The guides were selected by a process of competitive examination which started with over six hundred applicants. Out of this number the two hundred most likely candidates were chosen for interviews by panels set up in San Francisco, Washington, and Chicago. Each applicant was tested by these bodies for his ability to handle spoken Russian, his understanding of the United States, and his knowledge of the Soviet Union. Ultimately, seventy-five were selected for the Exhibition, with their number being supplemented by a few others, such as three Americans studying on the exchange program in Leningrad.

In age the guides ranged from twenty to thirty-five, with the average in their mid-twenties. Most were graduate students. Twenty-seven were girls. Geographically, twenty-five states were represented, although East and West Coast schools tended to predominate. Since the great majority of those chosen had neither done public relations work nor had previously been in the USSR, a training program was set up and operated by Wallace Littel, Paul Conroy, Charles Vetter and Catherine de Bary of USIA with assistance from Alexander Logofet of the Department of State. The instruction given, much of which took place on the boat going over, was intense and provoking, with emphasis on the "meet the critic" sessions familiar to those who have studied at FSI.

The guides' knowledge and training, both in the language and sub-



Crowds waiting to get into the American National Exhibition in Moscow, July 25-September 4, 1959.



American guides standing in front of the Kaiser Aluminum geodesic dome on arrival at the American Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow. There were 27 women and 48 men to brief Soviet visitors on the exhibits.

stantive fields, were put to the test as soon as the Exhibition opened. Soviet citizens had probably never before encountered such a large number of Americans who could discuss things with them in their own language, and this fact alone made the guides a major target of audience curiosity. This was particularly true of the four Negro members of the group. A single individual would sometimes gather as many as a hundred visitors eager to listen and exchange views. Questions ranged over a wide scale, from topics of current political interest to requests for detailed information on technical

subjects. Sometimes queries were so complicated that a minor research effort was required to provide accurate data.

Those of us in the Foreign Service can look with considerable satisfaction on the assistance given us this past summer in representing the United States in one of the world's most important nations. Some of these young people, having had a taste of duty overseas, have found it to their liking and are planning to make the Foreign Service their career. It is to be hoped that many more will choose the same road. They would be most welcome as colleagues.

The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

The text of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 is printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE of September 1, 1959, starting on page 16109.

Mr. Tom Murray, Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, made the opening statement when the bill was being considered by the House of Representatives. Following are some extracts from that statement:

"The period between date of enactment and the effective date—next July 1—will be needed for the Civil Service Commission to work out the necessary regulations and the contracts with the various carriers. . . . In general this legislation provides for the establishment of a health benefits program for Federal employees which will include both basic hospitalization and medical services and extended or 'catastrophic illness' coverage. The minimum bi-weekly contributions by the Government will be \$3 for an employee and family and \$1.25 for an individual employee, except that if 50 percent of the subscription charge is less than such minimum the Government will pay the 50 percent. The bill fixes the maximum biweekly Government contribution at \$4.25 for an employee and family and \$1.75 for an individual employee. Each employee will pay the difference between the Government contribution and the total subscription charge. This will permit employees to obtain coverage best suited to their individual needs. For example, an employee with only one dependent may obtain a plan, suited to his income, to which the Government contributes substantially one-half of the cost, while another employee with heavier responsibilities may obtain a plan with broader benefits to suit his needs by paying somewhat over 50 percent of the cost. . . . The choices of plans which the Federal employees may select are as follows: First. The service plan or the type of plan generally carried out by Blue Cross-Blue Shield organization; Second. The indemnity type plan provided by insurance companies; Third. Certain specific plans presently carried by Federal employee organizations; and Fourth. The group practice plan, among the best known being Group Health Association here in Washington and Group Health Insurance Plan in New York State."

The Board of Directors of the Protective Association is studying the new legislation and the effect that it may have on the hospital surgical insurance now included in our group insurance program. A circular will be sent to members as soon as sufficient information is available to enable the Directors to suggest a course of action that may help members decide what they wish to do about their health insurance.

Address applications and inquiries to:

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION
c/o Department of State, Washington 25, D.C., or
1908 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 correct name. All letters are subject to condensation. The opinions of the writers are not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, or of the Foreign Service as a whole.

"For Sheer Heat . . ."

RE: "Preference in Posts" by G. Etzel Pearcy in the July issue of the JOURNAL.

I greatly enjoyed reading Mr. Pearcy's article but was amused at the sentences: "For sheer heat Baghdad and Basra in Iraq hold the records for the most intolerable summer. July mercury readings are 94.4 degrees and 92.9 degrees respectively for these posts." The average maximum temperatures here (based on U. S. Weather Bureau records) from 1914 through 1957 were as follows:

March	91.1	July	113.7
April	98.6	Aug.	112.5
May	104.9	Sept.	110.2
June	112.4	Oct.	101.4

Although Seville's 124 degrees have not been equalled, 118 and 119 are not uncommon. The average yearly maximum for the years 1914-1957 was 115.2 degrees. Annual rainfall rarely exceeds one inch.

The Honorable Rolland Welch visited this post on July 2 of this year and closed several well-chosen remarks concerning the heat with: "Why, if the sun didn't come up for three weeks it would still be too hot to go outdoors."

JAMES W. BOYD
American Consul

Mexicali

"Parrainage"

IN 1949 in Brussels a young American Army Colonel, Edward F. Squadrille, then head of the DP Camp at Kufstein in the Austrian Tyrol, gave a lecture on the problem of the displaced persons who, because of sickness, age, unemployability, or for other reasons, are not eligible as immigrants to the United States and other countries. These people, classified by the UN as the residue or "Hard Core," faced the prospect of living out their remaining years on the dole, housed in barracks, aliens without a country. Too often, the result was immorality, depression, and not infrequently suicide. The young colonel's words did not fall on deaf

ears in the case of Pere Pire, more recently the Belgian winner of the Nobel Prize in 1958, and today there are 1600 sponsorships by "Godfathers" and "Godmothers," four homes for aged refugees, and five European Villages. A sixth village, Anne Frank Village, is to open soon in Dusseldorf, Germany.

There are no big foundations and no big "angels" behind the project Aid to Displaced Persons and its European Villages. The idea that "man does not live by bread alone" is the essence of *parrainage*. There are 250,000 of the residue in Europe—people who are aged or who are blind, ill, or who have lost limbs and who are, therefore, without economic value to countries interested in immigrants. Sponsorship is a link of human life between an aged person, an invalid or an elderly household and yourself. For him or for them it means the joy of being loved, of waiting for a letter, of being able to count on someone again and of mattering to that person. If you are interested in participating in *parrainage*, send a postcard to Aid to Displaced Persons, 35 rue du Marché, Huy (Belgium).

ELBERT R. SISSON

Washington

FOREIGN SERVICE TYPES

by Howard R. Simpson



"Personnel Officer"

"Living in State"

BEATRICE Russell's accounts of "Living in State" which have already been quoted in the JOURNAL should be "must" reading for starry-eyed wives bound for the Near East. Undeniably, she possesses and very successfully transmits, a wonderful sense of humor, but more important, a resiliency which permits retention of that sense of humor through protracted illnesses on her and her husband's part, concern over slow promotions, training of servants, budgetary problems and language difficulties. It is true that the book will not serve a useful purpose to the fortunate who have been assigned to posts where no problems of servants, mildew, civil strife, etc., exist. Nevertheless, Mrs. Russell's proclamation that "A man hack in Washington in charge of assignments picks up a dart with your name on it and throws it at the over-sized map on his office wall," should remind all young FSO wives that future posts in Ethiopia, Tunis and Beirut are always a possibility, albeit an ill-advised aim.

This is a book which will delight Foreign Service personnel, particularly those who have served in the countries about which Mrs. Russell writes. They will have a distinct advantage over others reading the book, inasmuch as they will be able to identify the people Mrs. Russell alludes to as the Ambassador, the First Secretary, the Third Secretary, etc.

EVA A. MCKAY

Washington

"Continues to Improve"

♦♦♦ **I** find that the longer I'm with the Service the more I enjoy the JOURNAL, and agree with others of your readers that it continues to improve all the time.

MARGARITE H. TANCK

Seoul



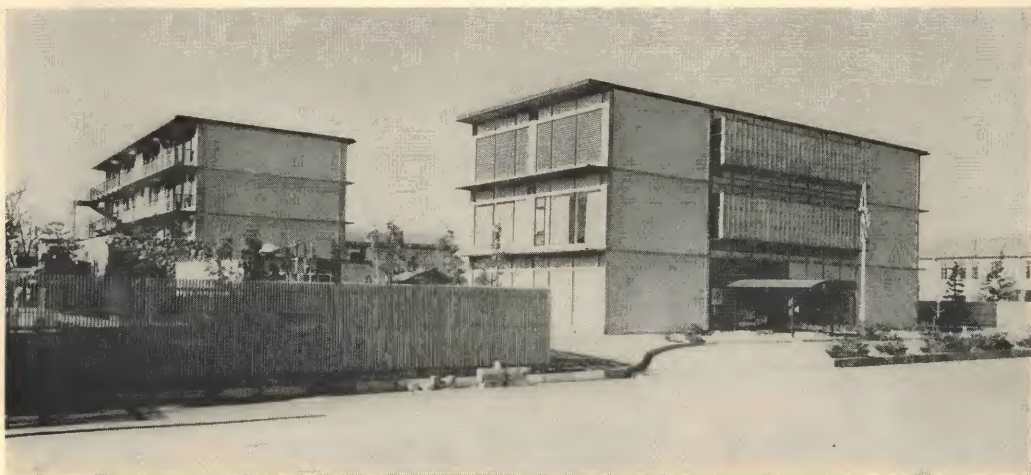
Nagoya

PICTURED at the left is the principal entrance of the new Consulate at Nagoya, and below, the Consulate and staff housing units.

Designed by Cochran, Stephenson and Wing of Baltimore and built by Obayashi Gumii, of Tokyo, the project was completed late in 1958 and formally occupied on December 12.

The ground floor of the Consulate contains the reception rooms and consular and administrative offices. The principal officer's suite, a conference room, the economic section and USIS are located on the second floor. The Nagoya building code specifies structures of three stories for this particular area and thus the utilities have been placed on the third floor, and no basement excavated. There are eight staff apartments in the residential buildings, two with one bedroom, four with two, and two with three bedrooms.

The Mainichi Shimbun of Nagoya noted that "the light blue buildings are well-balanced in beauty with the stone fence of the Nagoya castle," ruins of which are still evident on the periphery of the property and are a designated national monument of Japan. The entire area has been landscaped in the attractive Japanese manner.



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