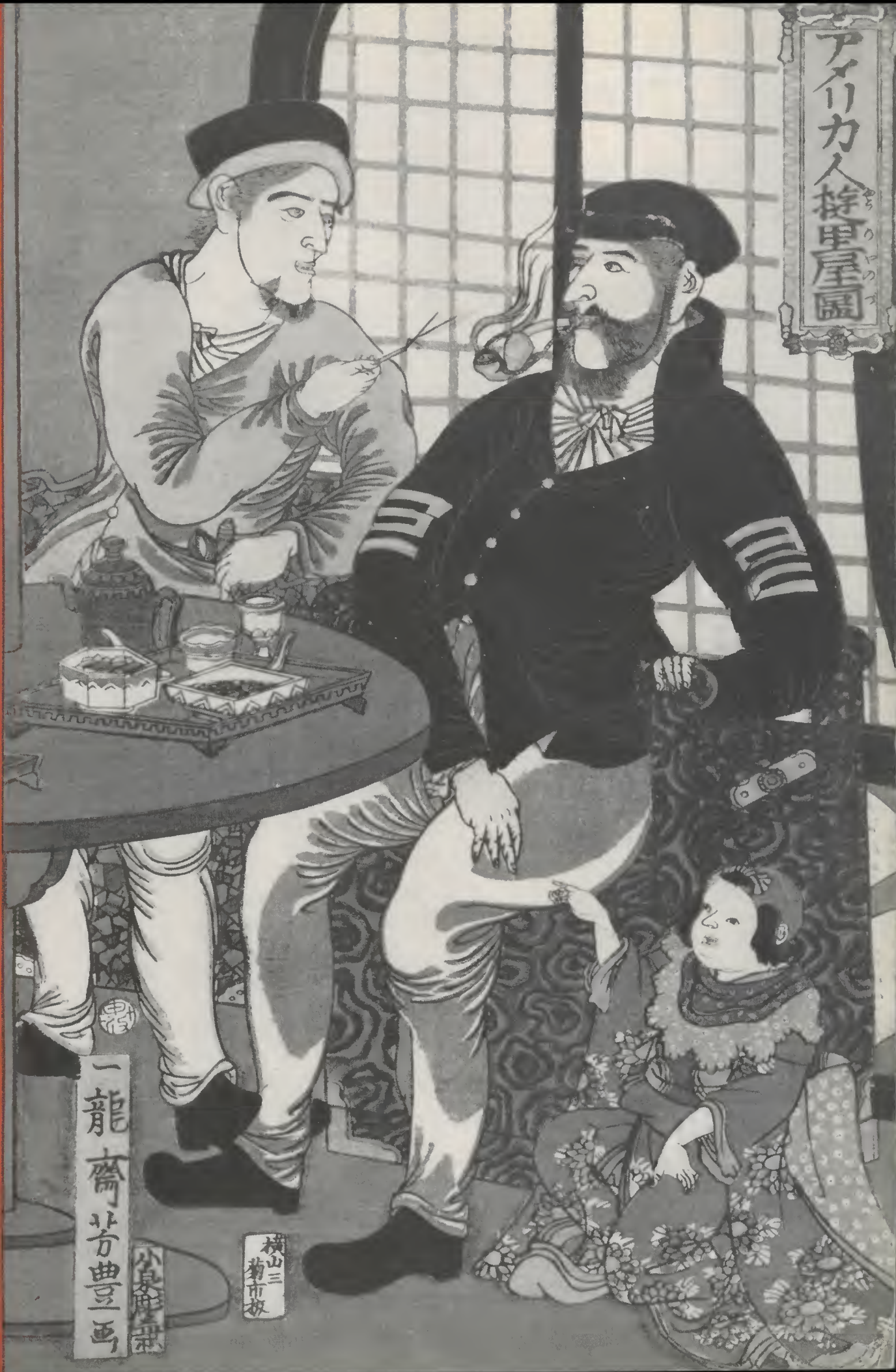


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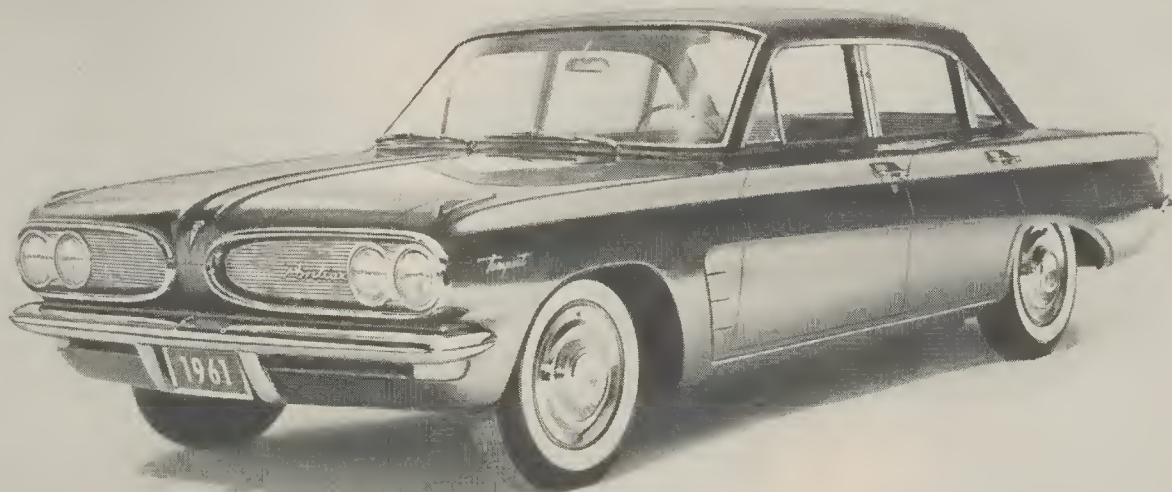
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 SWEFLEY, R. Stanley

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BABCOCK, William A.
 MILLER, Kenneth W.
 PAZOUREK, John
 SPENCER, Guy F.

To FSS-3

HOLBROOK, Brigham G.
 MORI, Ichiro

To FSS-4

ADAMS, James
 LANSFORD, Willis D.

To FSS-5

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 FRITZ, Hanlin

To FSS-7

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 KROPF, Janice B.
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To FSS-8

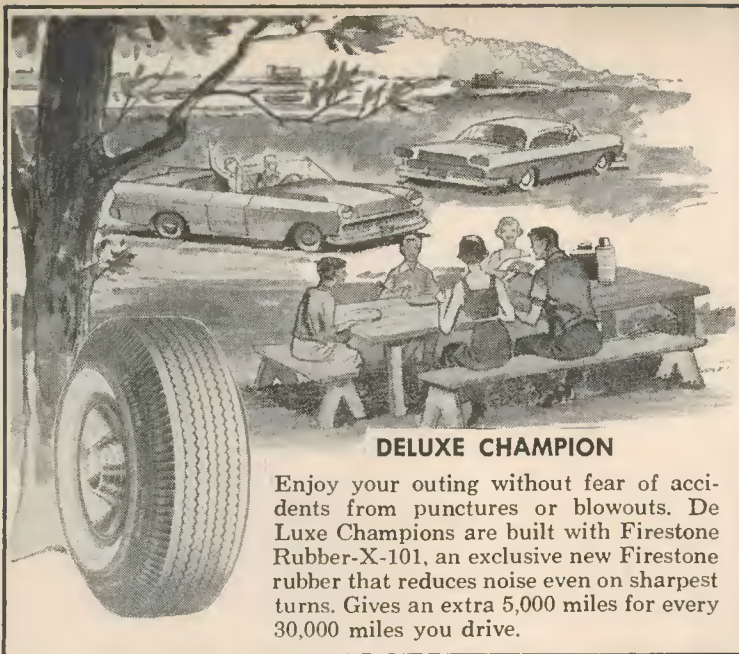
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 HOFFMAN, Charles O.
 JOHNSON, William E.
 PETERS, Edward L.
 SAMOSKA, Pauline S.

To FSS-9

DOUGLAS, Stanley C.

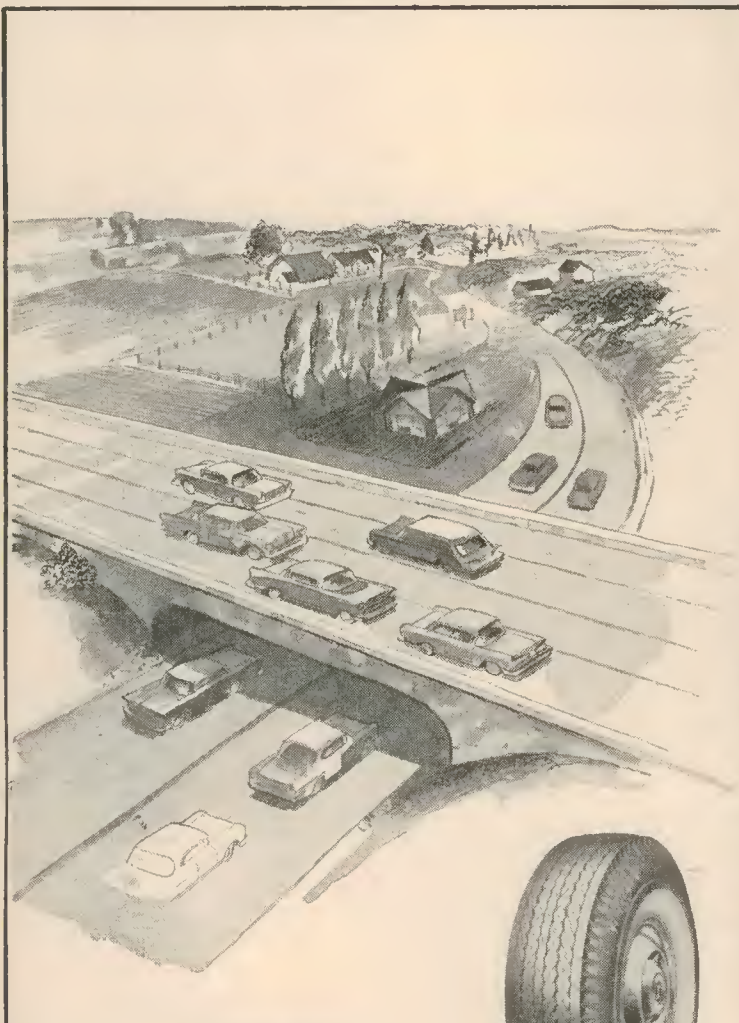
To FSS-10

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BIRTHS

DAVIES. A son, Stephen Arthur, born to Mr. and Mrs. R. T. Davies, April 18, in Washington. Mr. Davies, a member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board for the past two and one half years, will leave this month for his new assignment at Moscow.

FALZONE. A daughter, Sandra Beth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Michael A. Falzone, March 10, in Washington.

KILLHAM. A daughter, Nina Cecilia, born to Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Killham, March 1, in Washington.

MASON. A daughter, Leslie Scarlett, born to Mr. and Mrs. Francis S. Mason, Jr., March 31, in London.

MOORE. A son, Thomas Harald, born to Mr. and Mrs. John Moore, March 21, at Oslo.

DEATHS

BAILEY. Waldo E. Bailey, FSO-retired, died in Jackson, Mississippi, April 24. Mr. Bailey had served at Montevideo, Nairobi, London, Ciudad Juarez, Mérida, Vancouver, Dhahran, Jidda, and Bombay. At the time of his retirement in 1951 he was Consul General at Madras.

DOUGLAS. Miss Helen Douglas died April 19, at the Ottawa General Hospital. Miss Douglas had been a F.S. local employee of the Embassy at Ottawa since 1925.

LUKENS. Mary Ann Richardson Lukens, wife of FSO Alan W. Lukens, their three children, six-year-old Elizabeth, five-year-old Edward, and two-year old Alan W., Jr., and Mr. Luken's mother, Mrs. Edward C. Lukens, were killed in the crash of a French airliner on May 10, in Eastern Sahara. They were en route to Europe where Mrs. Lukens was expecting to have her fourth child. Mr. Lukens had remained behind at Bangui, Central African Republic, where he is currently Chargé d'Affaires.

MCBRIDE. Harry A. McBride, FSO-retired and administrator of the National Gallery of Art, died April 12, at his home in Washington. Mr. McBride entered the Service in 1908 and served at Dresden, Bilbao, Barcelona, Zurich, Boma, London, Monrovia, Warsaw, Malaga, and in the Department with FBO and the Council of Personnel Administration. His son, FSO Robert H. McBride, was recently assigned as DCM at Madrid.

Harry A. McBride

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In many ways his was a unique career, from its beginning in 1908 at Dresden through three years at Boma, where his life-long interest in and contributions to the development of West Africa began, and eight years as businessman and honorary Vice Consul at Malaga. Finally he served as assistant to Secretary Stimson and then Secretary Hull. In 1939 he resigned to become administrator of the National Gallery of Art. As a colonel in the General Staff Corps in 1943, he accompanied Secretary Hull to Moscow. Later he was awarded the Legion of Merit for his distinguished war-time service.

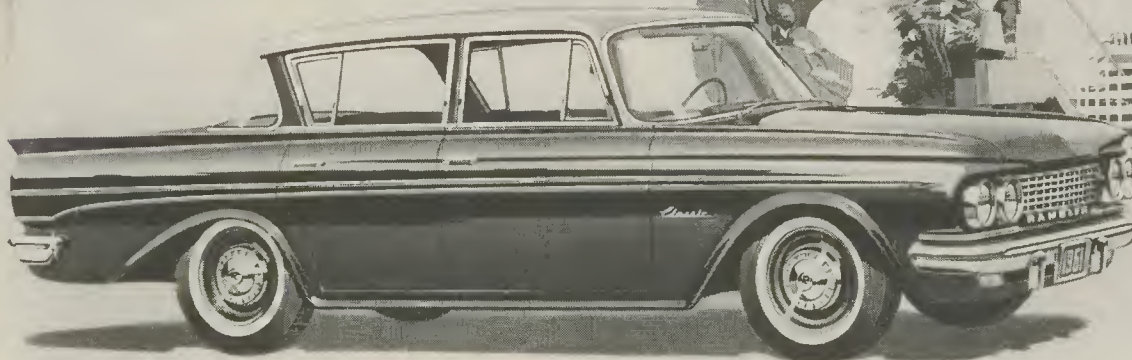
Harry was a loyal member of AFSA from its organization in 1924 until his death. He was business manager of the JOURNAL from 1933 until 1939 and served on the Board of Directors from 1954 to 1956.

Harry McBride's career was unique in a Service where unique careers are not uncommon. Long-lasting was his influence on the development of the Service and on his friends, for he was in reality a man "simple, modest, manly, true."

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by JAMES B. STEWART

JUNE 1936

The Little Bonapartes

AMEE TORRIANI tells about a visit to Corsica in the June 1936 JOURNAL: "... Ajaccio thrilled me. It was not so completely beautiful as Bonifacio, so dreamily unreal, but it was Napoleon's town. The pavements had echoed to the hurrying footsteps of the little Bonapartes as they sped home late for dinner and fearful of the wrath to come from Madame Leticia, their mother. Here Napoleon went to school, and was teased by the older children for his untidiness in a rhyme, which they made up:

*Napoleon Bonaparte just like a clown
With his stockings all hanging down.*

"Of course, I visited the Napoleon Museum and the Bonaparte house. I imagined him dreaming over his lessons, and rehuving his brothers when they teased him—'Be quiet, Joseph, Jerome, Louis, or I will not make you Kings.'

"The harbor of Ajaccio is to my thinking the most beautiful in the world . . . The houses look somehow secretive with their closed blinds and air of hiding away in narrow streets. But they are enlivened by the family wash in gay and riotous colors, fluttering from long bamboo poles which project across the streets. Brilliant table covers and bed spreads—Papa's red shirt and Sister Maria's green petticoat—brother's yellow breeches look like gaudy banners streaming in the wind. I longed for the ability to paint."

Briefs from 1936 Journal

► John Gunther's "Inside Europe" is reviewed by George Vernc Blue. The author starts his tourist-reader in Germany and terminates the tour in Russia.

1961 Comment: Just before "Inside Europe" was published, an elderly lady asked a clerk in a book shop: "Isn't it about time for some more of John Gunther's 'Insides' to come out?"

► A new committee for the ladies Foreign Service luncheons was announced: Mrs. Donald R. Heath, Chairman, Mrs. Keith Merrill, Mrs. Avra M. Warren, Mrs. John Carter Vincent, and Mrs. Theodore C. Achilles.

The members of the outgoing committee were: Mrs. Edward T. Wailes, Chairman, Mrs. Myrl S. Myers, Mrs. Howard Bucknell, Jr., Mrs. Donald R. Heath, Mrs. Ralph A. Boernstein.

► Consul General and Mrs. Nathaniel P. Davis arrived at Guayaquil on a tour of inspection. Reciprocating various festivities given in their honor, the Davises gave an alligator hunt and picnic up the Babahoyo River. A large arsenal was taken along but although several 'gators were seen there were no casualties. The 'gators were badly placed when the shots were fired. After all there was no room for them aboard the launch. F.L.R.

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25 Years Ago

By JAMES B. STEWART

► In May 1936 President Roosevelt expressed his admiration and his appreciation to Cornelius Engert, Minister Resident, Addis Ababa, and to Mrs. Engert, to Consul William M. Cramp and to Clerk Robert L. Hunter for their defense of the Legation during riots that followed the bombardment of the city.

► Our State Department is nothing if not progressive. In order to keep diplomatic and consular representatives abroad currently informed, the Department is establishing a globe-circling news service of its own. The news distributing system is composed of short-wave receiving stations located in foreign cities. Stations are now in operation in Paris, Berlin, Rome and Geneva. Short-wave receiving apparatus is on its way to about ten other cities.

Every day the Department will broadcast over the powerful naval radio station at Arlington a news bulletin of about 1,500 words. From receiving stations the bulletin will be relayed by mail to other legations and consulates.



McClintock-Barrios. Robert Mills McClintock and Miss Elena Barrios were married April 29, 1936. Mr. McClintock is Third Secretary at Santiago.

1961 Comment: Mr. McClintock and Miss Barrios became engaged in Santiago. She and her mother moved to Paris during the latter part of the engagement. Although the consular certificate indicates that legally the marriage took place in Santiago on April 29, 1936, actually it was by proxy. Miss Barrios' brother stood in for her.

Rob and Elenita met in Rio for their honeymoon two weeks after the official date of the marriage and, as the story book says, they have been living happily ever since. Rob is our Ambassador to Lebanon.

And More Recently:

As a nucleus for an American Diplomatic Hall of Fame, Thomas W. Bailey in the 1960 summer issue of the VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW, submitted the following names: Benjamin Franklin, Albert Gallatin, Charles Francis Adams, Townsend Harris, Anson Burlingame, Dwight W. Morrow.

With the "Hall of Fame" idea in mind, some thought was given to preparing a list of outstanding Foreign Service officers who have died during the past fifty years. However, it was soon discovered that no two persons had the same idea about such a list and it lengthened until it contained well over fifty names.

And so a list of outstanding deceased officers will have to wait.

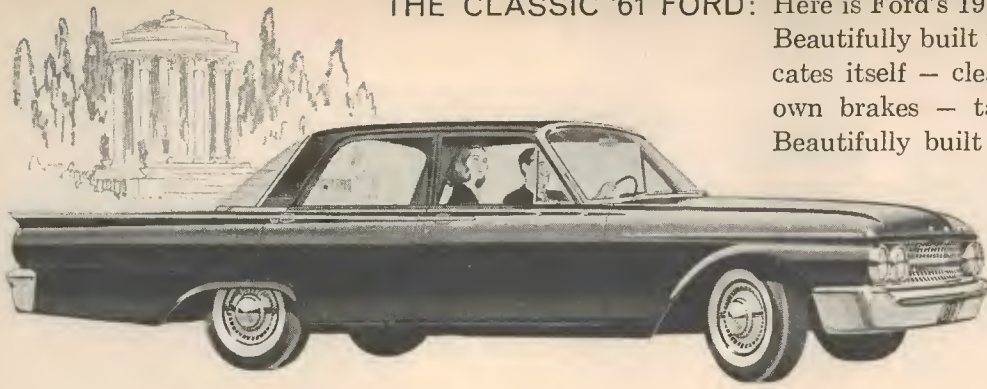
► After briefly describing some of the bills recently introduced on the Hill, a DENVER POST editorial continues: "... One of the most thought-provoking bills is by Representative Multer. It would provide that as soon as a Representative or a Senator was elected or reelected he would be sent with his wife for thirty days to two foreign countries. . . . Upon his return, each member would be required to make a report on the problems of the countries he visited."

The cost of this program, Multer says, would be only two-thirds of a cent a year for each American. The trips would be more leisurely than ordinary congressional junkets to permit more time for digging into conditions.

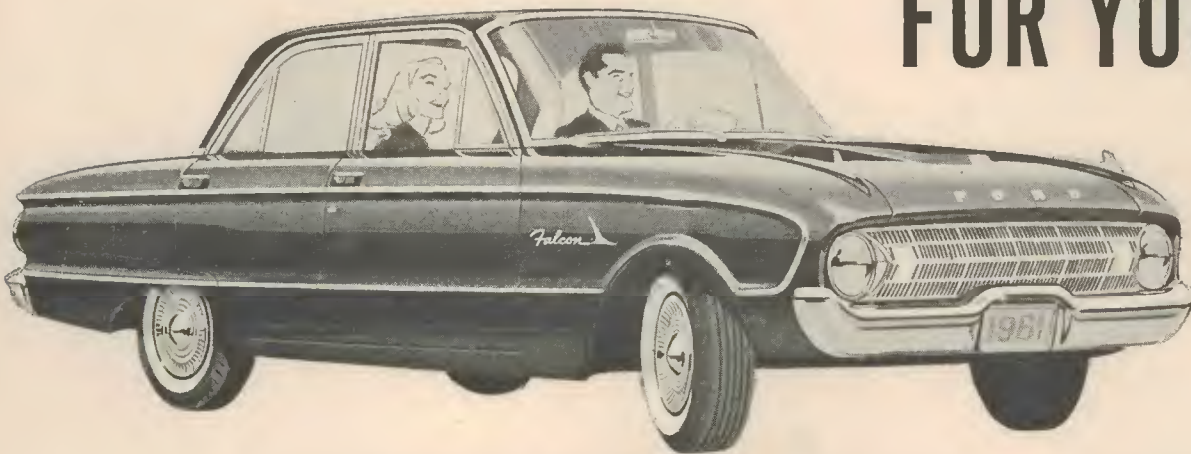
Out Our Way: A woman asked former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson: "How is Europe?"

"Fine, thank you. how are you?"

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FOREIGN SERVICE FABLES

Turn of the Screw

SEPARATION BY SELECTION OUT: "A Foreign Service Officer . . . shall be retired from the Service . . . if the officer has remained in the same class for ten years."

ONCE UPON A TIME there were three FSO's-4. Their names were Jukes, Kallikak, and Adams. They all had one thing in common. They were near the bottom of their class. Selection Boards for nine years had failed to perceive their uncommon ability.

Tom Jukes, from an old New England family, Harvard '38, had been an FSO-4 for nine long years. He liked people. As chief of the two-man political section in Neeropolis in '54 he had believed everything the local ruler told him and negotiated a big military assistance loan—two weeks before the revolution. Then too, he had been at Yalta as a very junior officer. And in China. And in Cuba.

Ed Kallikak was from an old Texas family. Papa was a sharecropper. Ed graduated from Spearfish Tech cum laude in '40 and joined the Foreign Service. Ed was a commercial specialist. When his government was encouraging all and sundry allies to increase their exports to the US, he was a protectionist. Twelve years later he had been converted to a free trader—just when the US export drive was being pushed. Ed just zagged when he should have zigged, for nine years.

Young DeQuincy Adams had immigrated from Carpathia with his father, mother, and twelve sisters in 1913. In a typical American success story he worked his way through college, at left tackle. He joined the Foreign Service after seeing "Beau Geste," and by the time he found out, it was too late. Quincee early became a consular specialist. He liked the taste of fee stamps. He had been an FSO-4 since 1952.

One day Ed, Tom, and Quincee had lunch together at Rich's. They discovered the great tie that bound them. Their next Selection Board would be the last. Nobody remembers who had the idea. Maybe they found it in a blintz. That day they pooled their money. DeQuincy sold his fee stamp collection. Ed sold his model railroad collection and his father's forty acres—the mule was dead. Tom sold the diamond studded picture frame of the late dictator of Necropolis. They raised \$21,391.14. They drew straws and Ed drew long. In his wife's name he gave the common fund to the Republicrat candidate—as a campaign contribution. On November 7th the young vigorous Republicrat candidate was elected by a landslide.

Embassy Lisbon spent an active December and January. The residence was redone. The DCM's house was freshly painted. A new house was leased for the Political Counselor by FBO. Early in the afternoon of January 22nd the new Ambassador, his hand-picked DCM, and his chosen Political Counselor were met at the airport by the entire Embassy staff. The telegram was sent that evening: "Have assumed charge, Kallikak."

Moral: The turn of the screw does not eliminate screwballs.

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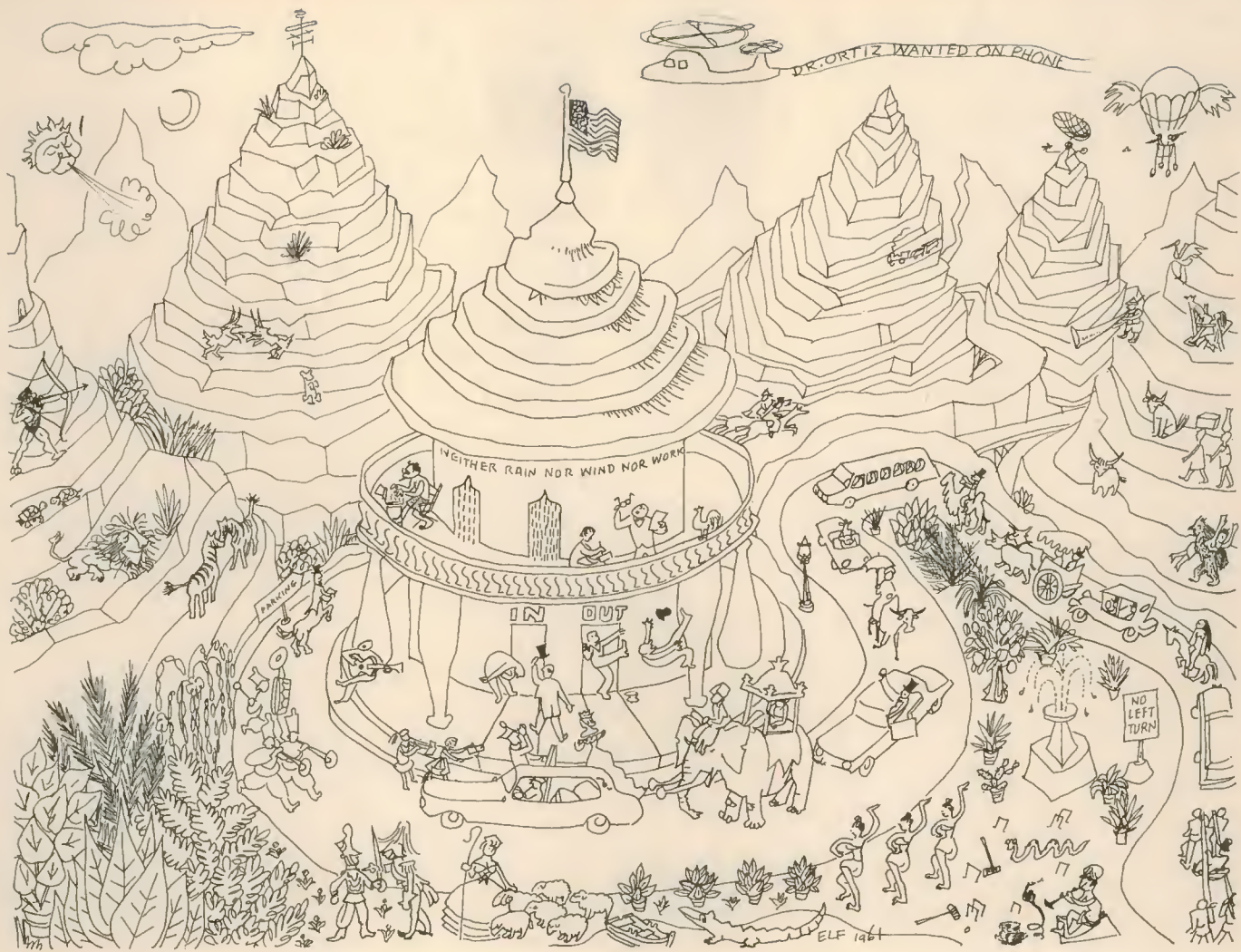
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THE SPARTAN FEW

by Leonidas

IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE, and perhaps in every career service, there is a lamentable tendency for officers to seek reputation-making jobs and to disregard work of less eye appeal to promotion panels. Like readers of the tabloids, our Selection Boards appear susceptible to drama and excitement. Shots in Havana, a coup in Baghdad, riots in the Congo sometimes work their greatest hardships on Foreign Service officers posted elsewhere. It makes one wonder if Milton Caniff writes the precepts for the annual selection ceremonies.

Fortunately, there are some Foreign Service officers who place a higher value on a job well done than on its promotional potential. In Western Europe there is a band of brothers who stand steadfast at their calm but all-important posts, while their self-centered, greedily ambitious colleagues flock to receive career rewards in Katanga, Khorramshahr and Chittagong.

They man the ramparts from the Tagus to the Thames,

from Rhone to Rhine, like modern legionaries on the eastern borders of the free world. Our national fate is in their hands as they stand perilous watch at Lisbon, Le Havre, London, Luxembourg, Lyon and Liechtenstein. Yet instead of automatic pay increases for particularly significant services, they receive small consideration for the discharge of their vitally important chores. Today, to our shame, an element of real self-sacrifice is involved in the decision to go to Seville instead of Senegal or to Venice over Vientiane.

These Western European specialists do not even share the benefits of membership in that mailed priesthood of Eastern European specialists who, through their private ceremonials, advance their own elect or defrock their weaker acolytes. Nor do they live, like their Eastern European colleagues, in an atmosphere of happy freedom from military, technical or economic aid missions, export expansion drives, air base agreements and the NATO Parliamentarians. It is a hard and thankless task to serve today in Paris, Rome, Monaco or Madrid.

Nor is it only in regard to career advancement that our officers in Western Europe must accept humiliation. What dreary difficulty at the hotel in Sorrento can compare in conversational intensity to that casual reference by the more fortunate traveler to ". . . that time in the Hindu Kush when the Afridis were closing in." What heart-burning lies beneath the inability to say nothing more exotic than ". . . as I was walking down Rue de la Paix." This is but tinsel compared to the gong-like tones of ". . . breakfast on the balcony at Luang Prabang . . . the view from our windows in Khorassan . . . the smell of Uttar Pradesh."

How trapped a Foreign Service officer must feel when he is condemned to serve within the narrow confines of Western Europe while others serve around the world. It takes real devotion to the Service for an officer to be assigned to Vienna, London, Stockholm in succession. No wonder that he chafes at his latest posting—Paris.

These men must leave to others in the Foreign Service the exhilarating jet flights to the Orient and the jeep caravans to Kandahar. How it must hurt them to see those lush prizes of the world-wise traveler slip from their grasps. Like Charon on his cursed ferry, they and their families ride back and forth upon the trite, tourist-ridden, trans-Atlantic cruisers every two years: New York-Le Havre, Cherbourg-New York, New York-Naples, Cannes-New York.

Officers in Western Europe also give up great cultural advantages. They will never become accomplished on the nose flute; nor will they star in Lederer and Burdick. Gustatory experiences such as sheeps' eyes and ghee will escape them. Sand and curry will have no larger meaning than an ordinary trip to St. Tropez.

They are the soldiers of our "tour of duty" policy, the buttresses of our defense against excessive transfers. They resist the blandishments of Dacca and Cebu to remain steadfast at their posts for years and years. Multiple tours at the same old stand do not dismay them. They realize that high policy considerations must be served. There are documented histories of officers who have remained the uncomplaining slaves of administrative dictates for seven years at Paris or five at Rome; and there is even the good soldier who has returned to Nice after home leave for a second tour.

This splendid band of dedicated men, these Spartan few, deserve our highest honors. Their selfless creed is blazoned on their tailored tweeds as they head for Munich, Amsterdam, Valencia and Florence—FOR THE GREATER GOOD OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SERVICE.

Let us pray that this year their self-sacrifice will not be overlooked by the Selection Boards.

ADAPT OR PERISH

by CLARKE SLADE

LAST OCTOBER the American Foreign Service Association sent me on an Educational Grand Tour to gain some insight into today's admission problems. By appointment I visited twenty-nine non-tax-supported colleges and universities and sixty-one boarding schools, largely in the Northeast. In addition I attended a meeting of twenty directors and assistant directors of admissions from ten more boys' schools who, because of their interest in Foreign Service children's education, had invited me to speak to them.

By day and by night I interviewed, in offices, at meals, in classrooms; in front of a prized new field house or next-to-mystifying new science equipment; and, once, on the run: the head of a girls' school took me on a rapid tow-line through a dormitory at five o'clock one afternoon, calling out ahead, floor by floor, the traditional warning to Virtue, "Man!"

I talked with admissions directors singly, to staffs in groups, and to admissions committees assembled; assorted deans and registrars; financial aid officers, directors of studies, and department heads; various and sundry headmasters and headmistresses; and all sorts and conditions of students. The colleges were the Big Three, the Little Three; the Heavenly Seven Sisters and the Ivy League; large, small; co-ed and not; urban, countryside; conventional or experimental; old and new. The boarding schools, too, were varied.

To say that the educational milieu now is different from what existed when JOURNAL readers scaled their own ivied

walls is to belabor the obvious. Yesterday schools and colleges were on a buyer's market. Can it really be as short a time as seven years ago when a headmistress rather shyly asked me if I could refer any Foreign Service girls to her school? Today it is a seller's market. Today the same school has an Admissions Office—complete with director, secretary, and test scores; it runs interference for the headmistress, who now sees only the more important, or more importunate, parents. One headmaster said wistfully, "It used to be less tormenting to hope for a student to fill a vacancy after Labor Day than it is now to manage a waiting list equitably after acceptances are mailed out." Or take the colleges: one which was hoping, in 1954, that I would remind Foreign Service families of its long and honorable existence now wishes boys with the less prepossessing College Board scores would stop inquiring—unless, I surmise, they are good backfield material.

As I drove from campus to campus, my clearest impression was this: the selection of college or boarding school and admission to it have developed into a definable process. Some places encourage the process superbly. Others don't. Further, not everyone in education likes this new process. With a bit of nostalgia, and with more than a bit of irritation, one headmaster was mourning the passing of the old days. Once upon a time, he said, he could pick up the telephone and a senior would be accepted at the only college the boy had ever thought of considering—his father's. But time cannot be rolled back. Education, they say, is here to stay. Adapt or perish.

How is the Foreign Service family to adapt at a spot halfway round the globe? Even Stateside parents and children

For the past three years Clarke Slade has been educational counselor for the American Foreign Service Association. AFSA's counseling service is free to its members and their children.

find themselves investing a substantial amount of time and effort in this new process of selection-and-admission. The Foreign Service family need not increase the amount, but it does need to distribute the amount differently from the way other families do. One thing is sure: the Foreign Service family's initiative must quicken a good deal earlier than in the old days if a child is to be able to compete fairly with an equally promising student who has never stepped foot outside these United States and whose education has had few, if any, dislocations. Possibly, too, in order to adapt successfully a family needs to know more about the factors which surround a college or school's consideration of a Foreign Service child's application.

Schools and colleges are certainly far from indifferent to Foreign Service children. Almost all the boarding schools and colleges which I visited or with which I carry on a fairly lively correspondence seem genuinely interested in admitting qualified Foreign Service children; but the longer-experienced admissions officers, the ones who bring to their jobs a mellow wisdom and who show as much real concern for the candidate as for the institution, will tell you that a fair appraisal of an applicant who has been educated abroad, either at a national school or at an American transplant, is not always easy and that it does have its problems. A candid admissions director at a painstaking and demanding college said, only half-jokingly, that the applications from overseas have a way of constantly hiding themselves at the bottom of his desk tray. It's the domestic ones which get processed first, he said. He added, "And it's not because we are disinterested in overseas applicants. In fact, quite the contrary. It's the sheer labor of rendering some foreign transcripts into something intelligible to a busy faculty member on the admissions committee. Or combining records of two or more years in two or more schools abroad with, say, one high school year in this country: these things take a greater expenditure of time than our office can comfortably snatch away from each morning's deluge of new inquiries and easier-to-evaluate applications. This is especially true during the period when our admissions men are out on the road speaking at high school College Nights and interviewing applicants."

In a women's college an experienced director of admissions seemed at low ebb about the whole task. One thread kept running through her conversation: the more "American" the kind of secondary education and the kind of educational record, the better for the applicant there. She could acknowledge that this is not always possible, or even educationally desirable, and that, on its face, it is not a policy which will always attract the Foreign Service girls whom the college would like to. However, on that particular day at least, she seemed readier to recommend to her admissions committee the Stateside girl with the more easily interpreted school record than to try to appraise the Foreign Service girl who may be equally well qualified but has a more complicated record. She said her admissions committee rotates annually and by the time the members are beginning to be oriented to overseas applications their assignment ends. "Are the other colleges," she asked, "finding that an application transmitted through the Association's educational counseling service is easier to interpret? What we want here is a record as easy to handle as a domestic one, so that our decisions can be made from an equal footing."

Maybe this is where AFSA needs to offer more schools and colleges and parents more help. New conditions require new ways and facilities. The practical problem which exists for the admissions officer is to get enough trustworthy information about the distant candidate so that a committee can make a discriminating judgment. One boarding school admissions man said, "I wish there were some way we could alert our men in the Foreign Service. They should begin their secondary school plans, particularly for a placement in one of our boarding schools, at least a year in advance . . . my regret continues that we are unable to reach many of these boys in time to extend the help we would like to." The feeling was general that when a Foreign Service officer is an Association member and can therefore use its educational counseling service, the admissions department and the candidate are equally served. Ways kept appearing in discussion by which, through working together, the candidate, the Association's counseling service, and the college or school's admissions officer can keep lost motion to a minimum.

The gist of what most admissions people were saying to me was put clearly by an old hand at the job: "Yes, we do want Foreign Service applicants, but we want the ones with a developed aptitude; and so we pay attention to noteworthy College Board scores.

"We do want Foreign Service applicants, but we want the ones whose school records show that they can and do perform, records that demonstrate a consistently superior use of their inborn aptitudes; and so we pay attention to their A's and B's, and to their ranking in the graduating class, and to our previous experience with able students who have been graduated from the same school.

"We do want Foreign Service candidates, but we want stable ones who can be expected to hang on when the competition gets tougher and the work-load heavier; and so we ask for opinions about the prevailing wind of a candidate's personal makeup.

"We have plenty of academically qualified applicants, and to spare. I'll venture that we could have a freshman class made up entirely of candidates above 700 on the College Boards and with all A's if we really wanted it. But we are looking for more than high ability and superior academic record and personal substance. We are looking for the plus-quality. We don't care especially what that plus-quality, that extra something, consists of. We aren't interested in building a one-type student body anyhow. What we're deliberately looking for is a competent student body with diversified interests and backgrounds, a group made up of excellent students whose common sharing of their college experience here will become the cohesive force which holds us together as a college. In selecting our freshman class we pay attention to a significant event in a candidate's life experience, if we think it represents the plus-quality we are seeking. That's why we're interested in the better-than-average pitcher or the class president or the student council member, and doubtless that's why our neighboring women's college is interested in the girl who was leading lady in her senior play. We like the paper boy who gets up before six o'clock on winter mornings, and our neighbor probably likes the girl who can keep up her turn as a volunteer hospital aide when the mercury hits 95°F. It's my experience that many Foreign Service candidates do have this plus-quality. The Foreign Service has to have increasingly better ways of making the facts known to us."

EDITORIAL PAGE

Policy Making and the Free Flow of Ideas

FOREIGN SERVICE officers may have noted the testimony given before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee on September 2, 1960, and recently released, by a former Ambassador who, though he had never served in the Department, described the formulation of United States foreign policy in these terms:

I made it a point while there [in the Department of State] to try to find out how this thing works, where do the policy papers come from, how is it developed, who makes policy, and this is a very difficult thing to find out. You can work there for years and not find that out. No one ever puts his name on a document. You never can pin anything down. . . I will get word one day there will be a policy paper discussion in room 427 at 3 o'clock. You come in there. There will be thirty people sitting around from many branches of the Government and they will hand you a mimeographed document as big as this, in sheets here. There are no names or anything on it. You don't know where it came from or who did it or anything else and you will sit down and the senior men will say, "Let's start, read page 1" and I have gone through this many times. . . . Nobody ever debated whether this policy paper itself had any justification or whether the thing they were driving at made sense.

That description of the policy-making process is far from our knowledge of the way things work in policy formulation. The Sub-Committee cannot be blamed for hearing or perhaps even for believing the testimony, for it does not normally deal with matters involving the functioning of the Department of State. We would suggest, however, that those who wish to set forth for public consideration views on the workings of the State Department might look into the rather well-informed description of how the policy formulation process does work, issued by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and entitled, "The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy" (Study No. 9, prepared by the Brookings Institution, dated January 13, 1960), and especially Annex C thereof which describes in terms of concrete examples the "flow" of policy-making in the Department.

The true fact is that, far from desiring to be anonymous, officers in the policy-making process are very proud and eager to have their names appear as drafting officers on documents destined to go to an Assistant Secretary and thence to the Under Secretary and the Secretary of State. There is intense competition to get ideas and recommendations placed before the top officials of the Department and, as the Foreign Relations Committee publication puts it, "among the recommendations to the Secretary, as among salmon battling their way upstream to the spawning grounds, mortality is heavy." But that is precisely because, in the policy-making process, the judgments of experts in several areas and fields must usually be considered before a given line of action can be suggested for adoption by the top level.

In the consideration of such documents, the clash of ideas

and interests is often violent, and that is as it should be. (Needless to say, the normal practice is to disseminate documents well before any meeting is called to discuss them.) What seems good or necessary to one desk or office or bureau may to another often seem very unwise. Both sides may be completely right from their point of view of the nation's interest and—this one should hardly need to emphasize—both sides have only the interests of the United States at heart.

Recommendations for a given line of action may well bear the name of a low-ranking subordinate as drafting officer when they reach the top level, but that does not mean that they have not been thoroughly debated, sometimes very heatedly and for days or weeks or months, before they were "cleared" on the intervening levels of the Department. At times, conflicting recommendations are placed before the Secretary for adjudication. In the process ideas are changed, improved, sometimes abandoned, but they are not destroyed or suppressed by arbitrary argument. To anyone who has labored over such papers and worked to assure their upward passage over the rapids, the story of anonymity and unanimity quoted above will come as a surprise.

If a drafting officer did desire to be anonymous, that would be because he had come to feel that it would be dangerous to give his best and most candid advice—because he feared that some day he might be held up to public obloquy in some committee for having recommended a policy that was based on prognostications which did not turn out as anticipated, or which with the wisdom of hindsight, proved in some other way to have been mistaken. Fruitful courses of action are often risky—there are few "sure things" in foreign affairs—but the risks entailed by their rejection may sometimes be even larger. If ever it actually becomes safer to recommend nothing, to sit at meetings and say nothing, or to do the "popular" thing or the thing that will not displease a powerful and vindictive or misinformed group or person, then the first line of defense of our country will be dangerously weakened.

Fortunately, Secretary Rusk has shown an awareness of this danger when he said, in his talk to the policy-making officers of the Department last February: "We do not want policy officers below the level of presidential appointees to concern themselves too much with problems of domestic politics in recommending foreign policy action. In the first place, our business is foreign policy, and it is the business of the presidential leadership and his appointees in the Department to consider the domestic political aspects of a problem. . . . What the American people will do turns in large degree on their leadership."

It is well to know that the top leadership is aware of that problem, that it encourages the free flow of ideas within the Department, and that it is prepared to take care of the domestic front while Foreign Service officers below the presidential appointee level give their best advice on the formulation of foreign policies to protect and advance the national interest of our country.

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Good-Bye, Fourth of July

THE SECRETARY'S recent message discouraging large-scale Fourth of July receptions is a necessary step to help stretch representation allowances to their utmost utility. All posts have been urged to reduce July 4th expenditures to those essential for diplomatic purposes, thereby to relieve representation allowances of an almost crippling burden.

It will not be possible to eliminate the customary diplomatic reception at posts where such a departure would put us too far out-of-step with the practice of other embassies at a post. The Secretary's message allows for this.

While the above measure constitutes an obvious step, it is not an easy one to take. Embassy Fourth of July receptions have become widely publicized

open-houses for the resident American community and for large numbers of tourists. It is hard to break tradition when it is related to a patriotic demonstration rooted in sentiment. But the Secretary's message reflects the realities of the mid-twentieth century. Americans abroad are no longer a lonely handful separated from home by oceanic dimensions of time and space. The Fourth of July problem for our embassies has developed because the very opposite now holds true: There are well over one-half million U.S. citizens, other than Government or military, residing abroad. At posts where the embassy's representation problem is most aggravated, these large groups of private American citizens can hardly be regarded as beleaguered and cheerless communities.

What started out as a small community celebration has now, at popular posts along the tourist route, become an annual inundation. The fact that tourist agencies advertise these parties as tour features for the millions of Americans who go abroad each year begins to be reminiscent of the commercialism that has crept into our holidays and greatly complicates the problem created by the American overseas population explosion.

No need to labor the point, however. Congratulations to the brave new team for a long-needed action. Let's hope that representation funds will thereby be put back to the work for which they were intended and that, for many FSO's abroad, the Fourth of July will be restored as a holiday.

New Frontier—South

by MAURICE JOYCE BRODERICK

NOT SO MANY years ago, our youth was admonished by Horace Greeley to go West. That was where the frontier was. That was where a man of courage and ability could make his mark and contribute to the building of this nation. Today we are still enjoying the legends and folktales that grew around our more intrepid characters who went West. But that frontier has disappeared, and with it the challenge to youth to overcome great odds and carve a place for itself in history. Now a new challenge presents itself to youth and to those who desire to add their bit to the nation's stature. The vast untapped resources, both human and material, of that great Continent of South America, linked to us by the umbilical cord of Central America, beckon the young and venturesome to open up this New Frontier in company with his brother "American" (for we are all Americans in a continental sense).

It will be argued that South America is already populated, already developed to some extent, and that it can take care of its own destiny. But let us take a closer look at its "development." We have a continent of heavily populated cities where misery and disease persist in spite of valiant efforts by local government and private institutions to alleviate these conditions, and by contrast we have also enormous areas without population or communications which could support not only present needy groups but in turn contribute by producing new wealth, towards the total development of these nations.

And what have we, the United States, as a government and as a people, done so far to assist our brother republics (I prefer the term "brother" republic—it is more typical of them—more "macho" or virile) to achieve a comparable

state of well-being, to which they justifiably feel entitled? We have merely scratched the surface: opened a mine here; loaned money for a road there; loaned money for a steel mill. We have assisted urban communities to construct water supply and disposal systems; trained a few doctors and even fewer nurses, and cooperated in reducing certain epidemic diseases; run model schools and taught demonstration classes in their schools. In short we have merely whetted their appetites for the real job that is yet to be done. And here of course is where our new Alliance for Progress will be called upon to do the real job from planning to ultimate balanced economic development.

Let me suggest here that a little development is a dangerous thing. Taking a relatively feudal community and giving it merely a teasing taste of civilization's products and comforts engenders a mass appetite for this world's goods. And yet this little development cannot hope to satisfy the people's needs and desires even in a lifetime. So the people are ready, and avid indeed, to listen to a demagogue, or more dangerous yet, to a Communist, who promises them the products of civilization in exchange for just a few of their democratic and civil rights.

The Latin American masses, though perhaps underprivileged, are not children politically speaking. They know what they want, and they realize that previous half-measures will not achieve their goal of a better life. But the blandishments of a Castro or a Communist (well disguised in his cloak of nationalism) to take over existing plants and property and "give" them to the people have a powerful appeal.

It is this appeal that we must try to counter. In this task both our technical assistance and economic aid programs under ICA have convinced some of our brother "Americans" of our sincere desire to help them achieve their goal of a

Maurice Broderick studied at Georgetown University and the University of Georgia. He worked for the U. S. Government in Latin America for eighteen years in the Board of Economic Warfare Dept. of State, and USA.

fuller life. Nevertheless the majority have remained unconvinced. Through the information and cultural programs of USIA we have also managed to convince other sectors of their populations of our sincerity in being good partners and latterly in our expanded program in this regard known as the Alliance for Progress. But what is needed is more person-to-person contact between our citizens and theirs on the working level.

Most Latin Americans, particularly of the middle and lower class groups, have been limited in their contacts with Americans to tourists, an occasional travelling student, or a business representative or manager of some American corporation doing business with their country. This admittedly is not a very true or reliable basis on which to judge us as a people. How many times have our diplomatic or private representatives abroad been told, upon getting to know a Latin American friend well, that he is not like the other Americans. In these days of widespread anti-Americanism, this is supposed to be a compliment to the individual, when actually it is not. It is, in truth, a rather sweeping insult to us as a people. But the remedy is not to argue the point since we are not dealing in impressions and stereotypes, but rather to find some means by which many of our Latin American friends can be brought into personal contact with an American, and with one who is really interested in them as people and friends rather than as merely potential customers, or quaint foreigners.

The newly created Peace Corps could supply such direct contacts, and the very fact that a young American was working with them to help achieve their goals, sometimes at considerable personal and financial sacrifice, would not fail to impress our fellow Americans of the South. It has been suggested that we might offer to exempt the members of this youth force from military service should they serve out a minimum period of, say, two years overseas. But I feel that such draft exemption would make them suspect as mere draft dodgers. [It has been suggested that they might be deferred for their service overseas but subject to the draft thereafter.] It may be alleged that if we could not offer complete exemption inducement, we would have difficulty in recruiting our young people to take part in such a program. But the incentive of foreign living, new experience, and above all of contribution to an important effort of their government would I feel offer sufficient attraction to their inherent idealism.

The nature and magnitude of this Peace Corps effort in Latin America (as well as in other less developed areas) is, of course, still to be decided. A large initial group might produce more difficulties than benefits, but the possibility and the challenge are there. In this as well as in the purely economic and political aspects of mutual assistance we must make a start—and soon.

Time is running against us in the Americas. And don't make the mistake of just labelling it Communism. There is an anti-Americanism completely apart from the Communists' propaganda and subversions. It often stems from resentment against a rich and powerful nation in the family of the Americas which appears to be standing idly by while their conditions worsen steadily. It is something akin to a wife who has been taken for granted far too long, and feels grossly neglected. Might not the sending of our youth to the New Frontier-South bring back the sparkle to the eyes of this most attractive and troubled spouse?

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WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS

Washington At Full Tide

In May one was aware that the honeymoon was over. As on most honeymoons, there had been shaky moments. Roscoe Drummond put it succinctly when he wrote mid-month that we had been disabused quickly of the notion that fires of the cold war could be put out easily by negotiation. Once over the rough jolts there was a realistic settling down in Washington to face the hard problems. One felt it throughout the fiber of the Government, at work and at home.

Translated into terms of that nerve center, New State, it meant more work, more words, more conferencing, more directives. One of the interesting new developments evolved to meet the needs of the times was the new division, Special Operations, headed by Theodore Achilles. The President's brother-in-law, Stephen Smith, will serve, without cost to the Government, as a special assistant to Mr. Achilles.

Special Operations is to be kept small, with not more than a dozen officers assigned to it permanently. It will draw on top personnel and resources, as needed, throughout State and from outside agencies. It is set up, for instance, to write or research papers for the President on any trouble spot, and can work on both acute and chronic problems. It is operating on an emergency basis, twenty-four hours a day. (This we

discovered when we followed in the wake of an empty hospital bed being trundled through the long corridors from the dispensary up to the seventh floor.)

Another new type of activity around New State these days, and one which may alter considerably the public image of the Department of State, results from the imaginative use and programming of State's new auditorium. There is hardly a day that the auditorium isn't being filled and emptied—often by people who previously held only the vaguest notion of what the Department of State might be. In time, New State's auditorium may well become a center of activity in Washington, just as our embassies overseas act as a center of interest in America.

Last month the National Symphony concerts for young people were held there; the President and the Secretary held their weekly press conferences there, and it was there that Astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr. was interviewed by the press. Both the National Chamber of Commerce and the Mayors' conferences were held there. The State-USIA Recreation Association held several choral rehearsals and made plans for a series of folk programs to be given there by the embassies in Washington.

Worthy of special mention, too, was the foreign policy briefing conference in the auditorium, for editors and writers. Over 550 came from all over the nation to attend the first such conference to be held by the Department.

An excellent program of speakers, followed in each instance by a question-and-answer period, sent the editors and writers back to report at grass-roots level the flavor of their busy two days. Speakers had included Secretary Rusk, Roger Jones, Charles Bohlen, NASA's director James Webb and, finally, the President. The caliber of questions asked, as well as the

mail which has come into the News Division since, have made it certain that this method of meeting with grass-roots' public opinion makers will be continued, perhaps on an annual basis.

Oral Examinations

Reaching out to grass-roots level this past month, too, have been members of State and USIA who have been traveling across the country to hold oral examinations in the large cities for those successful in the written examinations held last December. Out of more than 5,000 who took the FSO-3 exam about 1,500 passed, of whom some 1,200 are now being examined orally by the traveling teams.

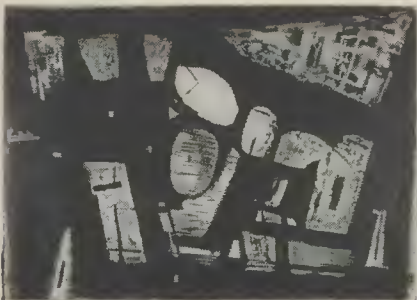
Although there were more applicants for the written examination in 1959 than in 1960, the number of those who successfully passed the written exam was slightly higher in 1960, and the number who are taking the oral examinations shows an almost twenty-five percent increase over 1959.

The written examination given for entry into USIA was held the same day as State's last December. Over 1,000 took it, of whom 367 passed. Twenty-five percent of those who passed were women. 277 of those who passed the written exam are now being interviewed orally by four teams composed of USIA and State representatives who are touring the country in the process.

Apparently the nationwide emphasis on languages, at least at college level, has already begun to show with the applicants this year: Of the languages taken and passed by USIA candidates, 15% had taken Russian, 16% German, 17% Spanish, and 52% French.

International Conference

May was again a favorite month for the international conferencing



"City Kaleidoscope"

by Sheila Isham

set, and our E.B. (Exhausted Bureaucrat) spent a fortnight in Geneva. On his return, hoping to get a report on the latest at Geneva, we met him at the airport.

"Weather?" He hadn't noticed any. "Just the same as Washington, I guess."

"And the people?"

"We just went from hotel to conference room and back." Evenings he spent preparing for the following day. No time out to watch the play of the geyser on the lake or even to linger in a café.

Then, noticing our crestfallen look, he said, "But I did bring back a paper from our conference. It's useful for you. Illustrates the Conceptual Development one finds at an international conference."

Greatly summarized, in order to fit this column's limited space, his Conceptual Development read like this:

ALL GAUL IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS.

Nearly ALL GAUL probably was DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS.

Generally speaking nearly ALL GAUL was probably DIVIDED INTO approximately THREE PARTS.

Almost ALL of GAUL, excepting that part referred to under article 13½, was or might well have been DIVIDED into several PARTS.

Point of order—Did Gaul ever become a member of — (insert UN, GATT, FAO, etc.)?

Journalese

Circulation figures can never be taken too seriously. How can one compare, for instance, the tremendous influence of the (London) ECONOMIST with that of one of our national news magazines whose circulation is about 200 times as great?

Similarly, though the JOURNAL circulation is not great, the caliber of our readers makes it important, and, when articles are picked up and reprinted, the JOURNAL can count on an even wider influence. Recently, for instance, Si Nadler's piece on an embassy especially designed for sacking, was published, together with Edward L. Fischer's illustration, in a prominent spot by the Sunday Washington POST, and the JOURNAL's edi-

torial, "Daring and Dissent," was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by former FSO, now Senator, Claiborne Pell (D., Rhode Island), as well as reprinted in full by the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH on its editorial page. Retired Ambassador Mallory's article was also printed in full in the RECORD.

Up front, too, in the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, was the cartoon for Si Nadler's piece. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR plans to reprint part of Ambassador Kennan's "Diplomacy as a Profession."

This spring, the JOURNAL Editorial Board has again been experiencing a huge turnover. Its vigorous chairman, James Penfield, resigned in May to take up his new duties as Ambassador to Iceland. Richard Funkhouser and Richard Davies have been assigned to Moscow, Phil Chadbourn went to Laos, and Jim O'Connor is talking of going to Burma.

New Chairman of the Board, Woodruff Wallner, and new members Herman Pollack, Jack Perry, Heyward Isham, and John Holdridge, are already beginning to use their leisure in the JOURNAL's behalf.

Political Satire

Following our mention in the May issue of the new popularity of political satire on the American scene, one of our readers sent us the spring issue of MONOCLE, the witty quarterly of political satire, published in New Haven, Connecticut. To quote but one Editorial Note which appears at the outset of volume 4, #2:

"Everybody knows that Jack is going to be his own Secretary of State. And everybody knows that Secretary of State is a full-time job. Therefore, the question arises: Who is going to be President?"

"MONOCLE nominates Dean Rusk!

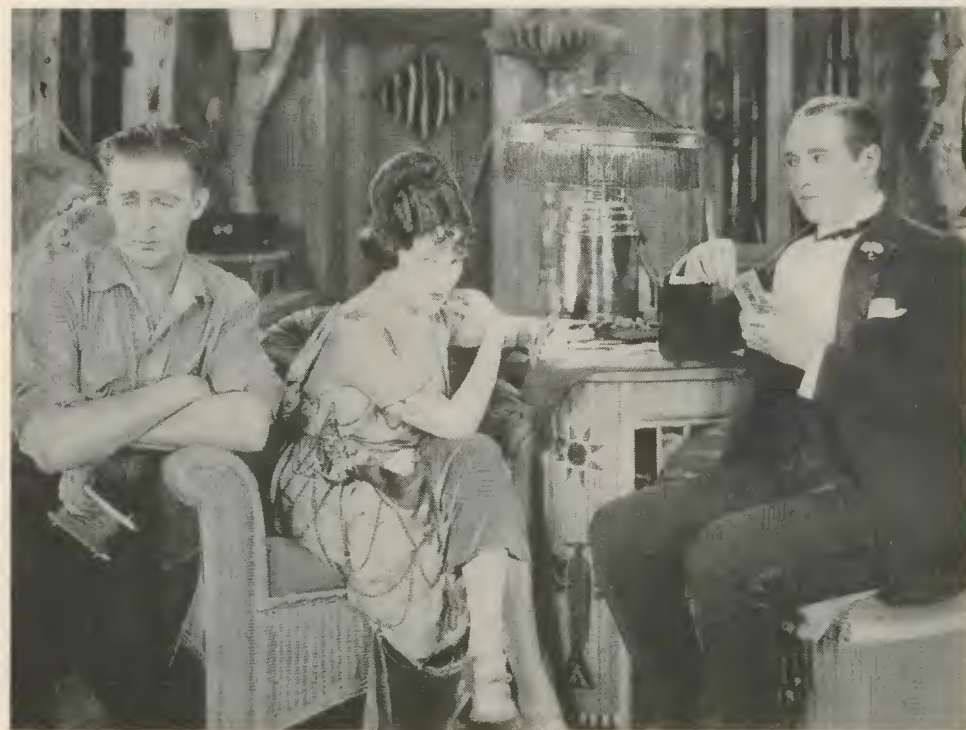
"In the first place, he has had experience as a President. In the second place, he won't have to worry about Rockefeller's running against him in 1964. In the third place, he's not saddled with any campaign promises. And finally, he has enough experience in foreign affairs so that he won't try to be his own Secretary of State."

At the Credit Union

Overheard one rainy day at the Credit Union was a bright young thing cashing a check: "I couldn't get along without you people since the bank stopped cashing my checks."

"LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE"

by Robert W. Rinden



"Yes, dear, he is a fine young man, but I'm not sure he is Foreign Service material."

The Future of Foreign Aid*

by *W. W. Rostow*

IT IS NOW MORE than a decade since Mr. Truman launched his Point Four Program. It is almost eight years since the end of the Korean War forced us to face the problem of the underdeveloped areas in, essentially, a non-military context. We are—or we should be—in a position to draw the lessons of this decade's experience.

What, then, have we learned?

FIRST, we have learned—in Korea and elsewhere—that it is possible to pour very large sums into an underdeveloped area with a very low return in terms of the pace of its economic development. High levels of foreign aid are compatible with stagnation. There is virtually no limit to the amount of resources we can put into an underdeveloped area, if they are not used productively. We now know firmly that the most essential component in foreign aid is the willingness and the ability of the aspiring nation to organize its own human and material resources. In turn, this requires a government in the underdeveloped area that places the issue of economic development very near the top on its operational agenda. This does not mean that under crisis circumstances—or for military purposes—we may not have to grant economic assistance to nations ill-prepared for development. It does mean we are justified in setting a high premium on the domestic setting within each country to which we grant assistance for economic purposes.

SECOND, we have learned that there are great differences among what we call underdeveloped areas. Some countries—for example, Haiti, Yemen, and some of the new African nations—are close to what we call the stage of the traditional society. They have few of the prerequisites necessary for economic growth. These prerequisites must be built before sustained economic growth will become possible. Then there are intermediate cases such as Indonesia, Burma, and Thailand. There many of the prerequisites exist, but a sustained growth program has not yet been launched. And sometimes this is so because the existing government has not decided to make economic growth a major objective of public policy. There are also cases like India and the Philippines, which are actively undergoing the strains of take-off—the crucial transition into economic modernization. Finally, there are countries like Turkey and Argentina, which confront some of the vicissitudes of post-take-off readjustment. They have developed all the conditions for growth, but they must make important structural adjustments in their economies before they can pay their way on

Walt W. Rostow graduated from Yale and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford. He worked as Assistant Chief of the German-American Economics Division of the State Department in 1945-46 and has taught at several universities, including Oxford, Cambridge, and M.I.T. His most recent book is "The United States in the World Arena." Since January 20, he has been Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

the international scene and start the drive to economic maturity.

Each type of underdeveloped nation has its typical problems. And beyond these general categories we know that there is a sense in which the international contribution to economic development must be geared to the unique, quite specific situation of each nation.

THIRD, we have learned that economic development assistance, if it is to be effective, must be on a long-term basis. We cannot go on working from year to year with the scale and character of international aid an indeterminate element in the calculations of the responsible leaders in the underdeveloped areas. If I may quote a vivid passage from Harlan Cleveland: "We know in our hearts that we are in the world for keeps, yet we are still tackling twenty-year problems with five-year plans, staffed with two-year personnel working with one-year appropriations. It's simply not good enough."

FOURTH, we have learned that the scale of present development assistance falls substantially short of the amount required if our objective is to see the underdeveloped areas grow at a rate substantially beyond the rate of increase in population. Development assistance in the Free World—from all sources, public and private—is running at a level of about three billion dollars. The short-fall is about two billion a year, if our goal is—as it should be—a rate of growth of about two per cent per head each year.

FIFTH, we know that within the Free World, the proportion of development assistance granted by various industrialized nations bears no reasonable relation to their ability to contribute, and that neither in concept nor in organization do the development efforts of the Free World match the interests at stake or the problems involved in achieving a regular and substantial rate of economic growth in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

It is in the light of these five hard-won lessons of experience that the President should face the inevitable task of reorganizing the foreign aid program and leading the way towards a coherent Free World effort.

What, specifically, should be done?

The first task is to reorganize the American foreign aid program. That reorganization may or may not require some new posts and new agencies. It is my own view that we in the United States put vastly too much stock in such institutional reorganization. I am convinced, for example, that the present American aid structure could work with the right policies and the right people.

The most important single condition for a successful American foreign aid program is that the new President

*From a talk before the American Council on Education, in November 1960.

take the issue of a long-run adequate economic development program to the American people with all the force and prestige he can muster in his first days in office. He must then put the program to the Congress and use every device of persuasion at his command to make sure he gets what he wants. He must then back that program and the men running it to the hilt.

Institutionally, the most important consideration is to have one man in the executive branch clearly responsible for the execution of all foreign aid except narrowly military aid. This was the hope of the Senate when they insisted on the elevation of Mr. Dillon to the role of Under Secretary of State. But all the Congressional resolutions and administrative orders will be meaningless unless this central figure is backed to the hilt by the President and Secretary of State; unless he uses with great vigor the powers of direction granted him; and unless he believes passionately in the purposes the aid program is designed to serve.

In the Eisenhower Administration the fundamental difficulty for eight years was that the Administration was split deeply between those who believed in economic assistance and those who did not. The issue was never resolved firmly by the President; and it was this fact rather than any institutional arrangements which made our programs feeble in scale, in effectiveness, and in the quality of the men willing to work within them.

Technically, the job within the American government is to orchestrate the four major sources of economic assistance: the Development Loan Fund, the ICA, the Export-Import Bank, and the food and fiber surpluses, to be made available under Public Law 480. Moreover, these instruments must be related intimately to our policy within the various organs of the UN including the International Bank; and we must relate US governmental programs to the efforts of American private investors abroad.

This kind of orchestration can only be done if the US Government develops a coherent policy towards the economic program of each country with which we deal. We must have a tolerably clear notion of how we expect each country to evolve over, say, the next five years and where our contribution fits that progression. Unless such country programs exist, there is a tendency for each of the American governmental agencies to develop its own pet projects and its own pet ministries within the recipient countries.

Given the underlying conception behind the Development Loan Fund, for example, it is little short of scandalous that it should have been operating on an *ad hoc* project rather than country program basis in recent years.

The second major change in American policy must be to shift as rapidly as possible the funds now granted as Defense Support or as Emergency Aid into a lending agency such as the Development Loan Fund. In the Administration's 1960 program, these two categories amounted to about twice the sum made available by the Development Loan Fund. Defense Support and Emergency Aid have been granted on a very loose basis, often in response to crisis situations. Neither those granting the aid nor those receiving it were under the discipline of justifying it on the grounds that it would accelerate economic growth. The painful lesson of American experience is that crisis money—or grants made under short-run political pressure—are expensive to the American taxpayer and generally ineffectively used within the recipient country. For the sake of both the United States and the recipient countries, the re-



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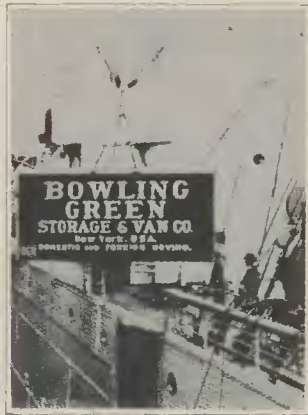
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sources now allocated under Defense Support and for emergency purposes should be firmly placed in the hands of the man responsible for our economic assistance programs and he should be instructed by the President that economic aid should be given on grounds other than its contribution to economic development only under rare circumstances for which the President's personal signature would be required.

There is one exception, in my view, to the notion of one-man responsibility in orchestrating American aid resources around country programs where economic development criteria are applied; and that exception is our international educational program. At the present time, some nineteen agencies of the American Government are running international educational programs. These are only loosely coordinated in the Department of State. They concentrate excessively on the exchange of persons rather than on the building of institutions within the countries. And they are not related to the very substantial programs being conducted by American universities and private foundations.

Given the inherently long-run nature of the education problem in the underdeveloped areas and the crucial importance of building educational institutions on the spot in the developing countries, I believe it would be wise to have international educational development on a semi-independent basis. We might consider creating an equivalent of the National Science Foundation for this purpose. Its task would be not merely to coordinate more effectively than at present the scattered government programs, not merely to relate government and non-government programs, but also to take the responsibility for initiating the creation of new educational institutions for the training of civil servants, agricultural extension workers, industrial managers, and the like. Such new institutions are desperately needed in Africa; but they might well have their place elsewhere as well. At the head of this new foundation should be a man with high and international standing in the intellectual world; capable of commandeering first-rate men from our universities; capable of dealing on at least equal terms with tough Washington bureaucrats; and capable of negotiating with sensitive foreign governments.

The objective should be to create stable long-run educational development programs, relatively impervious to the short-run vicissitudes of international politics, which would bring to bear the enormous untapped reserve in American educational life of willingness and enthusiasm to help the underdeveloped areas—a willingness which extends from our undergraduates to the most senior members of American faculties. This reserve is one of our greatest unexploited assets, and I am convinced that it can only be tapped if we free the administration of international educational development substantially from the day-to-day workings of the Washington bureaucracy.

There is another aspect of American aid policy that requires significant change; that is, our programs of military aid. Here the understandable bureaucratic impulses of the Pentagon have converged in a rather unfortunate way with the traditional attitudes of the military in underdeveloped countries. The Pentagon wishes to have clean cut military programs that don't involve excessive overlaps with civilian agencies or objectives. Many of the military in the underdeveloped areas have the view that economic activities are of a low social order and, in a sense, beneath their dignity.

The result is that our combined military efforts are

confined to narrow military purposes. But in many areas, the local military represent the largest single pool of administrative talent; and they often control a high proportion of the earth-moving and engineering equipment available. It should be positive American policy that our military aid missions encourage the local military to participate actively in the economic development of their nations. In a sense, we have a duty to teach the lesson of our own Corps of Engineers in the nineteenth century who cleared our rivers and laid out our long-distance railway lines.

Where we feel it necessary to mount with our allies in the underdeveloped areas substantial military programs, I would hold that it is our duty to use our influence to the end that these military formations contribute actively to the maximum possible to economic growth within the framework of their security mission.

We come now to an interesting and important question: by how much must economic development aid be increased within the Free World in order to make it possible for the underdeveloped nations to develop a momentum which regularly and substantially outstrips population increase? To make the question more precise: by how much must development aid be increased to yield a two per cent per annum increase in output per head? On the basis of historical evidence, such an increase would be sufficient to give the underdeveloped areas the lift necessary to create an environment of expected progress.

Let me remind you again of what I said was the first lesson of our experience in the 1950's; namely, that in the end growth is determined by efforts made by each nation on the spot. Nevertheless, the foreign exchange component is important; and in some cases it is crucial.

When we examine country by country present rates of population increase and capital formation and the present levels of foreign aid and private capital investment, the answer is—by whatever method is used—that we are short by about two billion dollars a year.

How should that extra two billion be raised? One way would be to apply to the industrialized countries of the Free World the same formula which is used in the United States for the income tax.

When this calculation is made it emerges that the United States ought to supply about half of the extra amount required; that is, about one extra billion dollars a year; and that Western Europe and Canada ought to supply the other half. This result emerges because at the present time, the United States is providing about two-thirds of the total economic aid, which is more than its fair share on the income tax formula. I might add that I am convinced from personal discussions in Europe that if the United States were to lead the way, Britain, France, Germany and the smaller industrialized countries would play their part in such a concerted scheme, for an even-handed expansion in long-run development aid.

But the nature of this proposal requires more than an American national initiative. There are, in fact, four international problems that need to be faced.

First, we need to find a place where the lenders may come together to consider how the burden of economic development aid should be shared; how effective technical assistance programs can best be mounted, including educa-

tional assistance; how food and fiber surpluses can be woven into development aid without disrupting commercial markets; and how country teams might be organized to do the sort of job which Sir Oliver Franks and his colleagues pioneered early in 1960 on their visit to India and Pakistan. We already have the basis for a lenders' club of this kind in the OEEC which we have inherited from Marshall Plan days and which now ought to be put to work on a new agenda of common problems.

Second, we must face the fact that a lenders' club is not enough. The borrowers must have a role in this whole process, and they have the possibility and the duty of working together on a self-help basis. Here regional arrangements might prove useful. Excepting the Middle East, there are regional organizations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These regional organizations—let us say the Colombo Plan, the Economic Commission for Africa and the Economic Commission for Latin America—ought to consider in some detail what the criteria for the granting of loans might be; they might consider also the role in their region for increased private investment; and they ought to look hard and correctly at the ways in which they might help each other.

Third, beyond these two levels of international activity, there ought to be a place and an occasion on a world-wide basis where the borrowers and the lenders meet from time to time to exchange complaints and to examine the results of their partnership at a high policy level. The annual meeting of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development seems an appropriate place for this kind of gathering.

Finally there is the question of Soviet and Eastern European participation. Why—many people have asked—why not place the whole enterprise within the United Nations? It is conceivable that, in time, the United Nations will serve as the primary instrument for economic development programs. At the moment, however, it would be unwise and unrealistic not to accept the hard and unpleasant fact that a profound ideological and strategic struggle is taking place in the underdeveloped areas, and that economic assistance programs play a part in that struggle. Under these circumstances, it would, in my view, be extremely unwise for the United States and the Free World to go into negotiation with the Soviet Union on this question until the Free World has set its house in order. We dare not risk again what was risked in Paris in 1947; namely, the possibility that the Soviet Union join in an unformed Free World enterprise which it might have then disrupted. It is my guess that the present generation of Soviet rulers looks back on Stalin's decision to withdraw Molotov from Paris in the early stage of the Marshall Plan negotiations in July, 1947, as one of Stalin's major errors in the post-war years.

I would, therefore, take the view that we should first get the Free World program going on an adequate scale and a firm technical and economic basis and then explore carefully and with poise whether the Russians are or are not prepared to cooperate on constructive terms.

This cautious approach to the problem of collaboration with Communist nations in the underdeveloped areas does not, of course, exclude the United Nations and its institutions from an important role in the program as a whole. The technical assistance program of the United Nations

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and its specialized agencies might well be expanded, with the expansion of the total development effort. Paul Hoffman's organization—designed to aid in the formulation of development programs—should have a much more substantial job to do in the setting I propose than at present.

But we must be aware that placing a task on the shoulders of the United Nations does not, in itself, guarantee that it will be removed automatically from the tensions of the Cold War.

Now stand back from these proposals a moment. What are they designed to produce? They are designed to produce a situation in which we could honestly say to the people and governments in the underdeveloped areas: "Foreign exchange is no longer a bottleneck. If you are serious about economic development, you may have all the technical assistance and all the foreign exchange you can productively absorb. And you can have it without joining us in military pacts and without necessarily voting with us in the United Nations. You cannot have these resources, however, unless you have met sensible standards for productive lending designed by the international community, including other underdeveloped nations."

Here, I believe, is a decent basis for partnership within the Free World, which will be respected by all hands.

Beyond this, of course, there is a profound ideological purpose in these proposals which we should not hesitate to articulate to ourselves and to the world. It is to advance the American interest.

What is the American interest in the underdeveloped areas? Our interest is that they maintain their independence and that they have the opportunity, over these difficult transitional decades, of developing their own version of free, open societies. We need, for the safety and the quality of our own society, an environment of independent open societies, moving forward in the democratic process.

The greatest asset the United States has in its struggle with the Communist Bloc lies in the nature of the American objective. There is nothing in our military or ideological interest that requires these countries to be subservient to us. Nor is there anything that requires that they imitate the particular set of institutions which have served us well on this peculiarly fortunate continent. The men in Moscow cannot honestly say the same thing. Until they change their outlook on the world, a Tito or a Mao—let alone a Nehru, a Kasseem, or a Nasser—is an historical affront. Communism of its essence requires not merely ideological conformity but central control. It has taken a great deal of skill for us to obscure this profound and simple advantage we have in dealing with the world. We have no need for satellites. Moscow does. One of the first tasks of the American president is to give this difference clarity and life from day to day in our actions on the world scene.

What, then, are the prospects for the emergence in the underdeveloped areas of democratic societies where power is diffused politically and where systems of diffused economic power—that is systems of private enterprise—develop significant strength and viability?

Here the 1950's should also have taught us some important things. So far as democracy is concerned, we can now see that there is a broad correlation between the

degree to which economies are modernized and the degree to which democratic competitive politics take hold. There are exceptions to this correlation; for example, Cuba and Egypt, which are quite modern as underdeveloped areas go, but are held in rigid dictatorship. Moreover, we know that the development of democratic institutions is not automatic. It is a creative achievement. And we know also that once a Communist system is clamped on a society, it is a long and painful process for that society to disengage. Nevertheless the faith that democracy is the wave of the future should be a living faith. We have every reason to believe that the testimony of several thousand years of history which demonstrates man's powerful and stubborn aspiration for political freedom is still relevant.

But what of capitalism? Here, of course, it has been made clear to us that in the early stages of modernization a pure private enterprise system cannot work in the contemporary underdeveloped areas. Private enterprise cannot build the schools, instruct the peasants in new methods, institute land reform where it is necessary, build the transport facilities and roads, and arrange for the flow of foreign aid necessary to develop an underdeveloped country. We have to accept the fact that government action is very important in the early stages of economic development. And as an historian I would add this: it has always been so. It was so not only in Japan, in pre-1914 Russia, in 19th century Germany and France, but it was also the case in the United States and Canada. Our state and local governments and the federal government as well actively prepared this nation for industrialization—from free public schools to the Erie Canal, sponsored by the New York State Legislature.

On the other hand, we can also see that sensible governments in the underdeveloped areas tend to permit and encourage the development of private enterprise, as the development process proceeds. A generation ago the mood of Mexico was not so very different from the mood of Castro's Cuba. But now that momentum has been achieved, the Mexican government has come very sensibly to terms with private enterprise at home and abroad. We can observe the same transition taking place rapidly in India and in other underdeveloped areas which have achieved momentum without succumbing to totalitarian politics.

In short, it is clear that the ideological debate about public and private enterprise in developing countries has been largely misguided. Both public and private authorities have their jobs to do; their true relationship is one of partnership; and we have every reason to hope that economic as well as political freedom can flourish if these nations make their transitions into sustained growth without surrendering to a compulsive political totalitarianism.

Thus, in surveying the prospects for the 1960's—and in particular, the prospects for the kind of program I have outlined—we can look forward with sober optimism. The seriousness of the problems in Korea, Iran, Indonesia, the Congo—to name just four areas—certainly justify sobriety. But the trend of events in the underdeveloped areas as a whole—not merely the crisis areas—justify a certain optimism about the course of history if we Americans decide to make history in the 1960's, not merely react to it.

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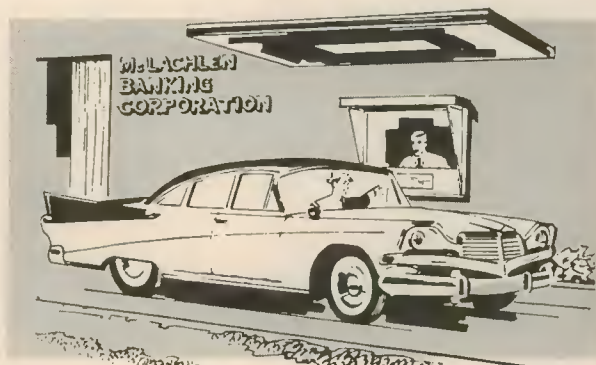
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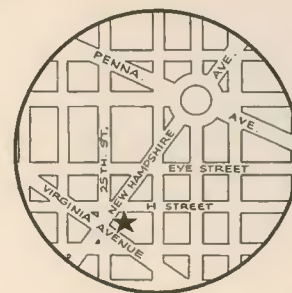
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"A Forward Strategy"

EVER SINCE publication of "Protracted Conflict" by the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania, we have looked for a prescriptive treatment of the problems therein presented. This treatment has now appeared.

More than the views of the authors has gone into this prescription. They consulted academic institutions, research organizations and governmental agencies. A first draft of several chapters was discussed with staff members and participants in the Senior Officers' Seminar, at the Foreign Service Institute. This conference, the authors say, was one of their most useful. The prescription presented in this book has thus acquired a certain synthesis, making it one of the best presentations to date of policy choices and of the technological, military, economic and psychological factors in the international crisis confronting us.

Its weakness lies in its lamentable lack of familiarity with diplomacy's procedures, resources and deficiencies in dealing with the problems confronting us. We are told, for instance, that if we are to pass through "the dangerous narrows of the crisis" now besetting us we must (1) build up U.S. power and (2) link U.S. diplomacy more meaningfully to U.S. power positions. But what about improving the resources and quality of our diplomacy? This is a much-neglected third dimension. It is one we cannot afford to neglect. Perhaps the Foreign Policy Research Institute can devise a way of adding a diagnosis of this dimension to its otherwise excellent appraisal and prescription.

—R. SMITH SIMPSON

A FORWARD STRATEGY FOR AMERICA, by Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner and Stefan T. Possony. Harper's, \$5.95.

"The Sky Suspended"

THE author has successfully treated the epic of the Battle of Britain in such a way as to bring out the heroic human aspects without overlooking any of the major military factors. When all is said and done, the reader is left with the strong conviction that the decisive

elements in Hitler's failure to destroy the R.A.F. in preparation for an invasion were the collective spirit and the ability to take it of the British people. Henry James called the British "a decent and dauntless people." Never was the latter quality put to a more severe test, nor was it ever more splendidly demonstrated than in the second half of 1940.

Of particular interest is the evidence of British ingenuity in putting limited resources to the best use, and of tactical and technical brilliance. Against these we see the massive might of Germany, over-confident in its ability either to impose surrender or to crush resistance. The story is concisely and factually told, and brings much that is new to explain why Hitler failed. And yet the real reason lies elsewhere, above and beyond the range of statistics or military facts. And it is the merit of this book that, having explained everything that was explicable, it brings out subtly and yet clearly the real decisive factor, which leaves us with a sense of wonder, and which is sensed rather than explained.

—WILLIAM R. TYLER

THE SKY SUSPENDED, by Drew Middleton. Longmans, Green & Co. \$4.50.

"A New Deal"

MORE SPECTACULAR events elsewhere in Africa have obscured for the average American the dilemma facing the British Government at the present time in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. In this book the authors discuss, in the serious tone the situation warrants, the complexities of the situation and they make clear their hopes that the Constitutional Conference in Britain would achieve a sane solution to what, in their view is obviously an "issue of fundamental human rights" on which Britain and to some extent the West as a whole is being judged. The problem of the Federation is to them Britain's "Little Rock," which they urge their Government to face "with as much courage and honor." A complex, controversial and interesting book.

—WILLIAM J. PORTER

A NEW DEAL IN CENTRAL AFRICA, by Colin Leys and Cranford Pratt, Praeger, New York. \$4.50.

Life in Tibet

THE ARM-CHAIR ESCAPIST to faraway places and the serious-minded student of inner Asian frontiers alike will enjoy this account, by the Dalai Lama's eldest brother, of life in Tibet, the land's religion and customs, the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Communist invasion and other things. Illustrated with a number of fine color photographs and "told to" Heinrich Harrer (author of "Seven Years in Tibet"), this first-person narrative is vivid and engrossing—without resorting to hackneyed claptrap about "forbidden" Tibet and its occult mysteries.

—R.W.R.

TIBET IS MY COUNTRY, by Thubten Norbu. Dutton, \$5.00.

Chronicle of Revolution

IN HISTORICAL literature there are few things more difficult to achieve than to make a readable book out of a conglomeration of facts but John W. Dulles, son of our late Secretary of State, has admirably succeeded in this long and detailed account of fifteen years in Mexico's struggle to achieve adult nationhood. In "Yesterday in Mexico" the author strove not to interpret the facts for the reader, nor to editorialize, but simply to give us a "chronicle with all the facts." To achieve this he worked mainly from source material most of which had not yet been available in English, as well as from newspapers, personal letters and reminiscences and interviews with old-timers. This book, thus, becomes an important contribution to Mexican, or rather, world history, and it is a good time now to read about the difficult birth of the Mexican nation when peoples in other continents are struggling with the same birth pangs.

Mr. Dulles now makes his home in Brazil and one hopes that the reception of his first book will encourage him to produce a similar work on Brazil, a much too-little known country.

—ALICE RAINE

YESTERDAY IN MEXICO. A Chronicle of the Revolution, 1919-1936, by John W. Dulles. University of Texas Press. \$8.50.



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Communism on the Mainland

THREE current volumes illustrate three distinct methods used to give readers insight into Communism on the mainland of China. We have the scholarly and effective approach in Professor Chen's volume, the personal account by Dr. Chow of a participant in the Communist rule of China, and the fascinating recollections and reconstructions by Dr. Siao of a China long past and of a young rebel and student named Mao Tse-tung.

In "Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals" Professor Chen has gathered together from published Chinese Communist sources a devastating indictment of the Chinese Communist effort to degrade and destroy the dignity and self-respect of man. In a detailed analysis of the major Communist offensives against the intellectuals, and of the "hundred flowers" campaign and its consequences, Professor Chen finds, despite the superficial success of the effort to remould the intellectual into the Communist image, that "the intellect-

uals of China may yet prove that they possess a strength of inner resources which no amount of coercive persuasion or group pressure can completely subdue". In Mencius' words, quoted by Professor Chen, "When people are subdued, by force, they do not submit in heart."

In "Ten Years of Storm" Dr. Chow Ching-wen has written what the title-page describes as "the true story of the Communist régime in China." There is little in the book that has not been stated before. The most interesting and valuable aspects of the study are those in which Dr. Chow speaks from personal experience, particularly when he describes the methods used to control and manipulate the so-called "democratic parties" (Dr. Chow was a leader of the China Democratic League).

Dr. Siao, a contemporary and associate of Mao Tse-tung during his formative years, has given us a fascinating and valuable insight into the turbulent era of post-1911 China and the

personality of Mao. The provocative title of his book "Mao Tse-tung and I were Beggars," refers to a picaresque vacation interlude when Siao and Mao took a tramp together through Hunan in 1917. The book also includes a most interesting account of the relatively little-known history of the Chinese students in Europe following World War I. "Mao Tse-tung and I were Beggars" has a foreword by Lin Yu-tang. In addition Professor Robert C. North has contributed a useful section of notes and historical commentary.

—RICHARD H. DONALD

THOUGHT REFORM OF THE CHINESE INTELLECTUALS, by Theodore H. E. Chen, Oxford University Press, New York. \$5.00.

TEN YEARS OF STORM, by Chow Ching-wen, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, \$6.00.

MAO TSE-TUNG AND I WERE BEGGARS, by Siao Yu, Syracuse University Press. \$6.00.



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On the Flying Trapeze

MR. CHILDERS, editor, college professor, and author of many books, is a man who believes in forthright talk, whether to his countrymen at home or to others abroad. In this book about his experiences in several countries as a State Department specialist, he relates how he practiced this belief in the field. The book itself provides evidence of his frankness at home.

Along with the account of his work for the Department and USIS, Mr. Childers includes travel notes from all over; in addition to his eight official stops covering a period of several months, he visited other countries briefly on his own. While some of his chapters are simply reports of visits to tourist spots, such as the three places in India "I was sure I wanted to visit," most focus on the attitudes of the people toward the United States and thus the book is of more than usual interest to the Foreign Service reader.

The author obviously hopes his book will be read by people in the government who are responsible for our various programs abroad. At the very outset he records his disappointment at the inadequacy of the briefing he received before his departure from Washington: twenty minutes about Korea, half an hour about India.

He was equally bewildered by the lack of interest in him upon his return. He talked to desk officers fifteen minutes about India, perhaps ten minutes about Pakistan, ten minutes about Iran.

He says his case is not unique; he talked to other specialists who had had the same experience.

Mr. Childers finds other things hard to understand. For one thing, he believes the "Russians are playing propaganda rings around us." While "a nicer crowd doesn't exist," the Foreign Service officers just haven't received "all the training that might be useful . . . in bucking the Russian experts," he insists.

Any subscriber to the JOURNAL should find this a stimulating book.

—JAMES A. ELLIOT

THE NATION ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE; The United States as the People of the East See Us, by James Saxon Childers. David McKay Co., New York. \$4.50.

Modern Turkish Writing

THE first anthology of Turkish writing to be published in the United States, this collection of poetry and prose is Turkish in flavor but universal in theme. The break with tradition which began with the Ataturk reforms, nowhere more evident than in the field of the creative arts, is well demonstrated in these pages, which reflect the social consciousness as well as the realism of the Turkish Republic. Gifted, intuitive translators have done an outstanding job, and the whole package is neatly wrapped up by Kemal Karpat in his succinct survey of the development of modern Turkish literature.

—R. H. L.

THE LITERARY REVIEW: TURKISH NUMBER, Winter 1960-1961. Quarterly. Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, N. J. \$1.00.



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Service Glimpses

1. **Bamako.** Ambassador Thomas K. Wright, speaking in French over the Government radio station, presents twenty-five outboard motors as a gift from the United States to the Republic of Mali, here represented by Minister of Foreign Affairs Barema Bocoum (left).

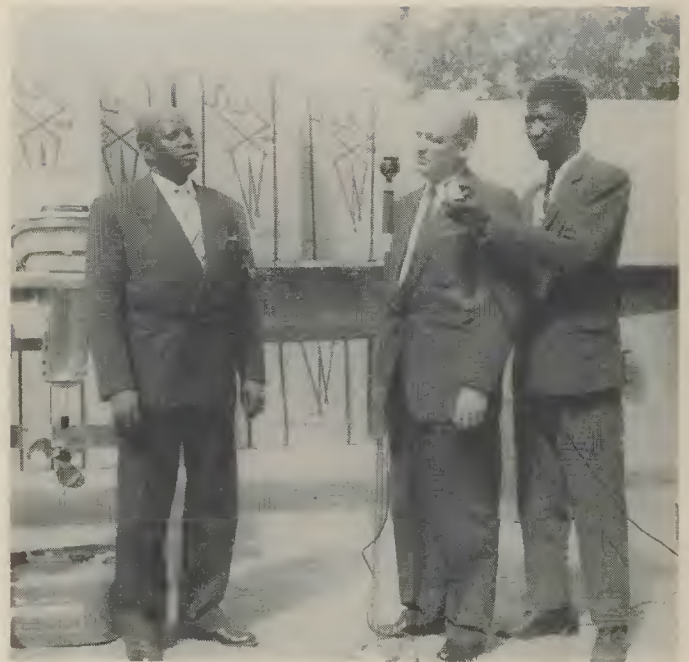
2. **Cologne.** In connection with project "DEEP" (Duesseldorf Export Expansion Program), members of the staff of the American Consulate, Duesseldorf, opened this Trade Information Center at the recent trade fairs held in Cologne. Seen discussing trade policy are (l. to r.) FSL Adolph Rall, FSO William S. Krason, and FSO Felix S. Bloch.

3. **Amsterdam.** At the Consulate General three local employees were married in consecutive weeks, but two of them will stay with the Service, cushioning happily the shock to the office. Posing with Consul General G. Edward Clark are the brides; (l. to r.) Mrs. I. Snyders, Mrs. L. Thoolen, and Mrs. L. van Eldik.

4. **Washington.** Shown here (foreground, l. to r.) at the AFSA luncheon, March 30, at the Shoreham Hotel, are Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II and Ambassador George F. Kennan. Ambassador Kennan's remarks at the luncheon were entitled "Diplomacy as a Profession" and appeared in the May JOURNAL. In the background, facing the camera, are William L. Blue, Chairman of the AFSA Board of Directors, and former Under Secretary of State Loy W. Henderson. Mr. Henderson has recently been named to head a new diplomacy and foreign policy program at the American University's School of International Studies.

5. **Panama.** Thirty-five members of a visiting National War College Group were recently the guests of Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph S. Farland at their residence. Shown here during the reception are (l. to r.) Panamanian Foreign Minister Lic. Galileo Solis, Ambassador and Mrs. Farland, and Rear Admiral Richard H. Phillips, Deputy Commandant of the War College.

6. **Damascus.** Newly-married Marine G/Sgt. and Mrs. William H. Moran are met with a hail of rice as they leave St. Antoine Franciscan Church. Mrs. Moran is the former Miss Elsie Gomez, USIS Public Affairs Assistant at the Consulate General in Damascus; and G/Sgt. Moran was NCOIC of the guard detachment there. In the foreground are: (l. to r.) Mrs. William B. Kilcullen, matron of honor; Sgt. and Mrs. Moran; and Mr. Kilcullen, best man. In the background are: (l. to r.) Mrs. Ridgeway B. Knight, wife of the Consul General; Mrs. Barbara Walsh, wife of FSR Rutherford T. Walsh; and Consul General Knight, who gave the bride away. After a short honeymoon in Beirut, the Morans proceeded to the U. S. in compliance with Sgt. Moran's transfer orders.



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The End of the Frock Coat

by Laurence Salisbury

MR. TOYAMA sidled into the living-room with that ambiguity of approach which I had long since come to recognize: a rhythmic but slight bending of the left knee which suggested subservience; a tentative scratching of the scalp indicating perplexity; and a soft, sibilant intaking of the breath implying courteous respect. The combination augured either a request which he feared would be refused or an explanation in palliation of some fresh error committed by his wife. Now that the couple had formed my domestic staff for more than three years, I was, I thought, aware of all their idiosyncracies, as they, no doubt, were well aware of mine. It was Toyama's superlative qualities as a cook which reconciled me to his wife's shortcomings.

"Sir," Toyama said, with a slight movement of the shoulders intimating a genuflection, "the frock coat is no longer required wear. The Ministry of the Imperial Household has just said so." I knew what he meant: there was now no sound reason why I should not transfer title to my Prince Albert from me to Toyama.

My astral body leapt to its feet, though my physical self remained stretched out in a comfortable chair. (I had been engaged in deep thoughtlessness, my eyes resting unseeingly on my temple garden with its lagoon of lazily moving carp.) In my dealings with Toyama I always attempted for tactical

reasons to maintain calm. The ultimate disposition of my frock coat, or Prince Albert, was a point of periodic discussion. Indeed, I regarded that Victorian garment of imprisoning wool—double-breasted from its high, short lapels down to the knees, with no flare or cutting away to free the knees and thighs—as an important weapon in my arsenal for improvement of my domestic situation, a situation impaired by the vagaries of Toyama's wife.

The pair had come into my service immediately after I had succeeded in renting the western rooms of an active Buddhist temple in the Shiba Park area of Tokyo. In fact, I had barely returned to my office after striking a bargain with the priest when one of the Embassy messenger boys whipped through the door with the air of conferring a favor and whispered, "Sir, my uncle and aunt will work for you. He is cook; she is amah." He placed on my desk a score of unsealed, badly-smudged envelopes. "Recommendations," he said, bowing again. The air was heavy with the smell of white radish.

Knowing that the envelopes would contain glowing tributes to the couple's efficiency, honesty, and loyalty, I pushed them back without a glance. "All right," I said, "They're hired." For I knew that whomever I hired would be pigs in a poke.

As things turned out, perhaps I ought to have waited for a later poke.

Toyama and his wife arrived at my temple that evening, burdened with all their worldly goods bundled in large

Mr. Salisbury retired from the Foreign Service in 1944 after twenty-two years service, most of it in the Far East. He now divides his time between traveling about the world and thinking about it in Guilford, Connecticut.

squares of cloth and wicker baskets. They huddled uncertainly in the entrance, bowing and smiling diffidently. No doubt they were more worried about my character than I was about theirs. What had I to worry about? If they turned out to be unsatisfactory, I could always dismiss them. Or so I thought.

At my insistence they scuffed hesitantly into the living-room. Toyama was a stocky man of perhaps fifty, with a fringe of gray hair between his ears and his bald pate. His flat, oblong face was creased with wrinkles—worry wrinkles. Amah—I was never to know her by any other name—was perhaps fifteen years younger, a slight woman with features unusually sharp for a Japanese. Her hair disheveled, she wore a perplexed frown, as though anxious not to miss any point of this initial interview. Whenever I spoke, the frown was relieved by a pointless giggle, suggesting that I was a very amusing fellow indeed. Toyama spoke English well; Amah knew only one English word—yes, a knowledge which was to contribute to subsequent confusions.

I agreed to Toyama's proposal that their combined wage be the equivalent in yen of forty-five dollars a month, out of which they would feed themselves. Toyama named the sum in so weak a voice that I knew that he would be willing to take less if I insisted. It was at this moment that I began to feel sorry for him, although I did not know then why he was so tremulous a bargainer. But as forty-five dollars was a reasonable wage, I waived argument.

After I had herded them to the kitchen and the adjoining servants' room of eight mats, I returned to the living-room, happy in the knowledge that I was now a master of comfortable quarters set in a pretty garden and a pair of servants. For a bachelor on a junior officer's salary, I felt that I was really doing myself well.

It was some time before the question of my frock coat arose, but related problems began even before I had settled my furniture in its new home. There was, for example, only one place for my oversized sofa—the wall at one end of the long, low-ceilinged living-room. This created a lighting problem which I decided to solve by having made an elongated narrow table to put behind the sofa and against the wall. A lamp at either end of the table would cast a good reading-light.

I called in Toyama, and he called in a cabinet maker, a genial little man even more wrinkled than my cook. To him I explained exactly what I wanted. The top of the table was to be just one inch below the upper edge of the back of the sofa and was to run the length of the sofa minus three inches at each end. Suddenly the cabinet maker scratched his shaved head. He had mislaid his tape measure.

Amah had been loitering in the dining-room, interested in our discussion. Perhaps she believed that it would throw light on my character, which I think she was already finding a puzzle. Toyama called to her, "Bring the tape measure from your sewing basket." Amah withdrew and, after a prolonged pause, returned with a measure in her hand. The cabinet maker then made the measurements—all in *sun* of course, as *sun* are to the Japanese what inches are to an American.

Three days later the cabinet maker arrived with a new-made table. I sprang forward, protesting, "Surely there is something wrong."

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He smiled tolerantly. No doubt he had had many years of dealing with difficult Westerners and believed he knew how to handle them. "Nothing wrong," he said. "I followed the measurements exactly."

"But it's too small. I'm sure it's too small."

The cabinet maker spoke more brusquely. "No, no. Exactly right." And he pulled the sofa from the wall and set the table in. The table disappeared. Its top was eighteen inches below the upper edge of the sofa and the ends failed to meet the ends of the sofa by two feet in both directions.

For a moment I could find no words. The cabinet maker, his face distorted with surprise and disbelief, found some. "Exactly right, but small," he said. He scratched his head. "Small, but the exact measurements."

With a break in my voice, I shouted for Toyama. He came in: he scratched his head; he said, "But the cabinet maker measured correctly."

Having the same conviction, I felt my mental confusion thicken. I would have to pay for this table which would be of no use to me. The man had certainly measured with the greatest care right before my eyes.

Suddenly the lines of Toyama's face deepened. He called to Amah, who was again in the dining-room. "That tape measure you brought, was it the measure in your sewing basket?"

Amah now suffered one of her magenta moments of premature guilt, aware that she would be found wrong in something, though as yet unable to guess what. Her hand fluttered to her hair, tumbled as usual about her ears. I felt sorry for her, still not realizing that whenever I felt sorry for her I would shortly feel even more sorry for myself. "No," she replied. "I saw one lying outside the kitchen door; so I brought it."

"Ah," sighed Toyama; and "Ah" echoed the cabinet maker. Both nodded their heads, for now they understood. She had brought the cabinet maker his own mislaid measure, but she had failed to mention the fact. And in Japan the *sun* of the cabinet maker's measure is a quarter shorter than the *sun* of the sewing measure. So from the measure that was already shorter than he thought, the cabinet maker had deducted another twenty-five percent. The result was a table half as large as ordered.

I was now beginning to understand why Toyama and his wife had so many letters of recommendation from late employers and why he had so many wrinkles. But I did not immediately add one more laudatory letter to their collection. That evening Toyama employed a device which I was later to recognize as a part of his strategy to retain his job. He made a beautiful Mount Fuji for dessert, with smoke belching from the crater. My guests and I were charmed. With a sculptor's skill he had carved the mountain from three kinds of ice cream: green peppermint represented the wooded lower slopes and chocolate the middle slopes of volcanic ash, while the beautiful cone was white vanilla. The vapors rising from the crater came from dry ice neatly hidden within. Inevitably, however, Amah served it and the entire dinner with a horrible lack of *éclat*.

It was in November, on the day of the Imperial Chrysanthemum Garden Party, that I had the flashing idea that in the frock coat perhaps lay the solution of continuing co-existence with Amah. Toyama was helping me into the circumambient garment. As he smoothed the shoulders, he

by Laurence Salisbury

seemed reluctant to remove his hands. "Sir," he said, "this is a lovely thing. I understand that only in Japan is a diplomat—" he bowed to indicate that I was one "—required to wear a frock coat."

I could not agree that the Prince Albert was "lovely," especially my version, which had been purchased forty years earlier by my father for his wedding (in Chicago) and which had in the passing decades acquired a delicate gloss of green. But it was true that only in Japan was the coat still required for certain functions: the one I was to attend that afternoon, its equivalent in April when the Emperor and the diplomatic corps would view the cherry blossoms, and the annual Imperial Duck Hunt. I had accepted my father's offer of his frock coat because I would wear it seldom (I was not of sufficient rank to attend the Imperial Duck Hunt) and would never wear it after transfer to another post. In other countries the more comfortable and more elegant morning coat, with its sloping-away front, had replaced it.

The attitude of the Ministry of the Imperial Household seemed unreasonable. This was not a matter for nationalism. The coat had originated abroad and had not become required wear in Japan until 1873, in that extraordinary period when feudal trappings were rapidly giving way to Western. That was the same year as the edict banning persecution of Christians—not so very long ago: Bertrand Russell was born the preceding year and Herbert Hoover and Sir Winston Churchill the following.

I said to Toyama, "That is so; and I shall not wear the coat after I am transferred from here."

Abruptly he retreated six feet and bowed. "Sir," he said, seeming to draw on some hidden store of courage to bring out the words which followed, "truly, forgive me, but I would be happy if I might know that I could be buried in it. When that deprecated transfer comes, would you not give it to me?"

Perhaps I was cruel not to assure him immediately, but suddenly I saw the coat in relation to his and my problems. And he had more than I. He was married to Amah.

I met him only part way. "I will do so, if you will improve Amah. You are a very fine cook, but she makes many mistakes." The anticipation in his eyes died. To cover a feeling of guilt, I continued talking. Amah's mistakes were of two kinds. There was the thunderbolt variety, like the fiasco of the tape measure, against which the most alert husband or employer could take no precaution, for no one could guess whence the lightning would come or where strike. Then there was the firmly-established, continuing error which neither Toyama nor I—nor apparently Amah—seemed able to eradicate.

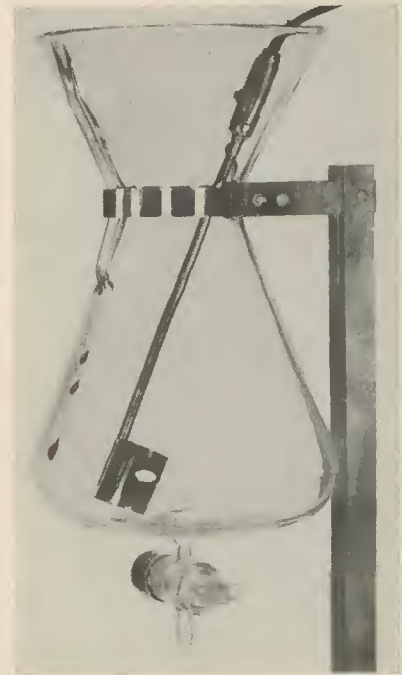
Perhaps he could improve her language? She spoke a rude brand of the language of the gods. To be rude in Japanese one did not need to employ rude words. One merely dropped the honorifics: the prefixes, the suffixes, and the high-class verbs which so pleased the one addressed. My Japanese grammar gave nineteen ways of saying, "Close the door," each gradation indicating a change in the relation of the speaker to the person addressed, ranging from the coolic who has annoyed you to the Emperor who has graciously permitted you to speak in his elevated presence. (Of course, there was no conceivable circumstance in which one might ask the Emperor to close the door.) I felt reason-

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ably sure that Amah could not really believe that the person she addressed, including myself and callers at the door, was invariably of a social status inferior to her own.

"All you have to do," I said to Toyama, "is to teach her a few polite phrases. Also, she never uses any *gozaimasu's* or *irasshaimasu's*. She must learn to use some, and to throw in a lot of *o's* and *go's*."

Toyama's concurrence was dejected. "Very well, sir. I'll try."

Toyama might possibly have had some success. I felt sure that he was doing his best, now that the frock coat dangled in the future like a bunch of carrots. But the pattern of our household altered. My mother arrived to live with me. This gave Amah wider, wilder scope.

Now a few Japanese ladies began to call, a gratifying development for we wanted to have Japanese friends, and the custom of afternoon calls was not widely practiced by Japanese women. They were more shy than Western women. As time passed, however, my mother sensed a coldness, or rather a withdrawal, on the part of some of the Japanese ladies. There seemed to be little or nothing that she or I could do about it. And there wasn't until by chance we learned the cause.

With some hesitation two British ladies informed me that, when they had come to the house to call on my mother, Amah had cautiously opened the door some three inches and had then said throatily, "Go home! Go home!"—in English.

I called Toyama to the living-room and told him of this fresh tangent of his wife's. To spare him embarrassment, my mother was not present.

"Sir," he said, looking suddenly several years older. "Sir, you told me to make her polite. So I taught her some English, for English doesn't have such things as *o's* and *go's* and *gozaimasu's* and *irasshaimasu's*. But she must have become confused. She ought to have said, 'Not at home. Not at home'."

I was greatly tempted to add my own letter to Toyama's collection of recommendations. I discussed the question with my mother. To my surprise, she was opposed to dismissal. "If you discharge them," she said, "Toyama won't be able to keep a job more than a few weeks, not so long as Amah is with him." My mother ignored my muttered question: "Why doesn't he divorce her?"

That evening, of course, Toyama cooked a dream meal, complete with a belching Mount Fuji. At its conclusion, my mother went so far as to say, "I think you ought to promise him the frock coat without any reservation." So the outcome was a new rule that Amah should never under any circumstances use a word of English.

A few days later Toyama asked permission to take a two-day trip to the country. I did not then realize it but it was almost as though he had heard my question and intended to show me why he didn't divorce Amah. Also his trip gave my mother a chance to know Amah a little more fundamentally.

While Toyama was absent Amah performed only one errand for my mother. Not far from us there was a Japanese man who trimmed ladies' hats. My mother had a turban with a rhinestone buckle on it. She wanted the buckle replaced with a narrow feather of hers. This seemed a simple matter. So I called in Amah and explained slowly

in Japanese three times that all she need do was tell the man that the buckle should be removed and the feather take its place. I had Amah repeat the instructions after me.

Amah then giggled, took the hat and feather, and departed, while I shouted after her, "absolutely nothing else is to be done."

Now I should add that my mother had a heavy head of hair and wore a fairly large hat-size. When in a little while Amah returned with the hat, the buckle was off and the feather was on. So far so good. Naturally my mother stepped to a mirror and tried on the hat. It perched on the top of her head as though about to take flight. My mother wailed and I turned to Amah. "What happened?"

Amah flushed defensively. "Nothing happened."

"But the hat has become very small."

"Oh, that." Amah dismissed it as of no importance. "The hat man pointed out that nobody has a head-size big enough for the hat as it was. So I said, 'If that is so, then please make it small enough to fit my mistress.' And he did."

Now at last my mother really began to question the wisdom of retaining Amah. But here Toyama played his master stroke. He returned from the country with a four-year-old boy—his and Amah's. The child had been staying with a cousin until Toyama felt that his job with me was secure. And now I understood why he did not resort to divorce.

The boy won our hearts immediately. He was small for his age but clean and neat and quiet, his shaved head shaped like a hock. Whenever we met him in the garden he smiled gravely and bowed low from the waist. With the passing of time his smile widened and became more spontaneous, indicating confidence in our friendliness. Perhaps without him our sympathy might have given way. For Amah never improved.

When a friend visited me for two weeks, Amah rearranged the toothbrushes in the bathroom so that throughout the visit the guest used mine and I his. Amah explained that her rearrangement was based on color, not ownership, and was much prettier. Told never to touch a clay figurine of the Han dynasty that still retained some of its 2,000-year-old color, she washed it one day with soap and water—fatally. Later she explained that she had now served me for three years without dusting it and so there was no question that it needed washing. Besides, she added, by "not touch" she had assumed that I meant no more than "not knock down and break."

Then, unexpectedly, Toyama informed me of the decision of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. The frock coat was no longer required wear; the morning coat could be worn instead. As I stared at Toyama, I realized suddenly that the ultimate disposition of my frock coat no longer held significance. No matter what Amah did or didn't do, she and her husband and I would be separated only by death or, less drastically, by my transfer to another post. So I thought for a moment, for I had already learned that a diplomat ought not to be impetuous in his decisions. As Toyama waited for my words, his face reflected extreme anxiety. At last I said, "I will turn the coat over to you now." I stood up and strode to a cedar chest. I took out the garment. Could so awkward and uncomfortable an invention have been regarded as handsome by those who knew it when it received the name of Queen Victoria's consort?

Meanwhile Toyama clucked for his wife. When I handed



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him the coat he inclined his forehead and lifted the gift to it. Then laying it aside, he and Amah knelt and their foreheads touched the rug, and again, and again. In embarrassment I waited for the ritual to end; for I felt something of a cheat: I was glad to be rid of the coat.

Fears that possession might weaken Toyama's zeal in my service were groundless. He continued his efforts to improve Amah. The efforts continued to be unrewarded. Then, at last, separation loomed. I was ordered to proceed to Washington.

Toyama and Amah wept: the boy clutched my mother's hand; my mother had tears in her eyes—but then, she was always easily moved. To myself I said, "Well, at last I won't have Amah any more. In Washington I shall have quite a different establishment, something with tone."

Back in Washington I was lucky enough to find a convenient apartment. I phoned an employment agency for servants. After a long pause, while the woman at the other end of the phone conned her files, I was informed, "Yes, we can supply you with an excellent couple, a man and wife. The man is cook, the wife a maid. But they will come rather higher than usual—for they are Japanese; and you have no doubt heard what wonderful servants Japanese are."

Quietly, and thoughtfully, I hung up.

20th Century Style

European School

by ELIZABETH G. WOOTTON

IN THE FALL of 1959, shortly after our arrival in Brussels, I an editorial from the BALTIMORE SUN appeared in the European edition of the New York HERALD TRIBUNE. It described and praised the progress of the European School in Luxembourg—a school which had been formed eight short years before for the children of officials of the "European Coal and Steel Community" and included, according to the article, "thirteen lucky Americans." The school was graduating its first full class, students who had entered in the lower grades and gone through the twelfth, students who were in the unique position of being the first graduates of a true Pan-European school. Further, the editorial described the curriculum of the school, its goals and plans for the future, and concluded by wishing luck to the newly-formed sister European School in Brussels, where the six member states of the European Common Market had established themselves on January 1, 1958.

Mr. Albert Van Houtte, a Belgian, had been the guiding spirit of the first European School, and it was largely through his efforts that the second school was organized. Mr. Van Houtte, a *greffier* at the International Court of Luxembourg and formerly a professor at the University of Louvain, had donated much of his own time and money to the establishment of a school which would truly incorporate the ideals of a united Europe. He is, at present, President of the Board of both schools and continues to commute between the two with no personal recompense save that of being a first-hand witness to the birth of an astonishing new educational system in Western Europe.

Elizabeth G. Wootton, a former school teacher, is the mother of five daughters and the wife of FSO Charles G. Wootton, currently assigned to Brussels.

In the fall of 1959 we had been investigating the school situation for our three older daughters—Cheryl, twelve; Laurel, ten; and Cynthia, seven. Spurred on by the editorial and the remarks of members of the United States Mission to the European Communities in Brussels, we decided to give special attention to the European School. That first year there had been only twenty-six students enrolled and classes had been held in a tiny school building in the central part of town. Now, however, they had received enough new applications to warrant moving to larger quarters and the school had decided upon the lovely estate of the Château Rhier standing majestically in the midst of a thickly-wooded area—surrounded by grounds covered with excavation and mud. In the background, we could see the partially-constructed, one-story pavilions, each of which was later to house two classrooms of different nationalities side by side, so that the children would always be exposed to the children, sounds, and manners of other nations. The plan was for the school, like its predecessor in Luxembourg, to have four sections of instruction: French, Italian, German and Dutch—covering the languages spoken by the six member-states of the Common Market.

Much impressed by what we saw, we submitted applications for enrolling our girls and, happily, they were accepted since the school is not restricted solely to the children of the countries of the European Communities. The girls were to be in the French Section with German as their "second" language of instruction. By late September, we were informed that the twenty-six students had snow-balled to five hundred and thirty-nine! Included in this number were twenty-two Americans, seven English, two Austrians, one Turk, one Canadian, two Finns and one Pole. Eighty were enrolled in the German Section, two hundred and sixty-three in the Franco-Belge, one hundred and seven in the Italian, and eighty-nine in the Dutch.

The curriculum of the school is not easy. Cheryl, in the equivalent of our seventh grade, was assigned the following subjects: mathematics, German, Latin, religion, drawing, history, geography, biology, French grammar, and manual arts. One of the requirements of the school is that each child receive three years of instruction in geography in his second language and, eventually, repeat geographic instruction in his mother tongue. The idea is to acquaint him with instruction in a foreign tongue rather than to teach him an excessive amount of geography.

Because of the difficulty in adjusting to the new language, we decided to have our next two daughters, Laurel and Cynthia, repeat the grade each had just completed in the States—a decision that other parents might take into consideration since the work is more advanced than the equivalent American grade, anyway. Laurel, in the fourth grade, has French, German, gymnastics, arithmetic, knitting, history, drawing, music, and science. Cynthia, repeating first grade, then had the task of relearning the three R's in French. Within three months, she was doing well not only in French but also in German. She had a repertoire of some twenty-five songs and poems in German and knew their English meaning.

At this point, I might explain how the girls were able to assimilate a second language so readily. Instruction is in a manner similar to the Berlitz system; the conversation is "real." That is, objects are shown, pointed to and discussed,



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EUROPEAN SCHOOL

and conversations follow. Only the essentials of grammar are formally explained; the rest is absorbed through everyday application. On the other hand, their relearning of French has been along more formal lines with extra hours of tutoring necessary in grammar, composition, reading, writing, etc.

The road has not been easy, but the results are rewarding and thrilling. This year their adjustment is more complete; and, consequently, their studies are not so difficult or time-demanding. All three girls now speak fluent French and good German. Not only they, but most of the Americans enrolled in the school, are making excellent progress and are in the top sections of their classes. Their friends are a rich sprinkling of many nationalities and the girls have benefited from the association with the varied thoughts, expressions, idioms, games, and customs—all surmounted by a "community-of-world-living" atmosphere. Notices to the parents appear in four languages; holidays are those considered appropriate to the six Common Market countries. Further, the students benefit from learning under a system based largely upon that of the French schools but incorporating the best ideas of the schools of the other member-states as well.

The teaching and administrative staff is composed of the best-qualified applicants selected by the governments of all six countries. Recommendations are made by a council composed of six delegates from the six Communities, one delegate from the Parents' Association, and two directors of the school. Then inspectors from each of the member-states are sent to determine the needs of the school and report to their home governments. The teachers must be extremely versatile and have command of two or more languages. Thus a Dutch teacher teaches English to the eighth graders; the gymnastics teacher teaches French and German children; a French teacher teaches both French grammar and biology.

Although the Belgian government provides the school buildings and grounds, the yearly costs are distributed among the six countries under the Luxembourg plan; e.g. twenty-five percent each to Germany and France; fifteen percent to Holland, Belgium, and Italy; and five percent to Luxembourg. There is, of necessity, a quota placed upon the number of Belgian students admitted: only those whose families work with the European Communities or who live in the immediate vicinity of the school are accepted. It is hoped that a regular percentile system can be worked out to admit other Belgians on a limited basis. So widely respected is the European School today that there is already a waiting list of approximately one hundred and fifty students for the fall. One strong incentive is that a diploma from the European School is recognized for university admission by all six member countries plus Austria. No other school can offer the European student this opportunity.

Today Cheryl, completely delighted with and proud of her school, contributes the following:

The European School of Brussels is situated in a lovely forest surrounding a château. On paved paths, one walks from one modern pavilion to the next and in-between the paths are lovely landscaped lawns. Here and there one sees large bowls containing a variety of flowers. Three big bricked areas are the main playgrounds and, in addition, there are volleyball and basketball courts. Before these areas were built, the children played in a large fenced-in orchard on the limit of the property.

by Elizabeth G. Wootton

At the head of this setting, on a hill overlooking azalea bushes, is the château, used as the main reception room with the offices of the director and administrative staff being located there along with the lunchroom and some classrooms.

To help the children understand and know each other well, the school often organizes four- or five-day excursions to one of the six member countries. This year, the seventh- and eighth-graders went to Holland where we visited several cities, and went into classrooms and talked with the children in Dutch and English. My best friend, Rosana, is Italian and next year I hope we will visit her country. I also wish my class could visit America.

This last statement of Cheryl's reflects, I think, a certain spirit the school attempts to foster, that of the retention of individual cultures, rights, and ideals. Just as no Texan could recreate his personality to fit the thought and behavior pattern of a New Englander, even though the two are strongly bound together by the larger tie of being citizens of the United States, so does the European School recognize the fact that the Italian is basically Italian and the Frenchman French even though they may both be citizens, one day, of a united European community. Mr. Taets, former Secretary of the school and tutor for our girls, has even asked me to obtain a copy of our Declaration of Independence for the school so that the older students can study the "rights of man" clause which has also been adopted by UNO.

In the early part of the school year, a very spirited PTA meeting took place with nearly four-hundred parents attending. It started at 8 p.m. and continued till midnight. As one smiling Italian father said (in French), "Perhaps I am talking too long and too much, but I am not used to such a democratic proceeding in the schools and I am making the most of it." His biggest objection concerned the location of the lavatories, and that reflected the general spirit of the meeting—discussion of small, concrete problems but no great disharmony.

More new European Schools are opening—one in Petten, near Amsterdam in Holland and another in Ispra, northern Italy, which will be the sites of Euratom Research Centers. Another school, along the same lines, has already been organized in Mol, near Limbourg, here in Belgium. Actually, this latter was organized by the Belgian Research Center for its assistants, but it will be expanded for the families of Euratom. Karlsruhe, Germany, also hopes to open another European School in a year's time. A European University will be founded in Florence, Italy, to concern itself with the study of European problems, political and economic, and it is hoped that its graduates will work for the European Communities.

Thus, with the best educational contributions of a number of countries, the composite picture of the European School is one of a healthy blending of new and old ideas, of a rigid and difficult curriculum but a pliancy to accept innovations suitable to modern living, of a community alive and gay with children of many countries—children who play, work, sing, argue, and live together for seven hours each day.

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Limitations on American Diplomacy

by SIR WILLIAM HAYTER, K.C.M.G.

NO GREAT POWER, except perhaps the Soviet Union, suffers or has ever suffered so much as America does from self-imposed limitations on its diplomacy. The United States really possesses all the requisites for the successful conduct of foreign affairs. A vigorous, intelligent, and educated population; a naturally generous spirit; immense power and natural resources; and a present status unclouded by the embarrassments that attend past and present empires like Russia, Great Britain, and France. All these great assets, properly organized, ought to make it easy for America to conduct a successful diplomacy. Her diplomacy is, by and large, successful, but the successes are not easily attained, and there are not as many of them as there ought to be.

America's constitutional handicaps are serious. They touch on the foundations of the U.S. Constitution, a ground where a foreigner must necessarily tread with delicate precaution. The doctrine of the separation of powers has the most respectable antecedents. In domestic affairs it has many merits. But it can have awkward repercussions on foreign affairs. The classic example of this is, of course, the Senate's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles. There are many others. The pattern is a constant one, deriving from that inability of the Executive to control the Legislature which is built into the U.S. Constitution. There are times when the exasperated foreigner begins to feel that the expression, "The U.S. Government," is entirely meaningless.

This division of powers inevitably leads to unpredictability and uncertainty in American foreign policy. It also has inconvenient byproducts, such as the necessity for the Executive to provide lengthy, public, and detailed accounts of its policies to the Legislature. These are often embarrassing to the Administration in its relations with the foreign Governments involved, whose affairs have to be expounded with somewhat excessive frankness to unsympathetic and outspokenly critical Senators and Congressmen. The latter are not always very well informed of the issues involved, and having no constitutional responsibility for carrying out the policies on which they are being consulted they feel free to say what they like, forgetting perhaps that what they say is heard abroad as well as in their own constituencies.

Another constitutional handicap to the efficient conduct of American policy is the position of the President. The fact that the chief executive is also Head of State has practical

inconveniences, particularly in making it so hard for him to travel (or at least so it was supposed until President Eisenhower's extensive journeyings at the end of his second term). It also has political inconveniences, by involving the whole prestige of the State in his policies and negotiations, in a way and to an extent that does not arise in the case of a removable Prime Minister. Moreover the President's position as the sole responsible element in the Executive tends to weaken the position of the U.S. Secretary of State, who is sometimes seen as no more than a high official. Of course powerful men like Foster Dulles can transcend this by the force of their personality, their experience, and their standing in internal politics. But not all Secretaries of State have Dulles's stature (none of Franklin Roosevelt's had) and when this is so foreigners have all the time a feeling that they are not having access to the real holder of power.

The irresponsible position of the U.S. Secretary of State has another weakening effect. A Minister of Foreign Affairs who is a politician in his own right, responsible to Parliament, is much less subject to press opinion and pressure than the head of the State Department. The former can rely on Parliament, of which he is a part, to protect him against the press; the latter is likely to be criticized by Congress if he does not yield to all the exigencies of the journalists. People primarily responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs have a duty to explain and justify their policies to the public, through the press or otherwise. But they ought to be able from time to time to refuse to speak, or to do other things likely to make themselves temporarily unpopular and they are more likely to feel enough confidence to do this if their political standing is an independent one and if they can count on the protection, not the counter-pressure, of the Legislature. Even Dulles seemed to feel himself under an obligation to give way to press bullying, in a way which often embarrassed his allies.

The impediments that hamper American foreign policy are thus serious. But the Americans are expert at knocking down the barriers they have put round themselves. And of course they have a great capacity for getting things done. The British during the last war were sometimes inclined to say smugly that the Americans put five men on to a job that they (the British) could do with a man and a boy. What they failed to notice was that the five American men usually did a better, faster, more complete job than the British man and boy.

In the same way we sometimes tend to criticize the immense size of American diplomatic establishments. But my

Sir William Hayter entered the British Diplomatic Service in 1930 and became Minister to France in 1949 and Ambassador to Russia in 1953. In 1958 he left the Service to become Warden of New College, Oxford, from which he himself had earlier graduated.

general impression is that these huge American embassies do in fact do very good jobs. They normally contain a high proportion of fluent linguists, who by hard application to published sources seem to assemble a mass of useful information about their country of residence. This mass of information is well sifted and digested, so that the State Department is probably the most completely and intelligently briefed of all Ministries of Foreign Affairs. On personal contacts they are sometimes weaker; there seems on occasion to be a curious inability to get inside the skin of a foreigner, and this can lead to odd misunderstandings. Nevertheless there is something very professional and well-organized about the American Diplomatic Service; its members are alert, active, and well-informed, and when they have the luck to have a good head of mission they form an impressive and powerful team. For instance Mr. Bohlen's Embassy in Moscow in my time was probably the best there.

A valid criticism that might be made of American diplomacy since the Second World War is that it has not imposed itself enough. No one would wish the Western alliance to model itself on the Soviet block with its "when father says turn we all turn" mentality. But some leadership is necessary, and there is no substitute for American leadership. When it is absent or inadequate, the West is not led at all. Attempts to replace it, from Great Britain or Continental Europe, merely lead to bickering, and prove that no other nation than America can ever be accepted as the natural and inevitable leader of the West. The Americans of course know this too, well enough, but at times self-distrust sets in, or weariness with world affairs, or preoccupation with pressing internal problems, and then American leadership temporarily abdicates and the Western alliance drifts rather helplessly about, the crew quarrelling on deck while the captain broods in his cabin. Luckily these phases do not generally last long; they are unhappy while they do.


American leadership occasionally abdicates in another way, as Sir Anthony Eden points out in his recent memoirs. They are not always willing, when they are giving financial aid to a country, to use enough pressure to secure that it is not misused. The instance which Sir Anthony gives, that of the misuse by the Saudi Arabian Government of the money paid to it by American oil companies, is of course a special case since U.S. Government money is not involved. But in any event America's anti-colonialist inhibitions would make it difficult for them to apply pressure of this kind.

All in all, my conclusion about American diplomacy is that it is much better than we or they have any right to expect. For all its handicaps it is forthright, generous, intelligent, and powerful; it could be even more effective if it were more untrammelled.

Springtime on the Delta

by Betty Hahn Bernbaum





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Political Reporting, and the Deluge

POLITICAL reporting officers labor under two handicaps. The heaviest is uncertainty about what the Department wants. The other is a temptation to write for the promotion panels. The result is a deluge of reports which have little or nothing to do with American foreign policy.

Although this diagnosis is on the pessimistic side, the remedies are at hand—if we only have the courage to use them.

Political officers usually leave Washington with only the vaguest idea of what is expected of them. Between the harassing condition under which officers in the Department work and the time absorbed by those checklists given departing officers, there is often little time for "consultation." Even if there is, the desk officer may have no clear idea of what he wants. While this could be due to his failure to take (or have) time to think about it, a more important factor is likely to be his lack of interest in despatches. Most desk officers spend only a fraction of their time reading despatches. Occasionally, they may find one of real interest, but this is a rare event—say one in ten.

The cloud in which the officer travels to his post is only partly dissipated after his arrival. Although he inevitably learns which arrows he has in his quiver, he is often uncertain which he should shoot, because he seldom can discover where they land.

In my experience, useful comments on despatches are rare events. An officer may hear that someone thought a report "very good" or "timely," but that is about all. This is not—normally—because desk officers are lazy. Again, the unpleasant truth is that despatches simply are not important enough to

desk officers to permit them to take time out to comment on them.

What purpose, then, is played by the run-of-the-mill political report? If despatches are only marginal to the desk officer's needs, why are they continued?

First of all, there are the requirements of the research community, which evidently can digest a greater volume of reports than the regional bureaus. (I suspect, however, that even the "R" area might not object to fewer reports, if the general quality were improved.)

Secondly, *some* political despatches are of value to the regional bureaus, and they apparently have not discovered any way to dispose of the chaff without losing the wheat.

A third reason, not always too clearly recognized, is the part despatches play in getting on.

Once a year, desk officers prepare "end-user" evaluations of the political officers at their posts. Since the drafting officer's name does not appear on telegrams, these evaluations are inevitably based primarily on despatches. How can a desk officer prepare an evaluation if there are no despatches?

Even if nothing is happening worthy of a report, there is a temptation to send in despatches anyway—just to let the Department know you are there.

A lack of certainty concerning what to report, combined with a compulsion to report for the record, can have only one result—a plethora of despatches. And the Department is the sufferer! From all over the globe they pour in. And since no one knows for sure who—if anyone—is interested in them, fifty copies are reproduced and flung around Washington.

A fashionable complaint is that senior officers read nothing but telegrams. I don't blame them. It is enough of a chore to get through the daily torrent of cables, without taking on voluminous despatches.

The malaise from which political reporting officers suffer might be diagnosed then as "an excess of marginal reporting activity."

The responsibility for the cure, in my opinion, rests primarily with the patient. I prescribe that reporting officers tear up most—say four out of five—of the despatches they prepare. If this medicine is too unpleasant for the sensitive author, I suggest that his supervisor administer it.

To help officers in the field screw up their courage to swallow this bitter brew, the Department should assure them that they will not be punished for their acts of heroism. One way to do this is to keep the end-user reports out of the personnel files. (Those I have seen and helped prepare would not be of much use to a promotion panel, in any event.)

Even these drastic measures would not insure that those reports which go to Washington would be of maximum value.

This can only be accomplished by better briefings before the officer goes to the field, followed by regular guidance after he gets there. I doubt that a formal instruction would fill the latter need. By the time it is cleared, it is likely to be both too late and too general to be of much value.

A better device, in my opinion, is a periodic informal letter from the desk officer, preferably prepared in consultation with his opposite number in the "R" area, to the chief of the political section. (I realize this device is already in use, but in my experience it is not enough.) This letter should review the reports received, indicate those which were and *were not* of value, and suggest subjects to be covered in future despatches.

If something is not done to reverse the trend, major surgery will be required. Who knows? We may one day even see an instruction to the field to stop using despatches for political reporting!

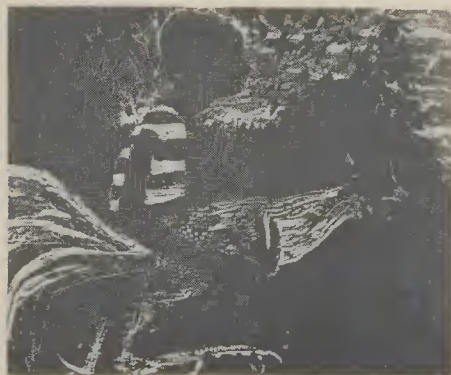
JOHN C. AUSLAND
Adelaide, Australia

Status and Keys

AS A FOOTNOTE to my article on Status In State I thought you would be interested in the fact that a Deputy Assistant Secretary, who had a key to the Secretary's elevator before the move to the annex, has made inquiries about the possibility of obtaining a key to the Secretary's elevator in the new setup.

There is nothing remarkable about this request except for the fact that the man's office is situated in an entirely different wing of the building from the Secretary's office.

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.
Washington



"Fighting Cock" by Walter Williams

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Letters to the Editor

Constructive Criticism

BOTH THE FEBRUARY and March issues of the JOURNAL were outstanding for at least one reason; they contained editorial suggestions concerning Departmental policy. One, in February, actually took issue with the Department, on the subject of the delay in transfers and home leave.

This writer hopes that the trend will continue. Too often in the past, suggestions and, in particular, criticisms, were relegated to the Letters page while the Editorial Page was devoted to bland and harmless echoes of Departmental policy. As the JOURNAL speaks for the Association, not the Department, there would appear to be room for further editorials of a constructively critical nature. The change in policy, if such it is, is commendable.

With reference to the excellent editorial on the Department's delayed transfer policy, one further point may be added. While the policy itself is clearly undesirable, the injury is compounded by the silence which has followed the initial announcement. The inevitable blow to morale which accompanies a cancellation of plans is allowed to grow to unnecessarily large proportions due to the complete lack of interim information on the extent of the anticipated postponements. The Department could easily supply periodic assessments of the situation, permitting those affected to feel only mistreated, not forgotten.

EDWARD L. PECK
Göteborg, Sweden American Vice Consul

"Lowest-Bidder Packing"

WE HAVE MOVED happily about in the Foreign Service for twenty years, happily, that is, until last October when we returned to Washington and were unpacked by the current "lowest bidder" designated by the Department of State to do the job.

It was a truly deplorable affair in which a combination of untrained incompetence coupled with sullen discourtesy resulted in a kind of nightmare.

Moving an entire household every few years is no mean task, and I think we should be entitled to first-rate packers as we have been in years past, and not some incompetent who is out to wreak havoc on our efforts.

DORIS S. TOPPING
Washington (Mrs. John L. Topping)

The Foreign Service: Four Years Later

I SHOULD LIKE to comment on Mr. Frederic Chapin's interesting observations, in the March issue ("The Foreign Service: Four Years Later") regarding prevailing trends in the distribution of Foreign Service officers by class.

Mr. Chapin lays some stress on the fact that the population of the senior FSO classes has grown at an inordinate rate, so that we seem to be getting no closer to the "ideal" pyramidal structure. Thus, he points out that "FSO-1 has almost doubled in four years and FSO-2 has grown by 33%."

In playing this particular numbers game, one must be cautious about statistical methods. While in absolute terms the above statement is entirely correct, a more accurate picture—in view of a substantial increase in the total FSO population—is obtained by asking how much each class increased or decreased in a relative sense. I have therefore computed the percentage equivalents for the numbers shown for each FSO class in Mr. Chapin's Table I. (I should also point out that the sum of Mr. Chapin's column for July 26, 1956, was in error; he indicated 2,688 FSO's as of that date, whereas the column adds to 2,745.) Furthermore, in order to bring the table up-to-date, I have computed the number and percentage of FSO's in each class as of the March 15, 1961, FOREIGN SERVICE NEWS LETTER, adjusted for resignations, retirements, deaths, promotions, and new appointments. (These figures are only approximate due to inevitable lags in the NEWS LETTER data, particularly with regard to separations.)

Class	7/26/56		7/1/60		3/15/61	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
CA	4	0.1	8	0.2	8	0.2
CM	53	1.9	65	1.8	78	2.1
0-1	114	4.2	222	6.0	254	6.7
0-2	303	11.0	412	11.3	444	11.8
0-3	526	19.2	584	15.9	619	16.4
0-4	183	6.7	665	18.2	714	18.9
0-5	606	22.1	657	18.0	632	16.7
0-6	607	22.1	378	10.3	372	9.9
0-7	349	12.7	339	9.2	358	9.5
0-8	333	9.1	295	7.8

Total 2,745 100.0 3,663 100.0 3,774 100.0

From this table we see that in 1956 the FSO-1 class accounted for 4.2 percent of all officers; and that in 1960 it comprised 6.0 percent. While the num-

ber of FSO's-1 almost doubled, as Mr. Chapin says, the proportionate increase was by no means so spectacular. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that after the 1961 promotion lists, the proportion of FSO's-1 continued to rise, so that this class now makes up 6.7 percent of the FSO population.

The FSO's-2 have remained fairly stable in a relative sense, and the FSO's-3 have actually dropped proportionately since 1956, even though the class has witnessed increases in absolute numbers.

Class 4 has shown the steepest percentage gains since it was first split into two classes in 1956, and classes 5, 6, and 7 all reflect significant proportional drops during the period.

All in all, however, the charge of rank inflation in the higher class levels does not hold up when one views the situation relatively. That is, in 1956 the senior classes of the Service, down to and including FSO-3, comprised 36.4 percent of all officers; whereas in 1961 these same classes included 37.2 percent of all FSO's—an increase of 0.8 percent which seems hardly alarming. The "bunching" in the center is, however, of significant interest.

Whether it is good or bad to have 37 percent of the officers in class 3 and up is beyond my competence to say. It would seem to me that the optimum number of officers in each class should be dependent upon the numbers and levels of jobs to be done without necessarily referring to some preconceived pattern. Possibly the conventional "pyramid" does not correspond to the real needs of the Service. If the entire Foreign Service were made up of FSO's, a pyramidal pattern might be the ideal arrangement. But FSO's are only a part of the Foreign Service structure, which includes the Staff Corps, the Reserve Corps, and several thousands of local employees—plus the vast and far-flung organizations of other U. S. agencies, both civilian and military, with which we in the Foreign Service work so closely. Then, too, we supply substantial numbers of people to staff our delegations to international organizations. At home the Foreign Service now fills a majority of the key positions in the Department, bolstered by a large force of civil serv-

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Four Years Later (continued)

ants. Thus, in terms of the jobs the Foreign Service is called upon to do, in planning programs and directing or coordinating the work of a great many people who are not FSO's, perhaps 37 percent in classes FSO-3 and above is not an undue proportion.

Mr. Chapin holds out little hope for relief of the alleged congestion in the upper ranks if past experience in service separations is any guide. He states that only 78 officers in Classes FSO-1 to -3 retired between January 1958 and July 1960, based on postings in the NEWS LETTER. (My own count, 65, is even less heartening.) While Mr. Chapin comments upon the retirements and resignations, he gives us no data on that one other manner of exiting from the Service—namely, death. I am glad to say that we do not lose too many that way, there having been a total of 18 FSO deaths in classes 1 through 6 recorded in the NEWS LETTER between January 1, 1958, and March 15, 1961. Considering the perils and hazards to which the bulk of us are exposed in our traveling about, this seems like a remarkably low figure. Unfortunately (I mean in a statistical sense only), the senior officers are an extraordinarily hardy bunch—during that period only 2 FSO's-1 and no FSO's-2 died; the FSO's-3 through -6 incurred the other 16 deaths. These figures, too, might look different if cast in relative terms, but I have not bothered to make the comparison.

All together, 226 officers in classes

FSO-1 through FSO-6 were separated between January 1, 1958, and July 15, 1960, by resignation, retirement, or death. New appointments—principally at the FSO-8 level—have more than made up for these losses, but, as the above table shows, promotions to and above the FSO-6 level have by and large maintained the relative strengths of those classes.

I think that Mr. Chapin treats much too casually the "new legislation recently enacted" which may speed the retirement process. The two carrots referred to are Public Law 85-882, which provides increases in FSO retirement annuities on a decreasing scale for anyone retiring before June 30, 1962; and Public Law 86-612, which authorizes an *additional* 10 percent annuity increase (over and above the first increase) for officers who retire by the same date.

For an officer with 30 years of Federal service the 10 percent annuity increase is alone the equivalent of three years of additional service (disregarding any increase in the average salary for the highest five years). Many officers in their mid- or even early-fifties are going to think long and hard about that, and I would not be surprised, as a result, to see a last-minute flurry of retirement applications to beat the June 30 deadline next year.

It is startling, of course, how few officers in their fifties realize exactly how much—or, better, how little—they are really earning. I know of one person, age 55 with 35 years of service, who told me recently that he expected to remain in harness until he reaches 60. He had not heard of the two laws which increase annuities if one retires by mid-1962. We sat down and worked out his annuity as of January 1962 and as of January 1965: the difference, even allowing for salary increases, was less than \$300 per year.

Fortunately, many — and I hope I may say most—Foreign Service officers work for reasons which are unrelated to earning a living, and it is

this spirit of dedication and loyalty which would render irrelevant a monetary comparison like the one just given. Still, it is a demonstration of the kind which is sometimes interesting to contemplate.

A problem which is looming up in the next three or four years—and which Mr. Chapin mentions not at all—is the heavy concentration of officers in classes 2 and 3 who were appointed to those classes in 1955 and 1956, a period when the integration program was at its height. I find there are now 106 FSO's-2 who were appointed in 1956 or earlier, and 192 FSO's-3 in the same category. If, as Mr. Chapin argues, there are only 20 FSO-2 and 30 FSO-3 slots available for promotion each year, we shall witness a large number of selections-out when 1965 and 1966 roll around—even if, which will certainly not be the case, all of the promotions were confined to officers of that vintage. And this would still be true after allowing for the 54 FSO's-2 and the 39 FSO's-3 who, by 1965, will be subject to mandatory age retirement.

In actual fact, of course, the annual promotion lists do not, as yet, give evidence of slowing down to the pace which Mr. Chapin feels essential to prevent further rank inflation. The 1961 promotion list advanced 12 FSO's-1 (as compared with nine in Mr. Chapin's table); 43 FSO's-2 (as compared with 20); 72 FSO's-3 (20); and 107 FSO's-4 (38). Furthermore, in addition to age retirements, there will be some attrition as a result of voluntary retirements, particularly before June 30, 1962. And, finally, death may be counted on to take its toll.

Even so, by the time 1965 rolls around, we may still find ourselves with a sizable number of officers who will have served ten years in grade. Will the Department simply let the selection-out machinery take its natural course, thereby accomplishing the slimming-down objectives for which Mr. Chapin is arguing? Or, as an expedient, will there be a temporary modification of the selection-out policy to raise the number of years which an officer is permitted to serve in class?

EARLE A. CLEVELAND

Berlin



"Cpl. O'Mara's going a bit too far on this guerrilla business!"

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Letters to the Editor

NS/E in 2035 A.D.

PRAISE for the present monolithic structure of State recalls the eulogies printed when the State, War and Navy building was completed toward the end of the 19th century. In Carp's "Washington," (McGraw-Hill) one finds the following panegyric description of Old State:

It has already cost about nine million dollars, and its aggregate will foot up to at least ten million dollars and a quarter. This is the greatest building in Washington. It is said to be the largest granite structure in the world, and it covers about four acres and a half, or an acre more than the Capitol. It is so built that it will almost outlast the Ages . . . This great structure lies to the west of the White House, facing the Potomac and looking down upon the moss-covered farmhouse of Davy Burns, who used to own much of the land upon which Washington is built.

Many of us who served in that historic edifice will shed nostalgic tears that time and our Nation's growth have passed it by. In the enlarged New State one views the vast proliferation three-quarters of a century has wrought. Who has the wit or imagination to plot the curve of our physical plant three-quarters of a century hence? In the year A.D. 2035, will State be housed in Frank Lloyd Wright's engineeringly feasible mile-high structure (certainly more getatable than New State, quite apart from the 1,100 overflow already)? Or will our home office seek its situs in myriads of subterranean caves in the Rockies—or maybe in Moscow? If the mere mention of that placename makes the reader see red, I hasten to add that, inter alia, there is a Moscow in Arkansas, and in eleven other States of the Union.

ARTHUR C. FROST

Menlo Park, Calif.

Status and Credit

RE "STATUS IN STATE": I've arrived; have acquired Status in State.

After fifteen years at foreign posts a recent transfer to the Department established Status in State under this formula—there may be others.

1. Apply for and obtain an advance on the travel account voucher (my first time).
2. Become a member of the Credit Union in State (you can't cash a check there unless you have this status). Fee 25 cents; minimum share purchase \$5.00. Be credited with a share purchase of \$500.00 on the \$5.00 purchase. It happened. (Adjusted without diminishing status.) My first application.
3. Borrow from the Credit Union for fun, short-term need, or to consolidate your debts.

These steps, also, are beneficial in becoming re-Americanized.

The satisfaction of achieving Status in State would require more words to describe than the Editors would care to edit!

Washington

WILLIAM M. OLIVE
American Vice Consul

Wanted: New JFSOC Working Board Members

FOUR HUNDRED junior diplomats, over half of them from the State Department, attended a reception in honor of Secretary of State and Mrs. Rusk in the State Dining Room on the eighth floor, on April 14. The majority of the diplomatic missions in Washington were represented at the reception, which was sponsored by the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club (JFSOC) for the International Junior Diplomats in Washington (IJDW). Among the guests were Under Secretaries of State Ball and Jones.

After the guests met Secretary and Mrs. Rusk and enjoyed the refresh-

ments, they heard a few remarks by the Secretary. He stressed the importance of the tradition of diplomacy in international relations and commented on the wide range of competency expected of the diplomat. The Secretary congratulated the guests on their profession, said he considered it fascinating and vital, and certain to become more important with the increasing interdependence of the nations of the world. Secretary Rusk concluded by wishing his audience success in the years ahead.

For JFSOC the reception was the high point of the year's activities. Along with other events of the last six

months, it furnishes a challenge to future members of the JFSOC Board of Directors. JFSOC must continue to provide support to IJDW, which it originated. JFSOC has given junior Foreign Service officers and their wives a chance to meet their fellow officers socially. The range of social and other activities which might be organized in the future is vast.

As described in the April JOURNAL article on JFSOC, leadership is consolidated in a Board of Directors of fourteen members, with minimum constitutional and procedural limitations. The only qualifications for membership on the Board are that one be a junior officer who will be in Washington for at least six months, have a sincere interest in JFSOC activities, and be willing to work.

Approximately ten members of the Board of Directors of JFSOC will be assigned overseas in the next few months. Forthcoming Board meetings will be open to junior Foreign Service officers who would like to observe the Board in action and join in the leadership of this enterprising organization.

ARCHIE M. BOLSTER
for the JFSOC Board of Directors
Washington



Secretary Rusk addressing JFSOC's reception

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