Foreign Service Journal

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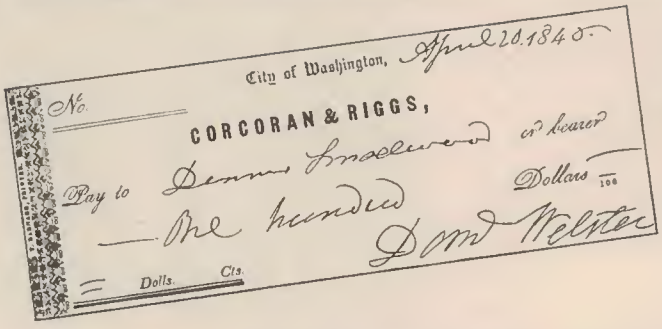
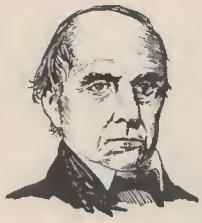
Seven miles downstream from the Washington Monument (upper center) the colonial port of Alexandria, Virginia, has grown to be the fourth largest city in the Old Dominion State.

NO. 18 IN A SERIES DEPICTING THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF WASHINGTON'S HISTORIC RIVER

Charles Baptie





DANIEL WEBSTER'S check dated April 20, 1846, the year Congress ceded the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia (including Alexandria), back to that state.

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Volume 38, No. 9

COVER *by Lewis Rubenstein*

Lewis Rubenstein, a Fulbright research scholar in Japan two years ago, is currently in Latin America under a State Department grant. On an earlier trip South of the Border he painted this month's cover, in Mexico.

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BIRTHS

DIGGINS. A son, Paul Ernst, born to Mr. and Mrs. John R. Diggins, Jr., July 16, in Paris.

HELMAN. A son, David Robert, born to Mr. and Mrs. Gerald B. Helman, June 8, in Vienna.

KESSLER. A daughter, Janet Lee, born to Mr. and Mrs. Earl A. Kessler, July 3, in Beirut.

MARRIAGES

D'AQUINO-FONSECA—GORDON. Catherine Suzanne Chevalier D'Aquino-Fonseca and Bartley P. Gordon. FSO-retired, were married in São Paulo, Brazil, on May 1.

HINSHAW-SAVAGE. Mrs. Wilberta R. Hinshaw, of Pasadena, and Carlton Savage were married in Washington on June 15. Mr. Savage is Executive Secretary of the Department's Policy Planning Council.

DEATH

FUNKHOUSER. Phillip Funkhouser, fourteen-year-old son of FSO and Mrs. Richard Funkhouser, was killed in an automobile accident in Buffalo, Wyoming, June 25. He was buried in the crypt of the National Cathedral in Washington. Mr. Funkhouser, a former member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, is en route to his new post at Moscow. (See also Letter column.)

Foreign Service Staff Promotions

To FSS-2

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To FSS-7

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COSSARD, Monique J.
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JAMES, R. Campbell
KAKALEC, Margaret M.
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RILEY, Clifton V.
SUMMERS, Harry P.

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DINGMAN, Dorothy
FRAZIER, Ruby L.
GAGNON, Constance M.
KRAKAUER, Minna
MCCLELLAND, Mary A.
MEIER, Mona A.
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ROWLEY, Lucille F.
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SOLEM, Virginia R.
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WATSON, Zetta
WOLFERS, Leon W.

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BAUER, Irene M.
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JONES, Elizabeth R.
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MCDONALD, Mary R.
MCNAIR, Jane
MEADE, Madeline L.
MERENA, Helen L.
MORGAN, Calvin R.
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PAULLIN, Robert C.
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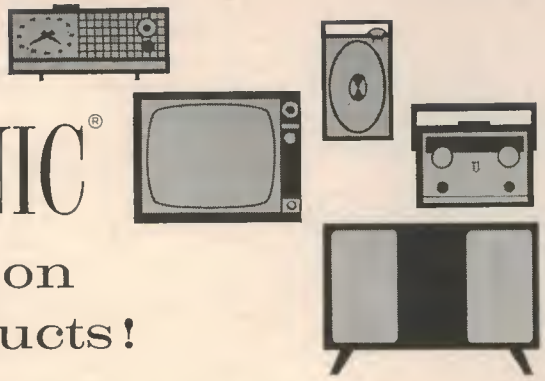

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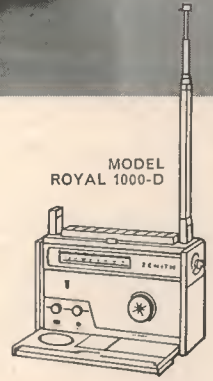

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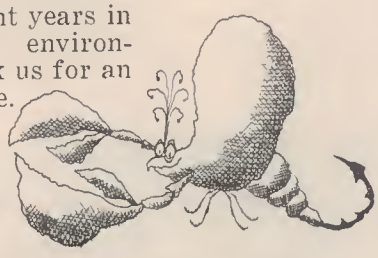

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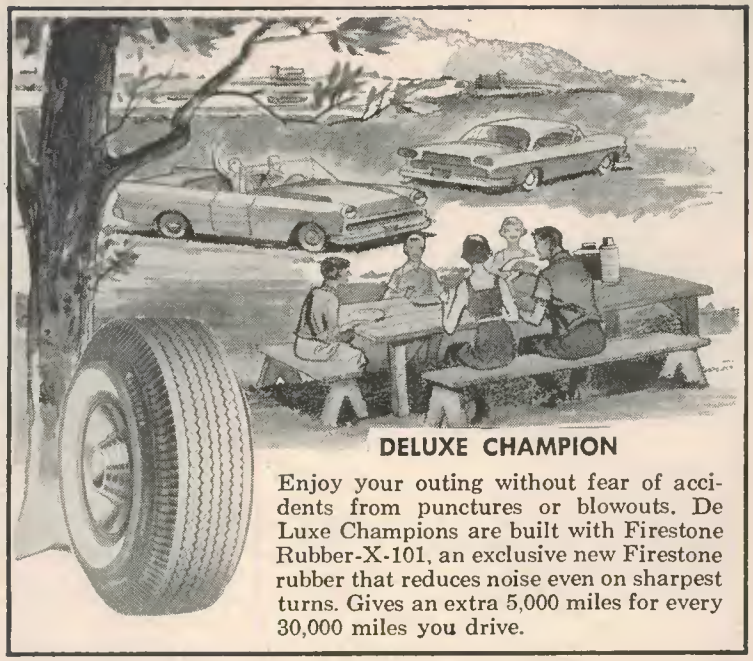

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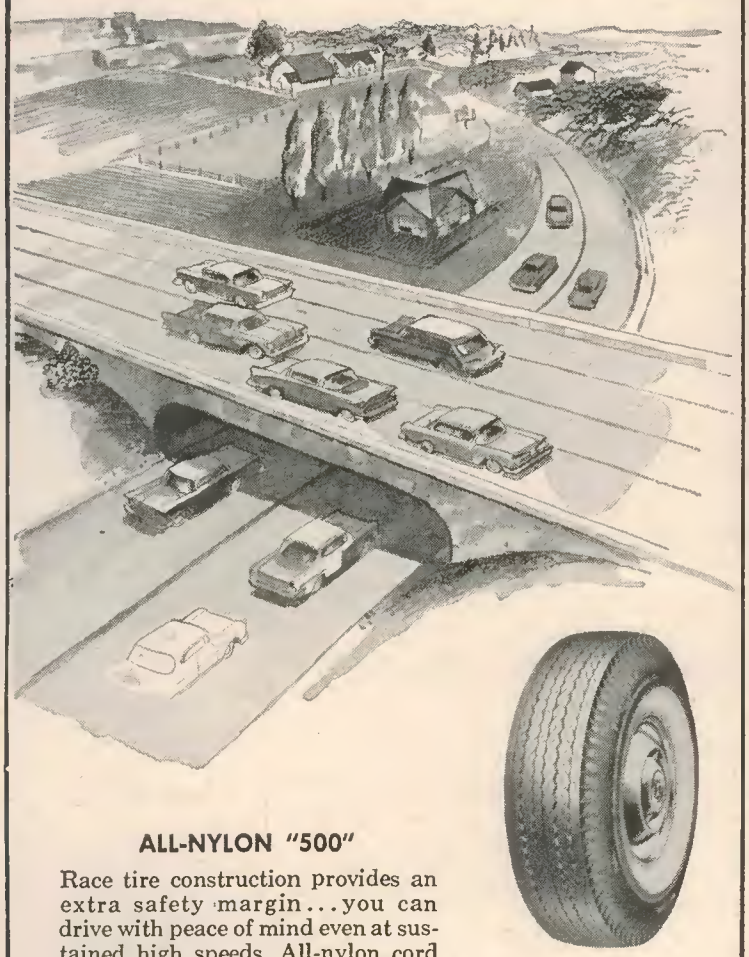

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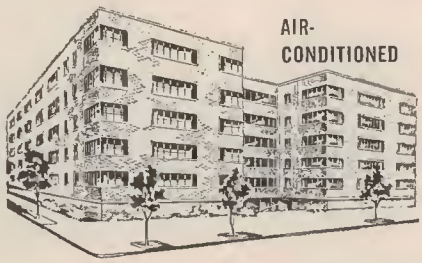

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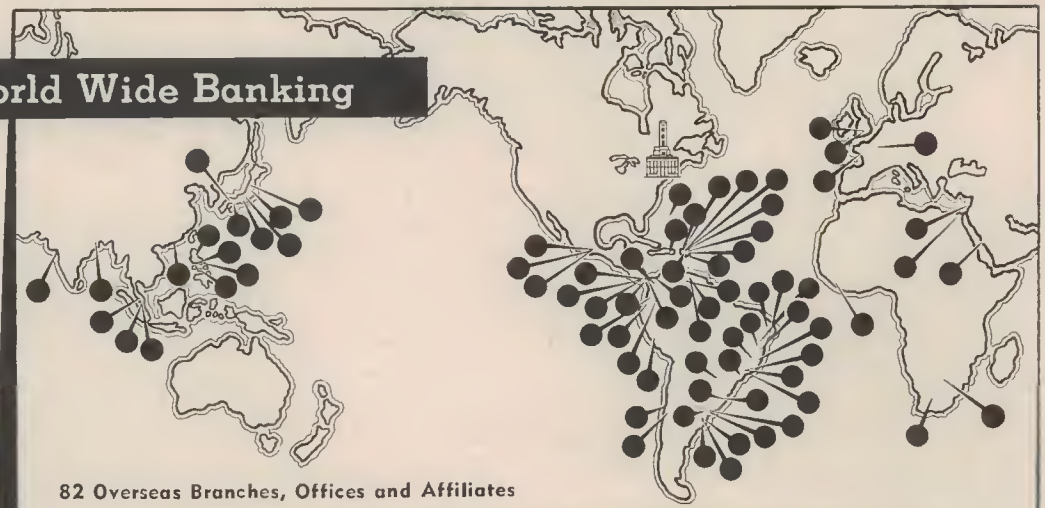

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How to Treat a Secretary

1. NEVER tell her about any conferences or meetings you attend because if she is kept well informed on what is going no, she might be able to answer inquiries when you are away from the office.
2. NEVER ask her to compose letters for your signature, because then you wouldn't get to dictate them!
3. NEVER let her feel that the office is her responsibility when you're away, because she might run it very efficiently, and that would detract from your prestige.
4. NEVER allow her to change your letters when dictated, because there is a chance that she is more up-to-date on rules and regulations than you are.
5. NEVER leave your intinerary with her, because this would facilitate her getting in touch with you in case of an emergency.
6. NEVER allow her to discuss your business with other men in the office. They might think she was being helpful to you in keeping things moving.
7. Don't trust her to answer even routine correspondence in your absence, because some things might be taken care of before you return.
8. Be sure to make her feel that her only responsibilities are taking dictation and transcribing it verbatim. This will make her much more at ease if an emergency matter comes up during your absence.
9. NEVER praise her for a job well done, but be sure to offer constructive criticism for her mistakes.
10. NEVER introduce her to visitors to your office. This will make her poised and comfortable when these same peope return in your absence.

"Words of the Devil" *by Gauguin*
(Harriman collection)

25 years ago

September, 1936

by JAMES B. STEWART

Social Qualifications Necessary?

IN AN ARTICLE on the British Foreign Service in the JOURNAL, Sir Harold Nicolson asks, "Are social qualifications necessary to an efficient Foreign Service?" He then proceeds: "In pre-war days a cetrain level of social elegance was, in fact, essential. It was, for instance, of distinct disadvantage to an ambassador at such places as Vienna, Petersburg, Berlin, Rome, and even Paris to have upon his staff secretaries or attachés who were socially incompetent or crude. The important people in those eapitals were either members of, or sensitive to, a social caste. Special social glamor was always expected of a British Embassy and of British attachés. There is no use denying the fact that it was more useful to an ambassador if one of his secretaries played bridge with Iswolsky or tennis with Berchtold than if he knew the sub-editor of the NOVOE VREMYA or Dr. Auer of the Social Democratic group. It will be contended that such snobbish considerations cannot apply today. I do not wholly support that contention . . .

"In the pre-war period it was observable that a secretary who came from the more exelusive sections of British society was not of very much social value abroad. He was apt to be bored by the social conventions of foreign capitals and to retire into his own rooms where he would read Henri de Regnier or Barrès in a dressing gown. The type of man who took real trouble to go to tea parties was the type of man who, in Mayfair, would not be asked to tea parties. The outstanding social suceesses achieved by British attachés in foreign capitals were achieved generally by men who were regarded by their patrician colleagues as slightly second-rate.

"On the other hand, it must be admitted that in foreign eapitals, even in Washington and Moscow of today, a eertain prestige does still attach to Savile Row. Commissars and Senators may laugh at such things, but in faet they are slightly offended if a Secretary of the British Embassy fails to live up to type. It would be inaecurate to contend that social considerations play no part in modern diplomacy; I believe that they still do and above all insofar as regards our own Diplomatic Service. . ."

Harris of Harris and Ewing

The JOURNAL has an article titled, "Photographer of Notables," which tells some of the incidents and experiences in the colorful career of George W. Harris, well known Washington photographer.

"One day while Mr. Harris was making a portrait of William Howard Taft, then Secretary of War, Mr. Taft was called to the telephone. Sensing something unusual, the cameraman 'shot' three successive poses of his subject at the phone, in the last of which he registered a broad smile. Told about the 'smile' picture, Mr. Taft said, 'Well, why

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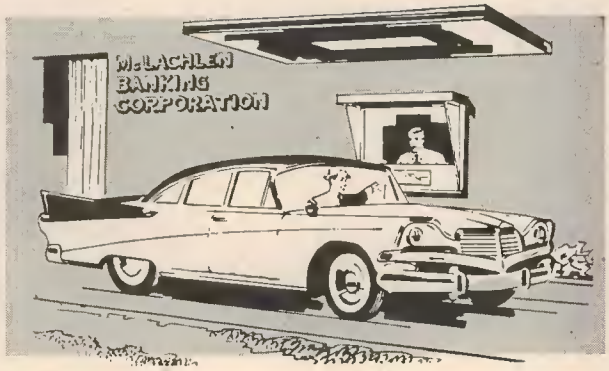

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25 Years Ago *(Continued)*

shouldn't I smile? That was Mr. Roosevelt telling me I'd been nominated for the Presidency at the Republican Convention.' "

Briefs from 1936 Journal

The following Vice Consuls have been assigned to the Foreign Service School, effective September 29, 1936:

Hector Adams, Ciudad Juarez
William Blake, Montreal
William Busser, Warsaw
Glion Curtis, Budapest
Perry Ellis, Habana
Albert Goodman, Santiago de Cuba
Norris Haselton, Guadalajara
Robert Memminger, Toronto
Marselis Parsons, Naples
Carl Strom, Vancouver
Paul Tenney, Hamburg
Roger Tyler, Toronto
Eliot Weil, Marseille
Ivan White, Mexico City

Wilson-de Korányi. Married at Paris, France, June 19. 1936, Edwin C. Wilson and Miss Edith de Korányi. Mr. Wilson is counselor of Embassy at Paris.

Penmanship in Diplomacy

The importance of handwriting in old time diplomacy is illustrated by the fact that in 1871 a committee recommended that an Oxford or Cambridge degree should exempt a candidate for the British diplomatic service from any test other than a hand-writing test. (Harold Nicolson in the JOURNAL.)

Comment, 1961: More on handwriting: Former American Minister, Charles C. Eberhardt, obtained his first position in the American Consular Service because of his penmanship. About sixty years ago he went to Mexico City looking for employment. He applied at the American Consulate General, was given a handwriting test, and was hired as a clerk. His only duty was copying correspondence in a book, the Department of State having decided that letterpress copies of correspondence did not constitute a permanent record. The young clerk had not been in the office long when the Consul General was killed. A drunken driver had driven the horses and carriage (with the Consul General in it) into a train. Eberhardt was appointed Deputy Consul General by Clayton Powell, our first Ambasador to Mexico.

And More Recently:

David Maynard rounded up the FSO's and their wives, and Gerald Keith arranged for them to have lunch at the Beach Club, Pebble Beach, Monterey, California, in June. Arthur Frost writes that the gathering was a most happy affair and that it was attended by: the David Bergers, Howard Bowmans, Bland Calders, John Caldwells, Albert Doyles, Charles De Vaults, Louis Dreyfuses, Miss Lyda Mae Francis, the Arthur Frosts, Mrs. Frederick Hinke, Thomas Horn, the Joel Hudsons, Curtis Jordans, Gerald Keiths, John Ketcham, the Kenneth Krentzes, Miss Rae Naylor Lee, Mrs. Irving Linnell, the John Madonnes, David Maynard, the Sheldon Mills, the John Raymonds, the Harold Robinsons, the John Sawyers, Samuel Sokobin, Orray Taft, and the Henry Watermans.

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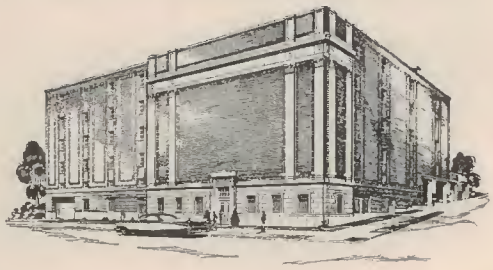

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Celebration for Junior Diplomats

YOUNGER officers and their wives from the embassies in Washington, particularly those of the more recently independent nations, were guests of honor at a reception held in the Department of State on the Fourth of July. It was arranged jointly by JFSOC (the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club) and the Independence Day Committee, headed by Mrs. John Abernathy.

Others present included Senator Fulbright, Postmaster General Day, Assistant Secretary Williams, Attorney General Kennedy, who cut short his vacation to attend, together with other Cabinet officers and members of Congress. The Secretary of State observed that we in the United States "feel a certain kinship" with the representatives of the newly independent states. The Secretary said, "Our founding fathers, as we call them, were speaking in universal terms when they spoke of democracy." The belief that "governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed" has been, he added, "the scarlet thread of American policy over the years."

The new eighth floor reception rooms provided an elegant setting, and the fireworks display on the Washington Monument grounds made an impressive backdrop for the scene. The rockets bursting over Washington's night skyline were as typical of an American Fourth of July as the relaxed and informal atmosphere which characterized the evening. The ample buffet, too, was representative of the occasion, from the cold poached salmon, traditional New England fare on the Fourth, to the "Coney Island red-hots." James Symington, Deputy Director of the Food for Peace Program, entertained the over six hundred guests with excellent renditions of folk songs, accompanying himself on the guitar. His appreciative audience was seated casually on the thick, gold carpet which covers the floor of the State Dining Room. Later there was dancing to the music of a small Air Force band from Bolling Field.

The cooperative spirit which made the reception a reality was impressive indeed: In addition to contributions from generous patrons in and out of Government, a volunteer group composed of wives of younger officers of the Department was formed to prepare the food. Mrs. Rusk joined in this self-help project by making, at her own request, an avocado dip called *guacamole*. In spite of the working day to follow, most of the foreign guests were induced by the good food and the relaxed atmosphere to stay quite late.

This successful reception follows on the heels of a number of other activities on behalf of the International Junior Diplomats in Washington, including several receptions by foreign embassies for the younger members of the diplomatic community.—*F. J. McN.*

Secretary Dean Rusk addressing members of JFSOC and IJDIW

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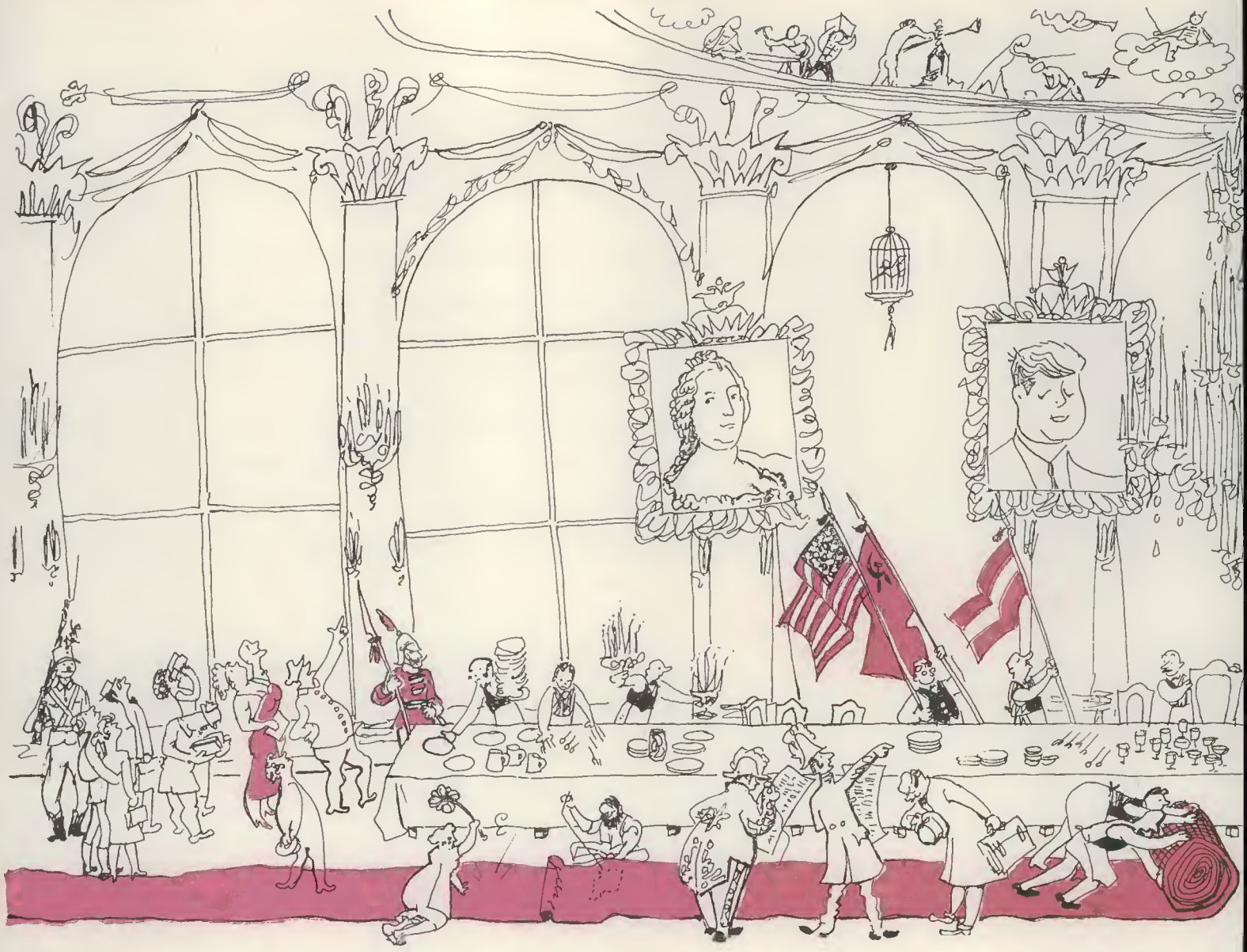


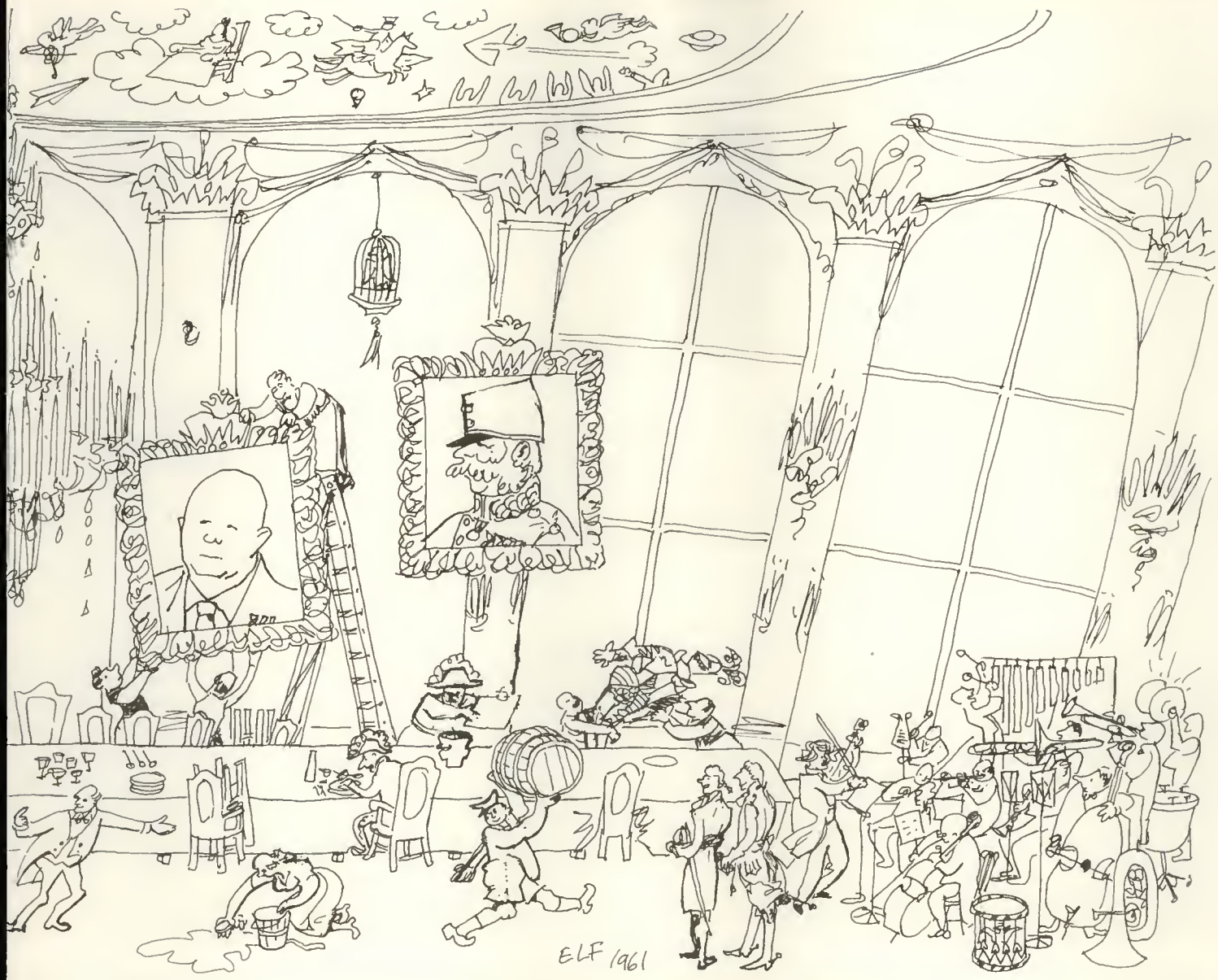
THE SUBTLE ART OF SUMMITRY

by Joseph Wechsberg

EXACTLY 124 vague words made up the communiqué after the Vienna summit meeting on June 4, 1961. Contrarily, the Austrian protocol file, a detailed scenario of the arrangements, covered 390 closely typed pages and the step-by-step instructions of the Vienna police contained 165 mimeographed sheets. The communiqué obliquely dodged the Big Issues but protocol and police directly faced the small ones.

Austria's *Protokollhengste*, as the "protocol stallions" of the Federal President, the Federal Chancellor and the Foreign Ministry are called around Vienna's Ballhausplatz where diplomacy has been treated as a lively art since the days of Prince Metternich, spent two nerve-wracking nights with the American and Soviet protocol experts over a momentous question: who was going to sit on the right of Austria's President Dr. Adolf Schärf during the state dinner for President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev in the Great Gallery of Schönbrunn Palace, where kings and statesmen had danced during the Congress of Vienna in 1815? Initially it had been agreed that Mrs. Kennedy would have the place of honor to the right of President Schärf, with President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev sitting across from them. Then it became known that Mrs. Khrushchev would accompany her husband which upset everything.

By Austrian protocol—a largely uncoded set of century-old diplomatic traditions going back to the great days of the Hapsburg Empire—President Kennedy, on his first trip to Vienna, outranked Premier (Chairman) Khrushchev who is not head of state and had been in Vienna before. The Soviet protocol experts however demanded strict equality for the Chairman. After hours of involved negotiations a typically "Austrian solution"—elsewhere known as a compromise—was reached. President Kennedy would sit on



Schärf's right side and Khrushchev on his left but the delicate diplomatic balance would be restored by Mrs. Khrushchev sitting across from Schärf, "the second place of honor," while Mrs. Kennedy would be less prominently placed between Austria's Former Chancellor Leopold Fiegl and Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky. To further ease potential tensions the Austrians, sworn enemies of firm commitments and irrevocable decisions, devised an intricate system of shuffling their prominent guests around during the preceding reception and the entertainment following the dinner until everybody was on President Schärf's right side at least once. The result was confusion confounded.

Joseph Wechsberg, well-known for his writing in the NEW YORKER and elsewhere, is an American citizen of Hungarian birth, who lives in Vienna and writes articles and books on the European scene. His next book, "Red Plush and Black Velvet," will be published shortly.

"While the lesser guests arrived, the Kennedys, the Khrushchevs and Schärf stood around unhappily, unable to converse for lack of a common language," says a late-Metternich descendant. "It was absolute disaster."

Earlier, a grave crisis had been caused by the world-shaking dilemma who should arrive first at the Blue Staircase of Schönbrunn Palace. Elaborate dry runs were made the night before (GHOST CONVOYS RACE THROUGH VIENNA, the KURIER headlined) and an effort was made to steer President Kennedy's bubbletop Lincoln, flown in especially from the States, and Khrushchev's hearse-like ZIL simultaneously through the black, wrought-iron palace gate. Alas, neither Fischer von Erlach, the great builder who had begun to put up the beautiful baroque palace in 1695 nor Nicolo Pacassi who completed it in 1749 under Empress Maria Theresa, had ever imagined such an emergency. There was just one inch of space left between the two cars and all security chiefs vetoed the idea. Instead it was planned to use two separate staircases and bring the President and the

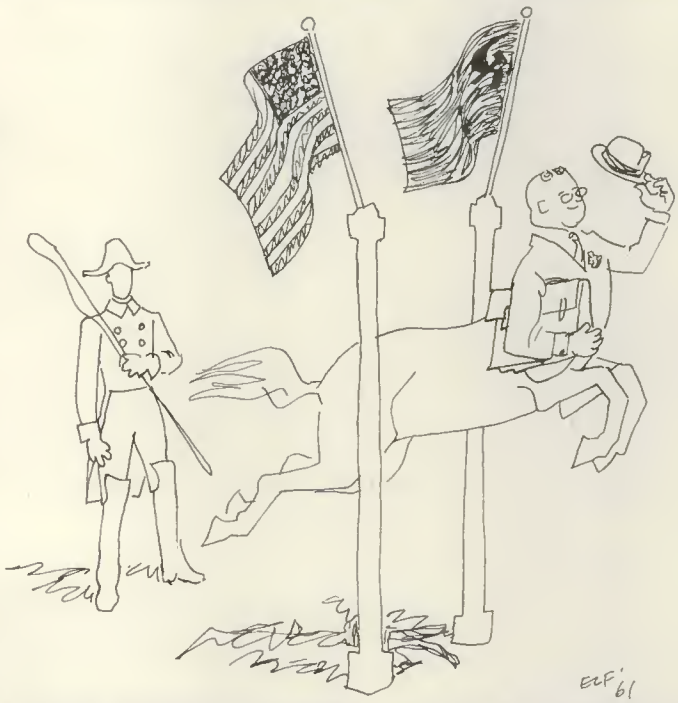
Premier in "Imperial protocol style" up to President Schärf at the same time. Again the Russians said "nyet" when they discovered Khrushchev would have to walk eighty steps farther than Kennedy. After protracted negotiations it was decided that whichever convoy reached the palace gate first would get through and then slow down on the way through the courtyard to let the other convoy catch up. Both convoys would arrive at the same second at the palace entrance.

"We devoted over thirty-five pages to all details," a heartbroken Austrian protocol virtuoso remembers. "We'd thought of everything, where the red carpets would lie and the palm trees would stand, what to wear, whom to greet, what to say, the position of each car in the convoy, where they should stop, everything. And then the Kennedys arrived seven and a half minutes late. Upstairs Schärf and the Khrushchevs were waiting. Schönbrunn Palace has no air-conditioning but the atmosphere was glacial. Coming up the stairway President Kennedy looked exactly like any other husband whose wife made him wait because something went wrong with her dress. Mrs. Kennedy looked charmingly embarrassed while her husband apologized to Schärf and Khrushchev. The Kennedys were very, very human and my protocol-hardened heart went out to them."

THE PROTOCOL magicians write down the exact arrangements like the takes of a movie scenario but unfortunately the star performers don't bother to learn their parts. Something always goes wrong. Mrs. Eunice Shriver, a sister of the President, came along unexpectedly on the Presidential plane from London, upsetting intricate protocol calculations. Where does the sister of a President ride in the official cavalcade? They put Mrs. Shriver in the official car with H. Freeman Matthews, the U. S. Ambassador in Vienna and Austria's Vice Chancellor Bruno Pittermann, where she promptly complicated protocol matters further when she spotted a Washington newspaperwoman and asked her to hop in.

Then President Kennedy's special car that was to pick him up at the Imperial Palace was lost. Terrific excitement. Police patrols were sent out and found the car, parked at a wrong entrance. Earlier, at Orly Airport, the President's plane had to wait seventeen minutes because Mrs. Kennedy's maid and some luggage had been left behind at the Embassy residence by mistake; at Schwechat Airport both the maid and the President's valet were left behind by mistake and had to take the "backup" plane to London. Prominent people forgot things in Vienna in all the excitement. Secretary of State Dean Rusk departed without his hat and overcoat. Columnist Joseph Alsop left *his* overcoat at the Kunsthistorisches Museum where he'd gone to look at the great collection of Breughels. (Obviously he found them more exciting than the summit talks.) And when the special plane with the White House press corps was to take off from Schwechat Airport on Sunday evening, the plane went through the runway and the concrete broke in. The correspondents were stranded in the plane for over three hours.

The Soviets gravely upset Austrian protocol when they insisted on inviting the diplomatic corps to greet Premier Khrushchev at the South-East railroad station. (According to Austrian protocol, visiting statesmen meet the diplomats only later on at a formal reception.) All Satellite ambassadors appeared, plus the envoys from India and the United Arab Republic. Whereupon the Americans invited the diplomats to come to Schwechat Airport to greet President Kennedy. A different set of envoys appeared but the Indian ambassador was there again. The Russians created more problems when they permitted only their highest-ranking officials to bring their wives to the Schönbrunn state dinner. The others had to come alone. One American lady found herself with four Russian grass widowers at her table. "They are quite nice—and watchful of each other," she said.



An Austrian Protokolhengst "executing a Capriole between the pillars. This is a very rare exercise and requires great dexterity."*

In Vienna's narrow streets the convoys of the visiting statesmen often created minor havoc. And there was another, even more serious problem: the town is full of Hungarian and other refugees who have no love for Nikita. The Viennese noticed that the streets were more closely guarded by police and plainclothesmen when Khrushchev's convoy came through than when the Kennedy cavalcade went by. They also noticed that Kennedy was more closely surrounded by his bodyguards than Khrushchev by his.

Both statesmen had identical convoys consisting of (1) a lead motorcycle, (2) a police Volkswagen with the Austrian convoy leader, (3) four motorcycle pilot riders, (4) the "honorary escort" of five white motorcyclists, locally known as "white mice" in V-formation (there were ten of them when Präsident Schärf rode with Kennedy or Khrushchev), (5) two motorcycles sticking close to the rear tires of the big car, (6) a special car with the American or Soviet secret service agents (the Americans used their special Cadillac, the Russians their ZIL), (7) another police Volkswagen, (8) four end-riders. Almost five thousand uniformed police and plain-clothesmen guarded all streets, many windows, the tops of some buildings, where the convoys went by.

Yet in spite of exact timetables and split-second planning (lengths of routes, speed controlled by markers) the two convoys almost collided on Sunday afternoon at the intersection of Schlossallee and Mariahilferstrasse. Kennedy

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*From the catalog of the Spanish Riding Academy of Vienna.

Guerrilla Warfare in the Underdeveloped Areas

by W. W. Rostow

When this Administration came to responsibility it faced four major crises: Cuba, the Congo, Laos, and Viet-Nam. Each represented a successful Communist breaching—over the previous two years—of the Cold War truce lines which had emerged from the Second World War and its aftermath. In different ways each had arisen from the efforts of the international Communist movement to exploit the inherent instabilities of the underdeveloped areas of the non-Communist world; and each had a guerrilla warfare component.

Cuba, of course, differed from the other cases. The Cuban revolution against Batista was a broad-based national insurrection. But that revolution was tragically captured from within by the Communist apparatus; and now Latin America faces the danger of Cuba's being used as the base for training, supply, and direction of guerrilla warfare in the Hemisphere.

More than that, Mr. Khrushchev, in his report to the Moscow conference of Communist parties (published January 6, 1961), had explained at great length that the Communists fully support what he called wars of national liberation and would march in the front rank with the peoples waging such struggles. The military arm of Mr. Khrushchev's January 1961 doctrine is, clearly, guerrilla warfare.

Faced with these four crises, pressing in on the President from day to day, and faced with the candidly stated position of Mr. Khrushchev, we have, indeed, begun to take the problem of guerrilla warfare seriously.

To understand this problem, however, one must begin with the great revolutionary process that is going forward in the southern half of the world; for the guerrilla warfare problem in these regions is a product of that revolutionary process and the Communist effort and intent to exploit it.

What is happening throughout Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia is this: old societies are changing their ways in order to create and maintain a national personality on the world scene, and to bring to their peoples the benefits modern technology can offer. This process is truly revolutionary. It touches every aspect of the traditional life: economic, social and political. The introduction of modern technology brings about not merely new methods of production but a new style of family life, new links between the villages and the cities, the beginnings of national politics, and a new relationship to the world outside.

Like all revolutions, the revolution of modernization is disturbing. Individual men are torn between the commitment to the old and familiar way of life and the attractions of a modern way of life. The power of old social groups—notably the landlord who usually dominates the traditional society—is reduced. Power moves towards those who can command the tools of modern technology, including modern weapons. Men and women in the villages and in the cities, feeling that the old ways of life are shaken and that new possibilities are open to them, express old resentments and new hopes.

This is the grand arena of revolutionary change which the Communists are exploiting with great energy. They believe that their techniques of organization—based on small disciplined cadres of conspirators—are ideally suited to grasp and to hold power in these turbulent settings. They believe that the weak transitional governments that one is likely to find during this modernization process are highly vulnerable to subversion and to guerrilla warfare. And whatever Communist doctrines of historical inevitability may be, Communists know that their time to seize power in the underdeveloped areas is limited. They know that, as momentum takes hold in an underdeveloped area—and the fundamental social problems inherited from the traditional society are solved—their chances to seize power decline. It is on the weakest nations—facing their most difficult transitional moments—that the Communists concentrate their attention. They are the scavengers of the modernization process. They believe that the techniques of political centralization under dictatorial control—and the projected image of Soviet and Chinese Communist economic progress—will persuade hesitant men, faced by great transitional problems, that the Communist model should be adopted for modernization, even at the cost of surrendering human liberty. They believe that they can exploit effectively the resentments built up in many of these areas against colonial rule and that they can associate themselves effectively with the desire of the emerging nations for independence, for status on the world scene, and for material progress.

This is a formidable program; for the history of this century teaches us that communism is not the long-run wave

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W. W. Rostow is Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Prior to joining this Administration, he was Professor of Economic History at M.I.T. This article is adapted from a recent speech made by Mr. Rostow to the graduating class (representing 19 countries) of the U.S. Army Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

of the future towards which societies are naturally drawn. On the contrary. But it is one particular form of modern society to which a nation may fall prey during the transitional process. Communism is best understood as a disease of the transition to modernization.

What is our reply to this historical conception and strategy? What is the American purpose and the American strategy? We, too, recognize that a revolutionary process is under way. We are dedicated to the proposition that this revolutionary process of modernization shall be permitted to go forward in independence, with increasing degrees of human freedom. We seek two results: first, that truly independent nations shall emerge on the world scene; and, second, that each nation will be permitted to fashion, out of its own culture and its own ambitions, the kind of modern society it wants. The same religious and philosophical beliefs which decree that we respect the uniqueness of each individual, make it natural that we respect the uniqueness of each national society. Moveover, we Americans are confident that, if the independence of this process can be maintained over the coming years and decades, these societies will choose their own version of what we would recognize as a democratic, open society.

These are our commitments of policy and of faith. The U.S. has no interest in political satellites. Where we have military pacts we have them because governments feel directly endangered by outside military action, and we are prepared to help protect their independence against such military action. But, to use Mao Tse-tung's famous phrase, we do not seek nations which "lean to one side." We seek nations which shall stand up straight. And we do so for a reason: because we are deeply confident that nations which stand up straight will protect their independence and move in their own ways and in their own time towards human freedom and political democracy.

THUS, OUR central task in the underdeveloped areas, as we see it, is to protect the independence of the revolutionary process now going forward. This is our mission and it is our ultimate strength. For this is not—and cannot be—the mission of communism. And in time, through the fog of propaganda and the honest confusions of men caught up in the business of making new nations, this fundamental difference will become increasingly clear in the southern half of the world. The American interest will be served if our children live in an environment of strong, assertive, independent nations, capable, because they are strong, of assuming collective responsibility for the peace. The diffusion of power is the basis for freedom within our own society; and we have no reason to fear it on the world scene. But this outcome would be a defeat for communism—not for Russia as a national state, but for communism. Despite all the Communist talk of aiding movements of national independence, they are driven in the end, by the nature of their system, to violate the independence of nations. Despite all the Communist talk of American imperialism, we are committed, by the nature of our system, to support the cause of national independence. And the truth will out.

The victory we seek will see no ticker-tape parades down Broadway—no climactic battles, nor great American celebrations of victory. It is a victory which will take many years and decades of hard work and dedication—by many peoples—to bring about. This will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union. It will not be a victory of capitalism over socialism. It will be a victory of men and nations which aim to stand up straight, over the forces which wish to entrap and to exploit their revolutionary aspirations of modernization. What this victory involves—in the end—is the assertion by nations of their right to independence and by men and women of their right to freedom as they understand it. And we deeply believe this victory will come—on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

THE PRESERVATION of independence has many dimensions. The U.S. has the primary responsibility for deterring the use of nuclear weapons in the pursuit of Communist ambitions. The U.S. has a major responsibility to deter the kind of overt aggression with conventional forces, which was launched in June 1950 in Korea. The U.S. has the primary responsibility for assisting the economies of those hard-pressed states on the periphery of the Communist bloc, which are under acute military or quasi-military pressure which they cannot bear from their own resources; for example, South Korea, Viet-Nam, Taiwan, Pakistan, Iran. The U.S. has a special responsibility of leadership in bringing not merely its own resources, but the resources of all the Free World to bear in aiding the long-run development of those nations which are serious about modernizing their economy and their social life. And, as President Kennedy has made clear, he regards no program of his Administration as more important than his program for long-term economic development, dramatized, for example, by the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. Independence cannot be maintained by military measures alone. Modern societies must be built, and we are prepared to help build them.

Finally, the United States has a role to play in learning to deter guerrilla warfare, if possible, and to deal with it, if necessary.

The primary responsibility for dealing with guerrilla warfare in the underdeveloped areas cannot be American. There are many ways in which we can help—and we are searching our minds and our imaginations to learn better how to help; but a guerrilla war must be fought primarily by those on the spot. This is so for a quite particular reason. A guerrilla war is an intimate affair, fought not merely with weapons but fought in the minds of the men who live in the villages and in the hills; fought by the spirit and policy of those who run the local government. An outsider cannot, by himself, win a guerrilla war; he can help create conditions in which it can be won; and he can directly assist those prepared to fight for their independence. We are determined to help destroy this international disease; that is, guerrilla war designed, initiated, supplied, and led from outside an independent nation.

Although as leader of the Free World, the U.S. has special responsibilities which it accepts in this common venture of

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EDITORIAL PAGE

Aid and Foreign Policy

JOURNAL readers who remember the alphabetical combinations and permutations which have appeared through the years in connection with foreign aid (ECA, MSA, STEM, USOM, ICA, and now AID), may wonder just what there is in the Administration's aid bill which is really new. The answer is, plenty. In the first place, as pointed out in the article in last month's JOURNAL on "Program for a Decade of Development," the foreign aid program presented to the Congress by the Administration is based on the principle of making long-term assistance available to recipient countries so that they will be encouraged to work out over-all development programs directed toward achieving the tangible goal of self-sustaining economic growth, and not be obliged—as has so often been the case in the past—to follow a piecemeal project-by-project system.

The so-called "Self-Help Country Approach," which is an inherent and significant feature of the Administration's aid concept, also transcends anything like it which has come before. Quite apart from the recognition of the relationship between aid and the maintenance of political and economic stability or of military security, the Administration is making it plain with this approach that it will expect assisted countries to register progress on their own initiative toward social justice and political democracy as well as toward economic improvement. Accordingly, we are clearly to be identified and aligned with the forces of betterment and change, and are not to be, as Mr. Khrushchev hopes, the "gendarmes of the status quo." Herein lies the crux of the matter. As indicated in the new draft program of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr. Khrushchev asserts that Capitalism and Communism are engaged in a critical competition within the less-developed countries to show them which way is better, and argues that Communism is bound to win because it allegedly has a more rapid, better planned system for lifting people out of darkness or poverty. It is up to the United States, in concert with the free nations, to show him that he is wrong.

Thus, economic assistance is to be mobilized as a major part of our response to the challenge of our times. As far as the Department and related agencies are concerned, we will bear a heavy responsibility for the implementation of the new concept. We will need to use the full extent of all resources at our command, including but by no means confined to the features normally identified with aid programs. The evolution of policies, plans, and programs to foster and abet social and economic progress requires a comprehensive understanding and consideration of the gamut of political, social, cultural, historic, geographic, economic, and psychological factors which influence such development, whether positively or negatively. As the Secretary noted in his remarks to policy-making officers in the Department on February 20 of this year, "we . . . must think about foreign policy in its total context."

However, a view of foreign policy in its total context requires also that the objectives of economic, social, and political progress in foreign countries be weighed and evaluated in relation to other objectives of foreign policy. The fact remains that we have so many foreign policy objectives that they are sometimes in conflict or cannot be all pursued effectively at the same time. Again, the realities of budgets will necessitate the establishment of priorities even where other barriers to the pursuit of our objectives at full speed do not exist. Here too a view of foreign policy in a total context is essential.

Fresh or hopefully improved administrative arrangements and procedures for aid programming and operations are being worked out. These will emphasize the responsibility of the Department and its overseas missions for using aid in support of our foreign policy and for emphasizing as an objective of foreign policy our identification with the aspirations of the less privileged. The responsibility and authority of Ambassadors to assure the full and effective use of all resources available to them, including those of aid missions, for these purposes are unmistakable. Aid objectives and aid operations are foreign policy objectives and foreign policy operations. They are central, not peripheral; they deserve and demand the full and continuing contribution that each of us can provide.

Civil Rights and the Foreign Service

AMERICANS privileged to represent their country abroad know—or should know—that a sincere and wholehearted belief in the principles and ideals upon which our nation was established and became great is indispensable to us in our dealings with others. We are therefore doubly disturbed when instances of racial discrimination and intolerance in the United States occur and reoccur. It is not only that America's shortcomings in this area breed skepticism among peoples of different racial or religious background, regarding the validity of our claim to follow a system of government and a way of life based on morality, democracy, and the rule of law; we also realize—or should realize—that such things are inherently wrong. Bigotry, mob violence, and prejudice are absolutely incompatible with our national heritage and aspirations.

Accordingly, we applaud both the letter and the spirit of the President's program to use the administrative and legal machinery at his command to advance racial equality and non-discrimination. The Department, ICA, and USIA are taking steps necessary to ensure that President Kennedy's program with respect to their personnel is carried out. We fully support these efforts to carry out the principle of non-discrimination in the appointment, promotion and assignment of personnel. We continue to welcome into our ranks qualified officers and employees without regard to race or color, and hope that the Service will attract a greater number of talented candidates from the minority groups than it has in the past.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS

As Summer Waned

FOR SUN WORSHIPPERS there's always a moment of sadness when cool air breezes down from the North, bringing remembrance that summer week-ends are few. Mountain air came early this year to Washington. Rehoboth and Ocean City, while popular, were by no means as crowded as usual. If this is the shape of summers to come, one can forecast an influx of population from Northern cities where summer heat is much less bearable, due to the more crowded streets, less air conditioning and less coolness of green and white in the city itself.

The mountain air accorded with the coolness and seriousness of the atmosphere around New State. The Berlin crisis was hot, but preliminary discussions were over and the vital decisions had been made for better and for worse.

The influx of people home on leave continued, happily. We're always delighted to see our writers and contributors when they come in. One had particularly good news: his first book is being published this month. Until recently the very busy PAO at Marseille, Howard R. Simpson seems to follow the old tradition of a Foreign Service which included writers who somehow managed to keep their literary careers progressing at the same time. He is unusual in that he is able to keep his art work alive, too. We'll soon have a new collection of cartoons drawn while on home leave.

Coffee and—

After two and one-half years of stormy arguments and memoranda, a small sidewalk café has finally been installed at Bassins, not far from the National Theatre. As yet there's been no willingness on the part of the District authorities to let it appear continental—no wine will be served. It's a good beginning, however. Outdoor cafés could lend considerable color and charm and livability to this French-designed town. Washington's broad sidewalks, often rather empty except in concentrated shopping areas, could be well employed and made decorative with awnings, plants, etc. Outdoor cafés might stretch up Pennsylvania Avenue to Wisconsin, and up Connecticut to Chevy Chase Circle. They would be appreciated not only by the discursive Washingtonian but by wilting tourists in search of refreshment who would enjoy having front-row seats to the passing show.

Bionics and Artrons

At the beginning of the summer Edward Teller, Hungarian-born scientist, who has been called the "father of the H-bomb," announced that by the year 2.000 A.D. we would be living in a world in which even decision-making would be left to machines.

From what we've been reading since then it would appear that he exaggerated only in the length of time he estimated it would take. In a lengthy round-up in the REPORTER recently David Bergamini, in "Government by Computers," gave examples of the multiple uses they can be put to, based on their only abilities: to gather and to use information. The uses the machines are already being put to stagger one, but the uses they will undoubtedly be put to in the near future could revolutionize the habits and living patterns of Everyman.

It occurred to us that the forward-looking PER must be planning to update some of its time-consuming methods and processes, as well as storage of facts, with the aid of electronics, so we stopped round to talk with the man in charge. Yes, we were told, already a machine is being planned for State. A quarter of a million dollars has been budgeted for the machine and a staff is already being recruited for it. Not only the storage of files will be taken care of but documents will be photographed and the work of the intelligence analysts will be "revolutionized."

Numerous problems occur to even the amateur looking into government

"Two Horses and a Groom" ***by Han Kan, 8th century***

by machine. It is true that machines don't need incentives, are uninterested in status, don't get tired of a problem (can work all night on it). don't have personal problems or need vacations. On the other hand, they have a huge initial cost and a high rate of obsolescence, and lest it be hazarded that Parkinson's theorems were only for the birds and the bureaucrats B.E. (before electronic machines), it has already been reported that one of these huge machines can manufacture another. The implications are too unlimited to be obvious.

We are less worried that machines have been talking in different languages. For people in industry this may pose more of a problem than it would to government personnel—the latter have been able to communicate for years in a special language that apparently doesn't take long to learn: Initials have the importance that vowels have in other languages and as in basic English there is a severe limitation put on the size of the vocabulary.

The manufacturers, however, have already developed a common language, called CABOL, for some of the machines, and the latter have been getting 5's for quick mastery and communication abilities in Cabolese. Still for future development of bionics (the science of applying biological principles to the design of electronic devices) are machines with built-in nervous systems—artrons, for instance, which could be used variously for moon-crawling, etc.

Representation

In order to find out just how the machine could work we put one problem to it:

What does the FSO-1 and -2 overseas do, beside work at the office? Back immediately came post specifics, of which we have unfortunately the room for but one *bona fide* case:

During 135 working days (not counting week-ends, holidays or two weeks spent by the officer in Washington) he attended:

73 cocktail parties and receptions
69 luncheons
41 dinners

Isn't it at Belgrade that breakfasts are used for business purposes and are usually accompanied by Slivovitz? But the LIFE AND LOVE cartoon above

"LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE" *by* ROBERT W. RINDEN

"If only he didn't take his representational responsibilities so seriously . . ."

may be worth more than a thousand of a columnist's cautious words.

The Nation's Editors

Once again State played host for two days of background briefings to more than 700 editors and writers from all parts of the country. And once again the Bureau of Public Affairs did itself proud. Having the briefing follow hard on the heels of the closing of the Brandenburg Gate underscored the utter seriousness of the times and made background information more useful and necessary than ever. Appreciated, too, was the candor of the speakers, including the Secretary and the President, who made no attempt to gloss over bitter pills which must be swallowed.

Considerable space has been given in the press recently to showing the elegance of New State's reception and entertaining quarters. The editors were received in these rooms during the conference, too. As newspaper readers far from the Capital become more used to seeing the necessity for varied diplomatic activities it may become less easy for representation funds to become mere political footballs at certain times of the year.

Chinese Exhibition

Last month the famed Chinese Treasures Exhibition closed and, to the surprise of few, figures showed that this had been the most popular exhibit the National Gallery had shown during the past decade.

From its opening on May 26, to the closing date, August 13, almost 150,000 people were clocked in.

We went down ourselves more than once and couldn't help remarking on the wealth of priceless works whose age tallied in the millions. The exhibition was beautifully displayed and had a SKIRA-printed catalogue to accompany it which was so well done it could become a basic book on Oriental art. In addition, having the official visit by the Chinese Premier and Vice President helped to call further attention to the exhibit. More than 13,000 people thronged to it during its last week. We noted a huge number of small children in attendance. Even the under-sevens seemed to enjoy the immense detail, color, and humor of these ancient artists—as well as their attention to animals.

The show is now in New York and will be going to Boston, Chicago and San Francisco.

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deterrence, it is important that the whole international community begin to accept its responsibility for dealing with this form of aggression. It is important that the world become clear in mind, for example, that the operation run from Hanoi against Viet-Nam is as clear a form of aggression as the violation of the 38th parallel by the North Korean armies in June 1950. In my conversations with representatives of foreign governments, I am sometimes lectured that this or that government within the Free World is not popular: they tell me that guerrilla warfare cannot be won unless the peoples are dissatisfied. These are, at best, half truths. The truth is that guerrilla warfare, mounted from external bases—with rights of sanctuary—is a terrible burden to carry for any government in a society making its way towards modernization. It takes somewhere between ten and twenty soldiers to control one guerrilla in an organized operation. Moreover, the guerrilla force has this advantage: its task is merely to destroy; while the government must build and protect what it is building. A guerrilla war mounted from outside a transitional nation, is a crude act of international vandalism. There will be no peace in the world if the international community accepts the outcome of a guerrilla war, mounted from outside a nation, as tantamount to a free election.

The sending of men and arms across international boundaries and the direction of guerrilla war from outside a sovereign nation is aggression; and this is a fact which the whole international community must confront and whose consequent responsibilities it must accept. Without such international action those against whom aggression is mounted will be driven inevitably to seek out and engage the ultimate source of the aggression they confront.

I suspect that, in the end, the real meaning of the conference on Laos at Geneva will hinge on this question: it will depend on whether or not the international community is prepared to mount an International Control Commission which has the will and the capacity to control the borders it was designed to control.

In facing the problem of guerrilla war, I have one observation to make as an historian. It is now fashionable to read the learned works of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on guerrilla warfare. This is, indeed, proper. One should read with care and without passion into the minds of one's enemies. But it is historically inaccurate and psychologically dangerous to think that these men created the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war to which we are now responding. Guerrilla warfare is not a form of military and psychological magic created by the Communists. There is no rule or parable in the Communist texts which was not known at an earlier time in history. The operation of Marion's men in relation to the Battle of Cowpens in the American Revolution was, for example, governed by rules which Mao merely echoes; Che Guevara knows nothing of this business that T. E. Lawrence did not know or was not practiced, for example, in the Peninsular Campaign during the Napoleonic wars, a century earlier. The orchestration of professional troops, militia, and guerrilla fighters is an old game whose rules can be studied and learned.

My point is that we are up against a form of warfare which is powerful and effective only when we do not put our minds clearly to work on how to deal with it. I, for one, believe that, with purposeful efforts, most nations which might now be susceptible to guerrilla warfare could handle their border areas in ways which would make them very unattractive to the initiation of this ugly game. We can learn to prevent the emergence of the famous sea in which Mao Tse-tung taught his men to swim. This requires, of course, not merely a proper military program of deterrence, but programs of village development, communications, and indoctrination. The best way to fight a guerrilla war is to prevent it from happening. And this can be done.

Similarly, I am confident that we can deal with the kind of operation now under way in Viet-Nam. It is an extremely dangerous operation; and it could overwhelm Viet-Nam if the Vietnamese—aided by the Free World—do not deal with it. But it is an unsubtle operation, by the book, based more on murder than on political or psychological appeal. When Communists speak of wars of national liberation and of their support for "progressive forces," I think of the systematic program of assassination now going forward in which the principal victims are the health, agriculture, and education officers in the Viet-Nam villages. The Viet Cong are not trying to persuade the peasants of Viet-Nam that communism is good: they are trying to persuade them that their lives are insecure unless they cooperate with them. With resolution and confidence on all sides and with the assumption of international responsibility for the frontier problem, I believe we are going to bring this threat to the independence of Viet-Nam under control.

My view is, then, that we confront in guerrilla warfare in the underdeveloped areas a systematic attempt by the Communists to impose a serious disease on those societies attempting the transition to modernization. This attempt is a present danger in Southeast Asia. It could quickly become a major danger in Africa and Latin America.

"If he talks before we eat, he ruins my appetite. On the other hand, I don't like to listen to him on a full stomach either!"

Addresses of Foreign Service Personnel Retired

OR RESIGNED AFTER FIFTEEN OR MORE YEARS OF SERVICE

Abbey, Glenn A.
Eugenio Sué 215, Polanco,
Mexico, D. F., Mexico

Abbott, Wainwright
12 Clouskeagh Rd.
Dublin, Ireland

Abeille, Peter
1940 Peyton Drive
Las Vegas, Nevada

Abraham, Russell
% Dr. Joseph Abraham
P. O. Box 63
Falmouth, Kentucky

Abrams, Manuel
7 Cloverfield Rd.
Valley Stream, L.I., N.Y.

Ackerson, Garret G., Jr.
% Chemical Bank N.Y. Trust Co.
25-31, Moorgate
London E.C. 2, England

Adam, Hector C.
1060 Park Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Adams, Walter A.
Old Orchard, Pelham Rd.
Greenville, S. Carolina

Adams, William Ware
2535 Waterside Drive, N. W.
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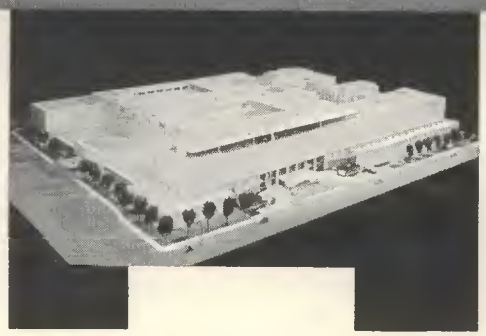

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Generals, Guerrillas, and Diplomats

by Edward E. Rice

The importance of guerrilla warfare is amply suggested by the post-war histories of China, Indo-China, Algeria, Malaya, the Philippines, Cuba and Colombia. It is underlined by the premium which is placed on the more ambiguous forms of aggression by mutual nuclear deterrence, with its accompanying danger that local, overt aggressions may erupt into general, nuclear war.

If guerrilla warfare can under some conditions determine the fate of countries, it is obviously essential to know what it is, how it is conducted and what its limitations are. This need to know is shared by the political officer, the military, and the decision maker.

Guerrilla warfare may be a politico-military endeavor not just in its ends, like all warfare, but also in its means. Yet until recently it was generally neglected by political and military officers alike. If the political officer recognized his responsibility to understand the uses of all means of political persuasion, of which force is one, his attention was more likely to be captured by long-range missiles and nuclear weapons. The regular military found it difficult to regard guerrilla warfare as an important military subject: if they saw it as primarily military, they did not take it seriously; if they took it seriously, they did not regard it as primarily military. Such attitudes are readily understandable in the members of a profession generally considered as apolitical and drawn from a society characterized by a high degree of specialization, faced by a form of warfare in which only basic units fight for small objectives, perhaps under a system of command, divided between political and military officers, which repels them.

I suspect most of us assume we know what guerrilla warfare is, but have only that little knowledge of it which can be a dangerous thing—dangerous because it is too little, and doubly dangerous if it is not recognized as such. That is probably true both of myself, and also of others whose attainments in the political and military fields have earned them a better right to their opinions. Some of them have recently advanced, to my knowledge, views which I think are sufficiently open to challenge, as incorrect or misleading, to justify such a conclusion.

I will cite a few of these opinions as illustrative, reserving the right to examine their basis in fact later on: (1) guerrilla warfare can be equated to jungle warfare, as exemplified by the long-range penetration of Burma conducted by Merrill's Marauders against Myitkyina; (2) Chinese Communist armies, if they invaded the Indian subcontinent, would be hard to counter because they would fight the kind of "People's War" which proved so effective on the Chinese mainland; (3) it should be possible for two or three regiments of regular troops, provided they are battle-seasoned, of high quality and well-commanded, to enter a foreign country and put down an indigenous guerrilla force of, say, 10,000 men within a few months; and, (4) if a guerrilla movement is to be effective, the guerrillas must have support, perhaps overt and massive as in Laos, from without.

Let us start with the known and the agreed, and then proceed to matters of opinion. Guerrilla is the Spanish diminutive: war by small units. Opposing a large force, they can do no more than hit and run. If they do not hit, it is no warfare; if they try to hold terrain instead of running, they will be annihilated. When they run it must be to escape and to hide. They may melt into and hide among the civil population, or in jungles, swamps or mountains. As small forces they can achieve large effects only through the accumulation of many small successes, just as a man with a compound bloc and tackle can hoist high a very heavy load only with many pulls on the tackle. Just as one fox may be able to elude a pack of hounds, guerrillas may be able to escape regular forces outnumbering them ten to one. But escape is not decision; it only postpones decision. There is no magic about guerrilla tactics which can give vastly inferior forces quick victory.

Conventional troops, to simplify, have the tasks of defeating forces which stand in their way, and of taking and holding terrain. It is left to military or civilian administrators to establish and maintain governmental authority over the civil populace. This latter task is most likely to be simple in a complex, highly-integrated society: where men are dependent upon city markets and on their next pay envelopes or salary checks, they have little choice but to bow before authority and go about their daily tasks. But a society based more predominantly on subsistence agriculture may be another proposition. It lacks nerve centers the seizure of which yields ready control. Its farmers or peasants, living from crop to crop, are under no immediate pressure to knuckle under. In all likelihood they are inured to hardship and well-acquainted with the local terrain and its hiding places. In sum, a country which is underdeveloped is less likely to be one in which application of conventional military force readily yields political control. It is likely to be one suited to guerrilla warfare.

If guerrillas are to achieve any results beyond survival, they cannot do so by staying in unpeopled mountains,

---

Edward E. Rice, a member of the Policy Planning Staff, was a Chinese language officer during the Sino-Japanese war in China, served in the political section at Manila during the Huk rebellion, and is a graduate of the National War College.

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swamps and jungle or across the borders of another state which gives them sanctuary. Hunted in jungle hide-outs they may fight there, but this does not mean guerrilla warfare can be equated to jungle warfare. They must rather emerge from their hiding places, when least expected, and strike worthwhile targets. That requires access to information, and the ability to pass through peopled terrain without immediately being given away. Both require cooperation, passive and active, of the civil population. If the guerrillas are to melt into and hide among the populace after their strikes, the need for that cooperation is intensified. If guerrilla bands are to grow, they must have recruits: The normal source of recruits, too, is the populace. Only guerrillas who are people of the country in which they fight can have the most intimate knowledge of hiding places, terrain and populace; they have an advantage over any invader in getting the cooperation of the populace; and only they can melt into it and remain undetected—as did anti-Japanese guerrillas on the plains of North China and the Viet Minh in the Red River delta. These natural advantages can rule out quick decisions over indigenous guerrillas by foreign conventional forces which are, or which can be successfully portrayed as, alien invaders.

If guerrilla forces are not supported by an existing government they must in effect create one. They can only survive and grow with popular support, but to be most effective that support must be organized. The tasks of persuasion and propaganda; of setting up intelligence networks and a system of couriers; of obtaining funds and supplies; and of recruiting—all these are political and administrative tasks. They require a proto-governmental structure to support forces and enable them to grow. The dual tasks of fighting and of organizing constitute waging a "peoples' war"; it cannot be waged by alien invaders.

Arms and ammunition too, are needed: they may be smuggled in, purchased locally, made in secret workshops or captured from the enemy. A guerrilla force which can only grow by capturing arms and ammunition in ambushes on supply convoys, raids on police headquarters and arms depots, and in consequence of successful combat with enemy units, is one which obtains military experience in step with its growth. The Chinese Communists got most of their arms

"Fox with Phoenix Wing" *(Philadelphia Museum of Art)*

this way, and the Huks in the Philippines did too. Both proved that a guerrilla movement can be effective with little support from without.

Guerrilla forces may grow to the point where they can hold their own, in advantageous terrain they know well, against larger conventional forces. When they can, that terrain becomes for them a secure base. To the populace in it they can afford the protection which a government is expected to give its citizens. Meanwhile, by a process of subdivision which growth makes possible, other units are created which may build their own secure bases. These may be joined together into a "liberated area." The guerrillas are on their way towards becoming an army, and their political structure towards becoming a government.

Meanwhile the guerrillas must successfully wage their war against the armed force which opposes them and the government which supports it. Officials in villages and towns are won over or killed, raids are staged on police stations and isolated troop units, highway convoys are ambushed. The regular forces can still go anywhere, but they cannot be everywhere. To protect main centers and principal lines of transport and communications, they may have to be pulled in from the countryside and from the smaller villages. This opens the countryside to wider guerrilla control.

Finally the guerrilla forces, through their own growth and the attrition they inflict on the conventional forces opposing them, may become the more numerous and potentially the more powerful. To convert that potentiality into actuality, they may convert the more experienced of their guerrilla bands into regular forces which can fight mobile and positional warfare. At this point, when they are ready for a showdown with the forces still opposing them, they have the greatest need for the quantities of material which are consumed in set-piece battles. At this point, then, massive support from without is most likely to be crucial. But at this point, too, they cease to be a predominantly guerrilla force.

THE foregoing account does justice neither to the complexity and difficulty of organizing a guerrilla rebellion, or of converting a predominantly guerrilla force into a regular army. These are endeavors which occupied the Chinese Communists for the better part of a generation. The account does provide a generalized concept of some of the tasks involved in such an endeavor, and of their sequential order. If the account is reasonably correct, and I think it is, we can conclude:

FIRST, guerrilla warfare is more suited to some types of terrain than others, but it depends more on the populace than terrain;

SECOND, consequently, it is not a form of warfare which an alien invader can readily use to overcome an indigenous populace;

THIRD, it is not a form of warfare which alien forces, and especially alien conventional forces, can easily counter—especially if it is waged in an underdeveloped society;

FOURTH, it is correct to conclude that outside aid and sanctuary may ease the tasks of guerrillas, and that such aid may be decisive, especially when they are ready to pass over to conventional operations, but not necessarily correct to conclude that a guerrilla movement requires substantial support from outside to be effective as such.

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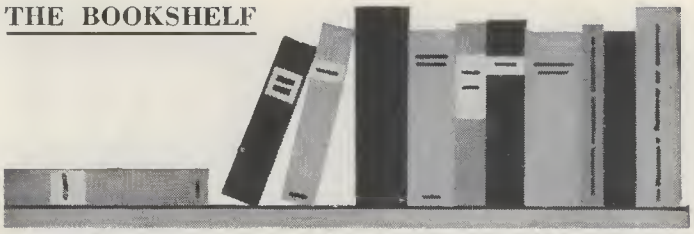


"Let observation with extensive view survey mankind, from China to Peru."—*Samuel Johnson*

Four Books for the Kremlinologist's Library

by HEYWARD ISHAM

FOUR RECENT additions to the Kremlinologist's library reveal again what a wide range of style and subject matter can be encompassed by those who write on Soviet affairs. Howard Norton, a veteran correspondent of the Baltimore SUN, sketches Moscow life with swift, shrewd strokes. Frank Gibney, also a seasoned newsman, takes us on a *tour d'horizon* of local Communist movements as they prosper or fade in the peaceful coexistence phase. Lazar Pistrak, an emigré researcher of note, critically examines Khrushchev ascending to the heights of power. And a distinguished group of scholars illuminate many facets of the intelligentsia's position under both the old and new regimes.

Howard Norton makes no claim to be a political pundit, offers no theories to explain the nature of Soviet society, amasses no storehouse of lore for the tourist visiting the Soviet Union. His collection of short pieces, written over the three years of his exposure to Soviet ways, is in the tradition of the late Meyer Berger of the New York TIMES—a fascinated excursion into the workings of a modern metropolis. Norton came to the Soviet Union with neither knowledge of Russian nor familiarity with Russian history; his sketches are therefore limited in depth. But they are enlivened by a discerning eye for the less widely reported aspects of life in Russia: the unpredictable elevators, the urge for privacy in a communally housed world, the contrast between state store barrenness and collective market plenty, the spacious grounds of Moscow parks left unkempt for lack of lawnmowers, the efficient despatch of fire engines to all quarters of the once inflammable wooden city. Howard Norton's book is highly readable, if not profound, and as a deft exposé of a lumbering bureaucracy it merits circulation to audiences in the newly independent states who may take at face value Soviet boasts of superiority in economic planning.

Frank Gibney is no Moscow hand, but he has long background in foreign reporting, and his survey of Communist movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is a workmanlike job. He has clearly consulted knowledgeable sources, and his account of leadership and doctrinal struggles makes interesting reading, particularly in the chapters on the Middle East. He cannot claim personal authority in any region described and thus the book, for all its professional touch, is essentially a popular introduction. His chapter on Soviet espionage, particularly drawing attention to the use of "black" propaganda, was enriched by his collaboration with Peter Deriabin, the defector from the KGB. Although forged letters and documents purportedly originating from high U.S. officials often contain crude errors, Gibney rightly warns of their impact upon the gullible who are predisposed to suspect "capitalist" motives.

On a more scholarly level than either of these, Lazar Pistrak's carefully documented study of Khrushchev's rise to power serves as excellent background material for the now stormy, now benign utterances of the Soviet leader. Pistrak's encyclopedic knowledge of Soviet politics and personalities makes this a heavy book for the non-specialist but a valuable source for those immersed in the field. At the same time, as a Menshevik, Pistrak cannot conceal his hatred of Bolshevism, and his account at times resembles a tract more than a biography. Pistrak goes to exhaustive lengths to prove what few informed persons now question—that Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin's crimes in 1956 masked a large degree of personal responsibility for the acts of terror in the 1930's. The exhumation of skeletons in the Soviet closet is always salutary, given the consistent attempts of Soviet apologists to disclaim or obfuscate past sins. But it is doubtful whether muckraking alone, however satisfying, is enough to explain the motivations of one who survived, and triumphed, in the Soviet political jungle. Balanced judgment on Mr. K.'s life and work must await another biographer.

At the first sight "The Russian Intelligentsia" might appear to be the least topical of the four. Esoteric though it may be in parts, the collection

Moscow *by Sheila Isham*

ONLY IN RUSSIA, by Howard Norton. Van Nostrand. $4.95.

THE KHRUSHCHEV PATTERN, by Frank Gibney. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $4.95.

THE GRAND TACTICIAN, by Lazar Pistrak. Praeger. $6.00.

THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA, by Richard Pipes (Ed.). Columbia Univ. Press. $4.50.

Tiflis *by Sheila Isham*

of essays is of the first importance for an understanding of an elusive yet central riddle in Soviet society—the attitude of intellectuals toward the regime. Defiance of self-constituted authority, reformist tendencies, deep spiritual roots were characteristic of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia; but in today's scientist, writer, engineer, or artist no single mood or combination of moods can be distinguished. Certainly the old forms of intellectual challenge have given way to a new form of assertive intellectual autonomy —the flight from reality by immersion in the sanctity of technical standards, the adoption of an intense professionalism. The Stalinist generation stands accused of *meshchanstvo*, the defect that sparked the nineteenth century fathers and sons conflict: social conformism, contempt for creative activity, an obsession with personal power and security. The private hero of many Soviet intellectuals today is solitary, dedicated, asocial—and herein lies the ultimate challenge to the Soviet collectivism.

Among university students, as David Burg points out, the rejection of Soviet society finds its outlet in neo-Bolshevism, a theory that explains political repression and bureaucratic indifference as resulting from the distortion, or inversion, of Lenin's doctrines on the state. The "Back to Lenin" school of thought is naive, to be sure, but it is also an interesting symptom of the effort to rationalize the glaring discrepancy between the Marxist-Leninist ideal and the dismal meanness of much in Soviet life. That men of education in the U.S.S.R. should perceive this inconsistency is in itself a sign of promise for further evolution of Soviet society.

Equal and Excellent?

DR. GARDNER, president of the Carnegie Foundation, gives in 161 calm pages the logical framework necessary for an examination of excellence. He is not describing Utopia, he makes clear; he is taking our society as it is and pondering ways to excellence within it.

"Consider the Foreign Service officer," he says. "We must provide ample pay for our Foreign Service officers; but even within the scale of monetary rewards that a wealthy nation can afford it isn't possible to buy with money the qualities and the performance needed—the competence, judgment, willingness to endure hardships, and voluntary exile from the life that Americans love. Pay is important, but only devotion and conviction will insure the desired outcome."

Dr. Gardner is discussing, primarily, the tug of war in America between the principles of equalitarianism and individual performance. He believes that overemphasis on individual performance brings forth self-corrective forces within our society. But overemphasis on equality leads to correction from outside by a society with unfettered talents. We must prevent excesses both in individual performance—or we shall not remain a democracy—and in equalitarianism—or we shall lose our vitality. His summation may be found in an excellent sentence: "We must seek excellence in a context of concern for all." With this study behind us, perhaps we can better take up the next question: How do you get people to strive for excellence in a society that often seems to value excellence less than success?

—JACK PERRY

EXCELLENCE: CAN WE BE EQUAL AND EXCELLENT TOO? by John W. Gardner. Harper and Brothers. $3.95.

America—Too Young to Die!

THIS SOMEWHAT hastily written book is Alexander P. De Seversky's attempt to shock the New Frontier, and Congress, into reorganizing our defenses before it is too late. When will it be too late? Perhaps next year. De Seversky believes 1962 a likely year for the opening of the inevitable nuclear war. John F. Kennedy can be our greatest President— "or our last."

Much of what De Seversky says is designed to shock and will shock many. He doesn't believe in the balanced forces' concept. He believes only in aerospace power, offensive and defensive. Limited wars will soon explode in nuclear war. Our foreign bases are worthless real estate.

"This time I'd rather be wrong than right," says De Seversky. He has been wrong before. We can hope he is wrong now. Unfortunately, if he is right, there won't be many people around to whom he can say, "I told you so!"

Is his book worth reading? Yes. It doesn't take long and he has also been right before, though perhaps not as consistently as the introdution would indicate. Some of the ideas he promotes —integration of the armed forces and a high state of civil defense—already have wide acceptance. It is worth reading if only to force oneself to consider some important facts about life and survival in the latter half of the twentieth century.

—ALBERT W. STOFFEL

AMERICA: TOO YOUNG TO DIE! by Major Alexander P. De Seversky. McGraw Hill. $4.95.

"Gleaned from the Desert"

ESTABLISHED readers of Thomas Merton will find in his introduction to this visually beautiful little book the ease of writing and thinking which they have come to expect from him. New readers might like to lean now and then on this wisdom gleaned from the desert, and, in these almost terrifying years, take solace in being reminded that ". . . the soul is matured only in battles." As Merton so aptly states, "Our time is in desperate need of this kind of simplicity."

—IONA MCNULTY

THE WISDOM OF THE DESERT—Some Sayings of the Desert Fathers of the Fourth Century, translated by Thomas Merton. New Directions, New York. $3.50.

Record of Diplomacy

SINCE BARTLETT'S standard work, "The Record of American Diplomacy" appeared in its last edition seven years ago, the compilation by Dorothy Goebel has the merit of freshness. It contains documents and texts from the days of the founding fathers to the UN resolution on intervention in the Congo and Khrushchev's attack upon the United Nations on September 23, 1960, when he first introduced the concept of the *troika*. Not as complete as Bartlett, but intelligently edited and with many documents that are not contained in the bigger work.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: A Documentary Survey, 1776-1960. Edited by Dorothy B. Goebel. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. $5.50.

"America in the Modern World"

D. W. Brogan, the eminent Cambridge University professor of political science proposes, in this short work based on a series of lectures delivered at Rutgers in 1959, to explain America's diminished hold on the esteem of the world during the last decade, and the various political realignments of recent years which have not on the whole been in our favor. He attributes these reverses in part to defects and historical lags in our national values, and to a certain naïveté in our view of the world, in particular the notion that our political institutions ought to be slavishly copied by the countries that are just beginning to function as free nations.

Professor Brogan suggests a number of changes in our educational goals and methods. For one thing, an American education could and should be made less drawn-out and wasteful. He further urges that some prevalent beliefs, such as the one that the businessman and his outlook are the nation's best guide in each and every phase of our national existence, ought to he sacked.

These controversial findings and recommendations are ably buttressed by convincing, well-documented arguments, and presented in a most friendly and temperate way. This reviewer found himself in substantial agreement with Professor Brogan at practically all times, and feels sure that we can indeed benefit by the clarity and insights of a critic who deserves to be viewed as a good friend of the United States, in the great tradition of de Tocqueville.

—Joseph Frank

AMERICA IN THE MODERN WORLD, by D. W. Brogan. Rutgers University Press. $3.00.

A New Turkish Novel

A new book by a Turkish writer is a rarity on American publishing lists. The appearance of the title, "Memed, My Hawk" by Yashar Kemal among the novels of Madison Avenue and the Deep South has something of the same impact as the sight of a wild blue heron wading in the barnyard pond among the ducks.

Yashar Kemal has not written a conventional novel. "Slim Memed" is a young Anatolian villager turned outlaw, and his story has strong overtones of a folk legend. The tale is told as simply as the Kalevala, but "Memed, My Hawk" will never be taken for a verbatim recital of a folk story. The rich, vivid language, the deft, sharp portraits, the moving revelations of the unhappy lot of his Anatolian farmers all proclaim the gifted writer that, in truth, Yashar Kemal is.

Although the dust jacket speaks of the book as a "stirring epic of modern Turkey," the cruel landlord, the oppressed peasants, the bands of mountain desperadoes are closer in spirit to the time of the Ottoman Empire than to Ataturk's Turkey. While the time of the action of the book is not clearly stated, there are allusions that make it seem likely that Kemal is writing of the early years of the Republic. It will be interesting if Yashar Kemal turns, as this reviewer hopes he may, to the interpretation of the problems current in Turkey today.

—Rebecca H. Latimer

MEMED, MY HAWK, by Yashar Kemal. Translated by Edouard Roditi. Pantheon. $4.95.

Insiders—and Out

A group of new artists, called Insiders, is introduced in this book. An Insider is concerned with the human condition and expresses his concern in representational imagery. He believes it possible to communicate with his contemporaries without compromising his artistic integrity. In this, he stands in sharp contrast to the artist who makes non-committal statements in abstraction, subjective automatism or realism—and disdains popular understanding or approval.

In addition to celebrating the Insiders, Rodman lambastes those outside the charmed circle he has drawn. Of the Abstract Expressionist, he remarks: "He has become like Narcissus except that even his own image is too disturbing to confront; he studies the mystery of his handwriting and the ripples in the pond."

However, even after Rodman's absorbing expression of his views, many readers may still find themselves unable to distinguish between the art of the Insiders and the art of those who are too far out—at least, for Rodman.

—R. W. R.

THE INSIDERS, by Selden Rodman. Louisiana State University Press. $6.95.

"The Washerwomen" *by Earl J. Wilson*

"The Anthill"

In "the anthill" Madame Labin has performed the very useful service of focussing attention on the individual in Communist China. The generally well-known facts of communist policies and movements on the Mainland of China assume a new and meaningful dimension when viewed in terms of what effect they have had on the people of China. Madame Labin found her material in the refugee camps of Hong Kong. Her device is to present the personal experiences of these refugees, representing all walks of life, in terms of a series of dialogues.

Madam Labin feels very strongly about man's inhumanity to man, and makes very clear that communist ends do not and cannot justify the means. In some instances the reader of her book is left feeling that the impact of her message would have been stronger had she permitted the reader to reach his own conclusions. A minor irritant in the book is the absence of uniformity in the romanization of Chinese names. These are unimportant failings, however, and do not dim the value of a well-documented and very eloquent contribution to the understanding of Communism in China.

—Richard H. Donald

THE ANTHILL: The Human Condition in Communist China, by Suzanne Labin. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Frederick A. Praeger. $6.75.

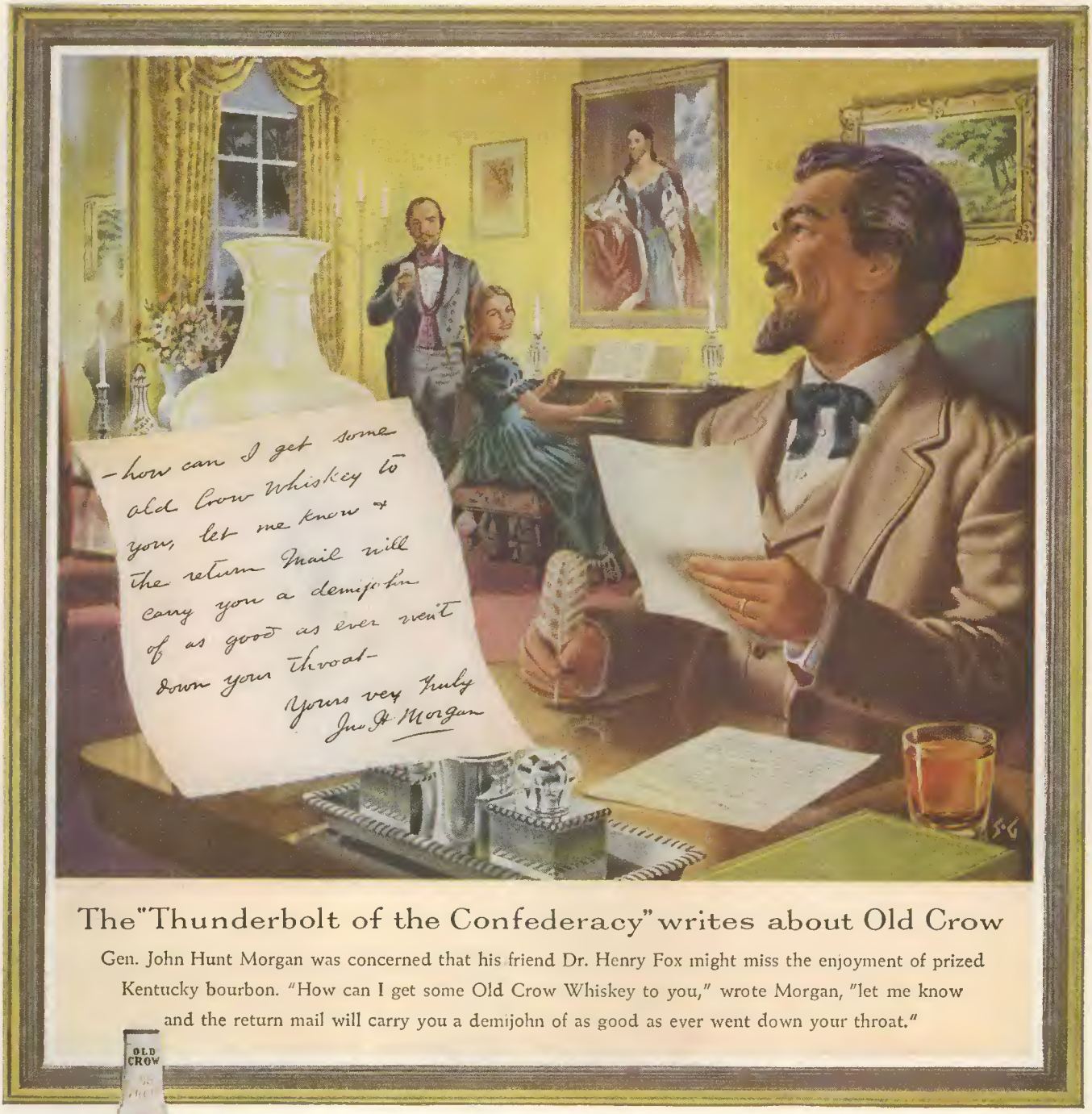
"An Only Child"

One of the amazing aspects of the English language today is the seeming reluctance or inability of its writers to express themselves clearly. John O'Hara and James Thurber have been notable exceptions and after reading Frank O'Connor's "An Only Child" I would include him in the small and lonely band of men who write with nouns and verbs.

Rising out of deceptively simple prose are the sights, sounds, and smells of Dublin at the turn of the century. The cast of characters is great: a drunken father, a neanderthal grandmother, a soft, gentle uncle, neighbors, and a memorable mother who fights with the ferocity of a wounded tigress to keep the family together in the face of ever-present poverty. And through it all is the young, sensitive boy groping to find light and freedom. That he is able to overcome these frightening obstacles and go on to become one of Ireland's finest writers is a tribute to human endurance and just plain guts. It is a book not soon forgotten.

—Peter Brampton

AN ONLY CHILD, by Frank O'Connor. Alfred Knopf. $4.50.



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Service Glimpses

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1. Ouagadougou, Upper Volta. (l. to r.) Ambassador Thomas S. Estes, Mrs. Estes, and Deputy Chief of Mission Robert A. McKinnon greet the Upper Voltan Pastor attached to the Protestant Mission, and (partially obscured) a missionary's young daughter, during Fourth of July celebrations at the Embassy Residence.

2. Karachi. Addressing the residents of the new refugee colony of Korangi, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (l.) with Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Jean Kennedy Smith (sister of the President) and their interpreter. Royal D. Bisbee, PAO, Lahore, during the Vice President's recent trip to the Far East.

3. Göteborg. Gathered at the opening of the U. S. Trade and Information Center at the International Swedish Trade Fair are: (l. to r.) Sweden's Prime Minister, Mr. Tage Erlander; Mr. Sven Hammarström, Managing Director of the Fair; Consul General Paul Pearson; Ralph Hunt (with back to camera), Economic Counselor at the Embassy Stockholm; and Vice Consul Edward Peck, in charge of the Center.

2

4. New Delhi. "Taj Tigers" of the American International School, two-time champions of the Basketball Invitation Tournament (l. to r.) are: Tommy Noonan (USIS), Mrs. Willow Gupta (American International School), Alan Johnson (TCM), Terry MacDonald (Wheat Association), Raj. Chopra (Coach), Bill Holcombe (USIS), Brian Johnson (TCM), Jeff Myers (TCM), and John Jones (American Embassy).

5. Reno. Mr. and Mrs. Chad F. Calhoun drinking a toast following their recent wedding. Mrs. Calhoun is the former Edith G. Thomas, who was secretary to the Ambassador at Addis Ababa. Mr. Calhoun is Vice President of the Kaiser Industries Corporation.

6. Washington. At a recent AFSA luncheon (l. to r.) William L. Blue, Chairman of AFSA's Board of Directors, Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., guest speaker, and Charles E. Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary, who underlined the importance of Dr. Schlesinger's talk in his appreciative remarks after the talk.

7. Turin. On "American Day" at the International Labor Exhibition all American citizens in the Turin district were invited. Ambassador G. Frederick Reinhardt is shown receiving a gift of freshly picked mushrooms, a token of appreciation from Giuseppe Costa, an American citizen who was a miner in Colorado for thirty-seven years before retiring to his native village of Lanzo near Turin. Consul Charles K. Moffly (at right) was U. S. Commissioner for the Exhibition.

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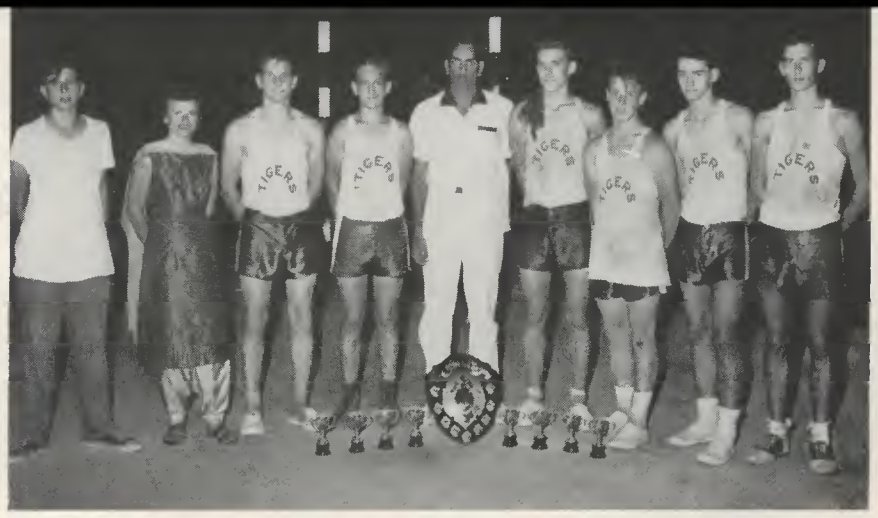

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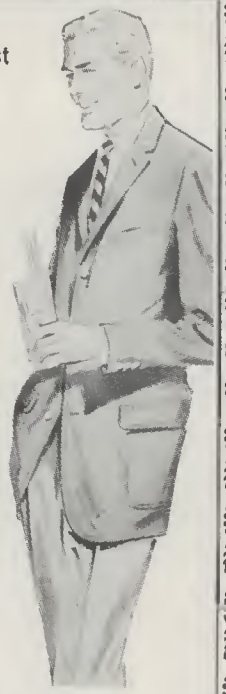

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SUMMITRY

(Continued from page 22)

was on his way to the airport, Khrushchev going from the Soviet Embassy to the Embassy residence in the suburb of Purkersdorf. Both escort leaders were in constant radiophonic touch with Ministerialrat Dr. Oswald Peterlunger, head of the Austrian State (security) Police who conducted the intricate logistics of summit traffic from his radio command car miles away. He told the Kennedy convoy to slow down to ten kilometers per hour, and ordered the Khrushchev convoy to step on it and go seventy an hour.

"When we reached the dangerous intersection," says an awed member of the President's party, "the red taillight of the Khrushchev convoy just disappeared at the corner of Schlossallee. It was a beautiful job." President Kennedy wanted to know what had happened. "The President always wants to know everything. When the Sunday afternoon talks dragged on until 4:35, worried aides remembered that the President's plane was scheduled to take off for London at 5:20. It's forty minutes out to the airport. Maybe the President ought to go out there directly instead of picking up Mrs. Kennedy at the Embassy residence, as had been planned. But no one suggests anything to President Kennedy. They *asked* him. He decided to go all the way back for Mrs. Kennedy. The plane left an hour late for London."

IT IS ANOTHER paradox of our troubled times that summit diplomacy is more problematic than ever but that the subtle technique of summitry—security, protocol, communications, the interplay of psychological relations—is impressive. The mechanics of the meetings are often more exciting than the meetings themselves that end on a note of disillusion.

Everything went very fast. On the late morning of May 15, rumors of an NBC report from faraway Palm Beach, Florida, swept the American Embassy in Vienna. President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev might meet in Vienna, Geneva or Stockholm. No one in Vienna had any idea that the meeting had been under consideration since February.

The speed of the New Frontier overtook the *gemütlich* Danube city. On May 22, American and Soviet advance parties flew in to map out the mechanics. They knew little as yet. There would be two meetings. And on Sunday morning the President and Mrs. Kennedy would go to church. The security details were informally discussed between those two skilled pros in the Art of Protection, White House Secret Service Chief James Rawley and Lieut. General N. S. Zakharov, Khrushchev's top bodyguard. Both had been junior secret service men at the Yalta Conference back in 1945.

"They understand one another without many words," an Austrian security expert says. "They looked at all the buildings and rooms where the talks would take place. They decided that on Saturday the Russians would have three secret men inside the U.S. Embassy residence, that the Americans would send three of their men on Sunday into the Soviet Embassy. They drew up diagrams, mapped out the routes, agreed on facilities for the press. They seemed more worried about enthusiastic crowds than about potential assassins."

by Joseph Wechsberg

THE AUSTRIANS hoped the Kennedys would attend Sunday morning service at Hofburg Chapel where the Vienna Philharmonic and the Vienna Boys' Choir perform the great Masses of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Bruckner. The White House experts took one horrified look at the small chapel and ruled it out; instead the Kennedys would attend Mass at St. Stephan's Cathedral. President Kennedy refused one of the red silk covered pews near the altar and prayed in one of the wooden pews with the rest of the worshippers, who greeted him by lifting up their arms and waving their handkerchiefs, which is an old local custom.

Austria's officials kept a stiffly neutral upper lip but the people of Vienna were, in the words of one observer, "strictly neutral for Jack and Jackie." Practically the entire populace was out in the street to greet the first United States President ever to come to Vienna (except 100,000 soccer fans on Saturday afternoon who saw their "wonderteam" beat England three to one). Each store near the State Opera displayed a Kennedy picture. Police President Josef Holaubek said that the crowds which lined the streets along the Kennedy's route were the largest ever in Vienna. When Khrushchev drove by, the Viennese stared; when they saw the Kennedys, they cheered.

The KURIER, Vienna's largest paper, greeted the meeting in German, English and Russian, adding a typical note of local skepticism by reminding of earlier, unsuccessful summit meetings. In 1807, Napoleon I met Tsar Alexander I on a luxurious raft in the Memel river to divide Europe but five years later they were divided themselves by war. In 1865, Napoleon III met Bismarck in Biarritz; a few years later he was Bismarck's prisoner. In 1897 Tsar Nikolaus II and President Felix Faure of France met in Kronstadt to sign a pact against the Triple Alliance; nothing good came out of *that*. In 1905 Kaiser Wilhelm II met Tsar Nikolaus II, his nephew, on his yacht "Hohenzollern" along the Finnish coast. As a polite gesture the Kaiser wore the uniform of a Russian admiral and the Tsar wore a German uniform, but the Russian cabinet refused to ratify the drafted defense treaty, and we know what happened in 1914. In 1939, Hitler met Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov in Berlin; two years later he invaded the Soviet Union.

Molotov, now an exiled minor diplomat in Vienna, provided one of the few genuinely dramatic moments of the weekend. He stood way down the reception line, pale and trembling, as Khrushchev arrived at the station. Would the victorious Khrushchev ignore the man who had tried to oust him in 1957? Khrushchev stopped for a handshake and thirty seconds of talk. Afterwards even poker-faced Gromyko had a smile for his erstwhile boss.

The aides of both statesmen were deluged by improbable or heartbreaking requests. A desperate old woman managed to hand a letter to Mrs. Khrushchev asking her for help to get her daughter out of Communist Rumania. A Rumanian doctor, now in Switzerland, handed a Kennedy aide a file of letters: his wife had died of brain cancer in Rumania and he was unable to get his two children out. An Indian woman asked to see President Kennedy to sell him her idea of a "United Nations Peace Corps." A Swiss farmer delivered two suckling pigs, crated, "for luck" to

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SUMMITRY

the American and the Soviet embassies. A Greek journalist wanted "a short message from President Kennedy for the people of Greece."

No summit meeting can be better than its press, and the real story of this meeting was to explain that there would be no story. "Our greatest problem was our inability to answer specific questions," said a worried American press officer. There was almost no news but the 1509 accredited members of the world's newspapers, wire services, radio and television networks sent out over six million words. Vienna's papers had tactfully indicated that the summit would cost the Austrian taxpayers around ten million Schilling ($400,000) but added hopefully that "cable and phone tolls alone would bring back the money, not to speak of hotel bills." From the United States came more than 300 correspondents and photographers; from the Soviet Union came 13; from Red China came none. The West German correspondents were speaking to the East Germans which happens rarely. The American network people gave a fine demonstration of free enterprise rivalry. The Soviet correspondents went everywhere as a closed group, never competing for news.

The American Embassy kept a dozen people in its five-room press office at the New Hofburg to provide correspondents with a flow of information; the Russians had one young man in their five rooms who knew little and said even less. The Soviet Embassy kept a direct telephone line to the Kremlin but did not bother to install a switchboard for the summit talks. (Even senior officials have to come down from their offices to the two telephones near the entrance and take their calls there.) A direct White House phone, appropriately colored white, stood in Press Secretary Pierre Salinger's office at the Hofburg, and other direct lines were installed at the Embassy residence in Hietzing, and at the Hotel Bristol. An American reporter happened to walk into one of the rooms at the Bristol assigned to members of the U.S. delegation when the phone rang. A White House operator was on the line, asking, "What number did you want, sir?" Without hesitation, the correspondent gave his home number in Washington, D. C. His wife was delighted to hear his voice.

The basic shortage of news contrasted with the formidable array of news-gathering facilities. Two American networks flew in a 6,000 pound emergency generator (at air freight rates), brought dozens of technicians. An executive estimated his network's expenses as "far above $100,000." Planes were chartered to fly pictures and films to Paris and London. During the afternoon talk at the American Embassy residence in the lovely district of Hietzing, American wire services and networks had rented all rooms in the neighborhood wtih a view of the Embassy residence garden (and were rewarded when they saw briefly Kennedy and Khrushchev, gesticulating and talking through their interpreters). Local phone calls cost one Schilling (4¢) in Vienna but by five p.m. over 100 Schilling were paid for a call.

VIENNA'S HOFBURG, whose huge wing facing the Ring is called The New Palace, was unanimously voted the world's best press center by veterans of many international meetings. Built between 1881 and 1913, it is used by the International Atomic Energy for its general conferences (daily rental: over $3,000), has interpreters' booths, simultaneous transmission facilities, five radio studios (which proved in-

sufficient), 22 teleprinters and 50 of Vienna's 80 outgoing telephone lines. The Hofburg staff people work with the speed of stagehands. On Thursday evening a state dinner had been given for President Kekkonen of Finland, and on the Monday after the summit four international congresses opened here. The correspondents worked in sumptuous halls with valuable paintings (the Fragonards in the Russian press room had been covered up by cautious workmen), walked over beautifully inlaid parquet floors. were accredited within 25 seconds (in Geneva it takes 25 minutes), and some of them slept in the Fasangarten Army barracks, dubbed "Military Hilton." On Sunday morning a woman correspondent, suffering from the aftermath of a *Heuriger* (new wine) party, rang the bell, drowsily asked for "clear consommé with a fresh egg and no salt" and had her order in five minutes. Not many army cooks on earth can do that. The Army delivered Pfc. Gerhard Buchinger as interpreter in English, Russian, French, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Turkish, Flemish, Danish and Norwegian. And since nothing goes without music in the city of Haydn, Schubert and Johann Strauss, the army band woke up the world press with a serenade in the morning.

THE BASIC lack of news was cleverly camouflaged by the well-known Austrian ability of supplying local color. President Schärf received his visitors in his study in the Imperial Palace, a former bedroom of Empress Maria Theresa famous for its clock. Its fingers run counterclockwise over an inverted dial. (The Empress, unable to see the clock through the bed's curtains, instead saw the clock's reflection in a mirror.) Unable to guess what was being discussed, the press had to fall back on the furniture of Ambassador Matthews' music room (pink damask chairs around a black coffee table), gastronomical lunch detail (the Americans offered foie gras, filet of beef Wellington, mimosa salad, ice cream, Austrian and French wines; the Soviets brought along their own caviar, vodka and Crimean champagne, and gave Soviet crabmeat, chicken and dessert); explained that President Kennedy was not drinking Communist Pilsner Beer, as had been erroneously reported when a truck with a sign Pilsner Beer was seen entering the Embassy gate. It had contained only plain soda water, explained an embarrassed Embassy spokesman; the President would get neutral Austrian Schwechat-Hopfenperle beer.

And when things got desperately dull there was always Jackie. "The Good Lord knows what would have happened if Madame Kennedy hadn't come along," said a grateful French correspondent. By the time Mrs. Kennedy was having lunch at Vienna's Kerzenstüberl, looking at the Augarten Porcelain Manufacture, admiring the white Lippizaner horses at the Spanish Riding School, or just smiling at the crowds, it was obvious that she was worth half a dozen atomic warheads in psychological warfare value. Her dinner dress at Schönbrunn palace was better copy than the previous press conference. She passed a crucial test when she did not get trapped in one of Maria Theresa's devilish ceremonial chairs, designed for ladies wearing long crinoline gowns. Jackie kept gracefully sitting on the edge of the dangerous fauteuil. "Superb poise," said an impressed palace habitué.

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SUMMITRY

People's Party asked the American Embassy for 20 pictures each of President and Mrs. Kennedy and instead was given 25 of the President and 5 of his wife, the supply of Jackie pictures having run out, the Wieden man said. "A poor fellow must take what he gets. But we would have liked it the other way around."

The Soviets didn't hand out many Khrushchev pictures. No shop displayed any. But they presented Russian wristwatches to some Austrian officials. The wife of one almost collapsed with nervous laughter when he came home, showed her his new gold watch and said, "The Russians gave it to me." Fifteen years ago a Russian soldier had taken away hers.

After the successful "dress rehearsal" the Austrians expect more summit meetings in Vienna. They hope Vienna will soon compete with Geneva as the world's international conference center. For one thing, Vienna's past, unlike Geneva, is not tarnished with the spirit of failure. There is no "spirit of Vienna" yet. And the Danube city offers such un-Swiss attractions as good opera and good music, the Vienna Woods with their *Heuriger* inns and women-waltz-and-wine, and the city's indescribable charm.

And something else. "The Iron Curtain is only half an hour away," a thoughtful Viennese observer says. "Suppose the delegates of the uncommitted nations of Africa and Asia would spend an evening in the charming village of Mörbisch on Lake Neusiedel? After some wine and music they might walk over to the nearby barbed-wire fences and see the wooden watch-towers with their machine guns just beyond the Hungarian border, a few yards away. It's a sight that will make some men wonder what might be in store for them if they remain uncommitted."

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Social Reform and Revolution

Can one hope for the necessary social reform and economic growth in the lands of Latin America—without revolution—the author asks, and provides some hints as to how it might be accomplished.

"Guitariste sur Lama" *by A. Montandon*

by THEODORE GEIGER

IN HIS *Alianza Para El Progreso* speech of last March President Kennedy added new emphasis to U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Social reform, as well as economic development, he pointed out, are cornerstones of U.S. policy in Latin America.

It is now rather fashionable in Washington to talk about the social revolution that is needed in most of Latin America—a concern that reflects more goodwill than actual know-how. Such concern is seldom based on an adequate understanding of the nature of social revolution, how it differs from social reform, and what their relationship to economic growth may be.

In recent years, the term social revolution has come to be used as synonymous with any major social change, thereby obscuring both its meaning and its dangers. A social revolution is but one form of social change—that accomplished by means of the rapid and forceful transfer of political power and economic wealth and income from previously dominant social groups to new or formerly subordinate ones. In this sense, social revolution is not necessarily what Latin America needs nor what the United States should be advocating. But it is what may well come about in much of Latin America, unless there is an acceleration of both social reform and economic growth.

The new U.S. concern with social reform in Latin America is largely a response to the threat of Castro-type social revolutions elsewhere in the region and to the danger that these revolutions would sooner or later be captured by the Communists. In Latin America, both Castroism and Communism attract popular support because of the growing sense of frustration at the slowness of economic growth and social reform, and because of envy and resentment toward the United States. It is important to distinguish between what Communism promises to the people of underdeveloped countries and what it can in fact do for—or rather to—them. Furthermore, at the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that Communism is able to produce accelerated economic growth precisely because it can prevent the type of social reform which would mean rising and more equitably distributed incomes together with expensive social benefits for the great mass of the people. As both Russia and China have shown, Communism can hasten economic growth by preventing or suppressing social reform. In contrast, the pursuit of social reform without regard to economic growth may produce just the opposite result.

The problem, then, confronting the *Alianza Para El Progreso* is a double one: first, how to accelerate economic growth and social reform in order to make social revolution unnecessary, and, second, to find acceptable ways of reconciling economic growth with social reform so that, in effect, they support each other. The answer to the latter constitutes a large part of the solution to the former.

The task of reconciling social reform and economic growth so as to avoid social revolution is not simply a technical one of allocating resources judiciously between capital investment and social welfare projects. In part, of course, it is, and the tendency in Washington will doubtless be to conceive the task only in this sense since it is the most familiar and manageable one. But, to do so would be a grave mistake.

THE OUTCOME of social revolution is too ambiguous, its cost in human and moral losses too large, and the danger of its capture by the Communists too great for responsible Latin Americans or the United States to make it an explicit means for trying to bring about social reforms. But, neither can we wait for comparatively slow social processes "within a framework of democratic institutions," to achieve the desired reforms. Mounting popular impatience and growing Communist activity daily enhance the likelihood that the Hemisphere will be confronted with more Guatemalas and Cubas. Is it possible to speed up the process of social reform in Latin America by means consistent with democratic institutions?

When we in the United States think of rapidly achieved social reforms consistent with democratic institutions, we usually have in mind the great social advances in North

Theodore Geiger is Chief of International Studies of the National Planning Association, Washington, D. C. With a Ph.D. from Columbia University, he has served in the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Department of State and the War Production Board.

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America and much of Western Europe since World War II, accomplished without even severe class conflicts, much less social revolution. It has become a truism to say that this happy result has been one of the direct consequences of an extraordinarily rapid and massive economic growth. In the familiar simile, a much larger "pie" became available to distribute among the social claimants. Most got a larger slice than they had before, and even the rich, who may have received somewhat less, found that they needed to make no fundamental change in their level or style of living. However, is this possibility for accelerating the rate and easing the difficulties of social reform open to Latin America? The answer, unfortunately, is negative. Neither Latin American resources nor those likely to be available from the United States are large enough to accelerate real growth rates in these countries to the point where economic expansion alone would in a short enough time bring about substantial social betterment.

In Latin America, even in the most economically advanced countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico), economic growth has been the privilege of certain regions in the country and groups in the population. Large inhabited areas and social groups in most Latin American countries have not been involved in such economic growth as has occurred or, if they have been touched by it, have been adversely affected—as the rise of both rural and urban unemployment and underemployment suggests. One of the major unsolved problems of economic development in Latin America is how to reverse what Albert Hirschman calls the process of polarization into developing and stagnant regions within each country. Thus, even if Latin American economic growth could be very substantially accelerated, it might not, in existing circumstances, bring about much social amelioration either in the countryside or in the swelling slums of the industrializing urban centers. Some countries might be exceptions—Chile and Uruguay, for example—but there would not be many.

Is there, then, no hope for social reform and economic growth "within a framework of democratic institutions" in Latin America? There is, but the achievement of social reform will be neither automatic nor easy in most countries of Latin America. It requires a much deeper understanding than we now have of how society operates in Latin America; a much firmer and stronger will than we have yet been capable of mustering to help the Latin Americans

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bring about the desired reforms; and a much better planned and sustained effort than we have ever before produced to accomplish the agreed-upon goals.

The task in each Latin American country is to discover the particular points in the existing social institutions and relationships at which pressures of various kinds can be applied, or induced, to set up "chain reactions" that will move significant parts of the society in the desired directions. These "leverage points" will vary from country to country and from stage to stage in each nation's development. The types of pressures applied will also vary—for example, the direct expenditure of public funds, public and private capital investment, changes in taxation and in trade and monetary policies, agrarian reform legislation and programs, urban development plans, etc. The variations both in leverage points and in types of pressures are so great that continuous study and reappraisal will be necessary if decisions and actions are to be effective.

SOME HINTS as to what can be done are to be found in a collection of papers recently published under the title "Social Change in Latin America Today." Unfortunately, there is space here to give only one example—that of the Vicos project in the neglected *sierra* region of Peru. In a secluded Andean valley 250 miles northeast of Lima, the people have dwelt for centuries as *peons* on the *hacienda* of Vicos, covering about 35,000 acres, which at some time in the past had come into the possession of the Peruvian government. Nearly 2,000 people live on the estate. Prior to 1952, none owned any land, and all were obligated to provide labor services of various kinds in return for the right to cultivate certain plots for their own subsistence. In collaboration with the Indigenous Institute of Peru, and with the support of the Peruvian government, a team from Cornell University began in 1952 a systematic program of research and technical assistance designed to help the Vicosinos substantially improve their economic life and their health and education, and also learn how to manage both the economic affairs of the estate and the local government of their village. With a minimum of outside personnel and a very modest expenditure of funds, this effort has been extraordinarily successful. By 1957, the Vicosinos were able to take over full control of the project; in 1958, incomes from the use of new seeds and cultivation methods had reached the point where substantial annual payments were begun toward purchase of the *hacienda* lands; over 250 children were attending school in new buildings under eight teachers; access roads had been built to markets, a better water supply developed, and the physical well-being and appearance of the people and their homes completely transformed. More important for our purposes, the news of the accomplishments of the Vicos project was beginning to spread to other Andean valleys; and the Vicosinos are now said to be providing technical assistance to the people on some of the other government-owned *haciendas*, where similar efforts are being organized.

This example illustrates both a well-chosen leverage point and what may become a most effective chain reaction. The

*"Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for United States Policy"; published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Brothers, 1960.

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problem is to find in each country a dozen or so such leverage points with good chances of setting off chain reactions of greater or lesser scope and duration. The process must he a highly selective one based upon thorough study of the possibilities and of the requirements and ramifications of each project or program. In turn, each effort must be carefully planned in advance, and administered with flexibility, tact and firmness. The kind of *ad hoc*, hit-or-miss improvisations that have characterized far too many economic development and foreign-aid activities since the Marshall Plan are not likely to produce much social reform in Latin America—or anywhere else, for that matter.

MAY I stress the point about selectivity, lest it be thought that I am advocating comprehensive social engineering. Quite the contrary. If the methods of social reform are to be consistent with democratic values, one of the main criteria in choosing a leverage point is that individuals and groups should be manipulated by higher authorities as little as possible. Instead, decisions and actions on their part should be stimulated or induced hy providing effective opportunities, incentives and penalties. Some direction and considerable help from the central government will, of course, be necessary, but the relevance of the Vicos example is that so much could be done by the free choice and voluntary action of the people themselves.

Not only is the notion of comprehensive social engineering morally arrogant and implicitly authoritarian; it is also impractical in the sense that social change is not something to be planned and executed purely as a rational activity hy social scientists and civil servants. Politics is inherent in social reform, and most efforts in the past to achieve major social improvements have sooner or later had to take the form of political movements, or at least have become politically controversial.

We in the United States tend sometimes to forget the basic importance and strength of self-interest, and to regard our own successful social reforms as owed to the achievement by our social groups of a much greater degree of rationality or altruism than have prevailed in the past. Are men, however, intrinsically more rational or more moral today than formerly, in the sense that the strength and the short-sightedness of special interest have declined or have been overcome? Is it not that it is easier today to compromise or compose the conflicts of special interests in rapidly growing and wealthy societies like the United States because no group has to give up so much power or income as to feel that its social existence has thereby been basically undermined?

Moreover, we also tend to forget, when urging other countries to undertake social reforms, that even those reforms which do not indirectly involve the loss of power or income by an influential social group are nonetheless politically controversial, and quite difficult to accomplish, even in the wealthiest nation in the world. Adequate medical care for the aged, more and better schools and teachers to meet the needs of a growing population and a more complex society, and other reforms are as controversial in the United States as are health and educational reforms relevant to Latin America's needs—though probably for different reasons.

by Theodore Geiger

We in the United States will have to recognize that the pressure of self-interest is much stronger and class conflicts are much sharper and closer to the surface in Latin America today than has been the case in the United States since the mid-1930's. Social reform that requires any major group to give up or forego significant degrees of power or incomes will never be accomplished by civil servants and technicians alone. That it must enlist the active support and participation of the people to be benefited is obvious. But to be consistent with democratic values, it must also seek to win at least the passive acquiescence of those adversely affected, if at all possible.

The complexities of the political situation—which varies considerably from country to country—cannot be conveyed by a few simple generalizations. Suffice it to say, the U.S. government will have to support—not necessarily openly nor uncritically—those parties and groups which seem most capable of achieving social reform without social revolution. For, if we don't, the Communists surely will. We must also have a pretty good idea of who the next government is likely to be and maintain sufficient contact with it in the interim at least to forestall its capture by the Communists.

To stress the strength of self-interest in Latin America, and the politically controversial implications of significant social reforms does not mean that either rational capabilities or socially responsible conduct is lacking south of the Rio Grande. But they operate somewhat differently than in North America or Western Europe owing to differences in cultural backgrounds. Every society has means for explicitly controlling or mitigating conflicts over power and income in addition to the more basic customs, institutions and moralities that are inherent in the culture. Traditionally, Latin American society has deliberately controlled such conflicts through dictatorship and authoritarian rule, and has mediated them through paternalism. Indeed, the conventional Latin American *caudillo* is only the *patron* writ large. The former is rapidly ceasing, if he has not already ceased, to be acceptable to Latin Americans.

As THE TRADITIONAL paternalism of *caudillo* and *patron* has declined, it is interesting to note that newer forms have taken its place in the urban areas, though not in the countryside. In large part, the governments have been expected to assume—and have assumed—what are in effect new forms of paternalistic obligations in place of the personal largesse of the *caudillo*. The very advanced social welfare legislation on the statute books of most Latin American countries is said to be in good measure a direct reflection of this expectation, even though much of it has never been implemented owing to scarcity of resources and wasteful administration.

More significant for our purpose is the paternalism of many of the new large industrial enterprises owned and managed by Latin Americans. It comes as a surprise to most North Americans to see some—as yet, far too few—of these indigenous business enterprises granting welfare, health, education, and other expensive benefits to their workers considerably in excess of those which U.S. corporations have increasingly been providing both at home and abroad. With a few exceptions (for example, the Chilean copper workers), these benefits are not primarily the result

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of collective bargaining between management and trade unions. True, as with U.S. business firms, they in part reflect the obvious economic interest of the enterprise in a stable, healthy and skilled labor force. But, they also apparently embody the mutual expectations of paternalistic solicitude that seem still to characterize the attitudes both of management and of the workers.

Though North Americans—and many Latin Americans, too—have always disapproved of the traditional paternalism of *caudillo* and *patron*, the new forms may well be a potentially helpful factor in mitigating the difficulties of achieving social reform without social revolution in Latin America. In the United States, the English-speaking Commonwealth, and northern Europe, a heightened sense of social responsibility moderating the pressure of self-interest, as well as the prevailing public and business moralities, have sprung in large part from a combination of the Protestant conscience and the Enlightenment's insistence on the natural equality and rights of men. In Latin America, older Hispano-Catholic values and attitudes underlie group moralities and ideals of civic virtue. Yet, they may play an equivalent role in those societies, for they are also in constant dynamic tension with the powerful pressures of economic self-interest, social prejudice, and political advantage. They, too, tend to enlarge the scope for reason and altruism and, as resources increase, their effectiveness may also grow, just as it has in the more abundant societies of the North. As one facet of this basic social process, Latin American paternalism may, in its newer forms, constitute a significant constructive force working toward social betterment and economic growth.

The best hope of achieving rapid social reform consistent with the progressive realization of democratic values lies in an awakening urge on the part of the Latin Americans to help themselves. Not the least significant aspect of the Vicos project is the extent to which hitherto passive Indians have begun to take initiative in solving their own problems constructively.

There is no automatic or easy way to bring about social reform consistent with economic growth so as to avoid social revolution in Latin America. It is most likely to be done by finding precisely those few leverage points in each society which are best capable of setting off chain reactions of significant size and duration. Because individual and group interests are often at stake, the process will in many cases generate resistance, and will eventually become—if it is not so initially—a matter of political controversy, and perhaps even of conflict. There are pervasive indigenous factors operating in Latin America conducive to social reform without social revolution—a growing capacity for self-help on the part of the people, and perhaps a transformed paternalism on the part of the newer politicians and entrepreneurs. These and other forces, political and social, need strong U.S. support by every appropriate means; otherwise, they will soon be captured by the Communists and social revolution will prevail.

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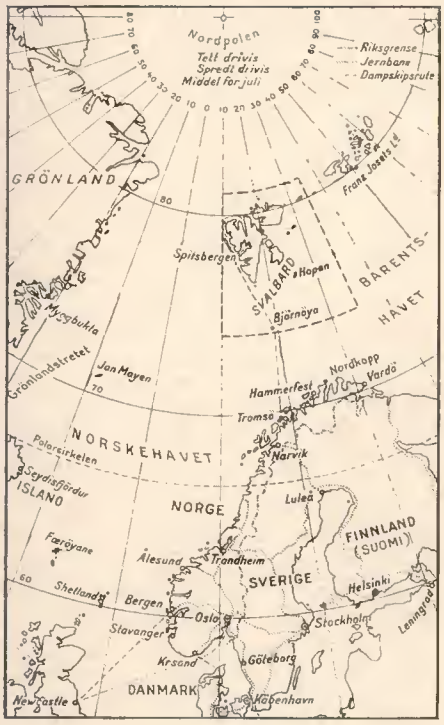

Spitsbergen, a vast, forbidding Norwegian territory in the Arctic, is rarely visited today by any but the Russian and Norwegian coal miners, the hunters and the geologists.

". . . Ice and rock and distance"

Black Coal in a White Land

By Fisher Howe

The great Arctic Archipelago of Svalbard, more generally but less correctly known as Spitsbergen, is spectacular and strange for many reasons but not least because, although owned by Norway, three quarters of its population of 3,600 is Russian—probably the largest single collection of Soviet citizens living outside the Iron Curtain.

Otherwise, Spitsbergen, only six hundred miles from the North Pole, is remarkable because: Northern Lights appear in the southern sky; salmon, all unknowing of an insect, must be netted, since a fly has no allure; no tree or bush can be found in all Spitsbergen and grass and flowers are a special rarity, yet there are endless fossils of tropical leaves, the size of a man's hand, fifty million years old; until 1920 it was a "no man's land" which nobody owned and nobody wanted; the capital, Longyearbyen, gets its name, not from the endless days and nights, but from a Boston entrepreneur, John Longyear, who in 1906 went to Spitsbergen to mine the first coal.

In Spitsbergen, as elsewhere in the Arctic, wood does not deteriorate in water or weather and so the shores are strewn with timber which for decades has floated up from Siberian river mouths and which by law must be left to afford fuel and shelter for the shipwrecked

Remarkable above all, the forbidding, stark shape of Spitsbergen holds a fascination which makes men want constantly to come back to "overwinter" in its four-month-long, lifeless, icebound darkness.

Thousands of islands, including one group itself called "The Thousand Islands," comprise the archipelago which altogether is the size of Denmark and twice that of Belgium. Only one, the largest island—West Spitsbergen—is inhabited and all but one of the Russian and Norwegian communities are located on one fjord. All else in Spitsbergen is ice and rock and distance—a geologist's feast. The cold, perpendicular and lifeless landscape gives it a quality probably more like the surface of the moon than anything on earth.

The phenomenon of Spitsbergen is that it is inhabited at all. Six hundred miles farther north than Point Barrow in northernmost Alaska, or than any part of continental Canada, it is at the latitude of the top of Greenland. Only because of the Gulf Stream is it habitable at all. In the four months of unbroken darkness, the temperature is fairly constant at minus 40°F. Summers, with four months of un-

Coal being loaded

Fisher Howe is Deputy Chief of Mission at Oslo where he has been since October 1958. Previously he served as Director of the Executive Secretariat. He is probably the first American diplomat ever to have visited Spitsbergen.

"Four months of unbroken daylight"

broken daylight, have a mean temperature of plus 37°F.

In the last century, whaling was the great industry of Spitsbergen, with shore establishments of thousands of people rendering oil. But the whale, the walrus and the seal have been "fished out." More recently trapping blue fox and hunting polar bear have brought many to Spitsbergen, but now these pursuits, too, are dying out. A year ago two men stayed fourteen months on remote, little Half Moon Island and bagged over one hundred and twenty-three polar bears, mostly by trip-gun traps. Old man Helmar Nois is planning his thirty-seventh winter trapping fox, still hoping to better the record of the legendary Russian monk who in 1826 is supposed to have completed 39 winters on Icefjord. But otherwise only an occasional polar bear "safari" puts out in July from North Norway and only one or two trappers remain through the winter. A bear skin brings one hundred dollars and is an ornamental trophy, but for all of that and the fact that the polar bear is the largest carniverous beast, shooting polar bear is hardly a sporting venture: the bear neither attacks nor runs away and most are shot from the ship as they stand on the ice floe or swim nearby. Fortunately Norway has made a sanctuary of King Karl's Land, an icebound group to the east of West Spitsbergen, so the breed is not, as it was before, disappearing.

EXPLORERS used to use Spitsbergen, at 91°N, for expeditions to the North Pole. The first and surely the strangest of these ventures was the Swedish scientist, Andree, who in 1897 with two companions set off from Denmark Island, northwest of Spitsbergen, in a free-flying balloon hoping to float over the Pole. He was not heard from until 33 years later when a scientific expedition to White Island, the easternmost point of the Svalbard archipelago, discovered the remains of the expedition, with diaries to the last hour, a story much like that of Scott in the Antarctic. Later the Italian, Nobile, in his dirigible, the Norwegian, Amundsen, and the American, Byrd, in airplanes, made attempts at the Pole from Denmark Island, each expedition adding a dramatic chapter to the legend of Spitsbergen.

In the last two summers American oil companies have searched for oil but not, it would appear, with much optimism of finding it profitable to exploit. Coal is therefore the only real attraction: coal is what gets the Russians there and what keeps the Norwegians there. In Longyearbyen, site of the larger Norwegian coal mining operation and the "capital" of Svalbard, there are still standing, as good as new, the original wood pit entrance structures, left by the American company. Norwegians purchased the concession at Longyearbyen and run it as a private company with seven hundred people. At Ny Aalesund, up on Kings Bay, the coal is mined by a government company with two hundred people.

The Russians have some 2,700 in the three mining and one shiploading communities. They bought their claims in 1926 from the Dutch after Norwegians, British and Americans declined. Except for the war years, the Russian Government companies have mined steadily, although probably very expensively, at Barentsburg, Grumont and Pyramiden.

By the Treaty of Paris of 1920, to which Russia later adhered, Spitsbergen was awarded, for lack of any other takers, to Norway. By the terms of the Treaty, "ships and nationals of all the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy equally the right . . . and . . . have equal liberty of access." The Treaty also said, "The territories may never be used for warlike purposes," and that taxes were to be levied only for the maintenance of Svalbard itself. This last provision is an important attraction: in return for enduring the cold and darkness the miner pays only a four percent tax on his wages, and no tax on his liquor and cigarettes.

The rigors of existence make a bond between the Russian and Norwegian communities. The Russian Consul often visits in Longyearbyen and the Norwegian Governor is frequently in the Russian towns. All winter there are exchanges of choral and dance groups and the all-Svalbard ski meet is one of the big features of the year. During the icebound winter transportation between the communities is by ski and dog sled. Ny Aalesund, over the mountains and glaciers, is inaccessible, although radio-telephone keeps constant communication with Norway and with Longyearbyen.

The Russians are in fact, if not in law, autonomous and lead their own secluded life. Norway governs with a light hand. The Norwegian Governor ("the Syssleman") is chief of police (his "police force" shares the two-man office with him) and is at the same time the Justice of the Peace. In summer by his little rescue ship, the "Nordsyssel," and in winter by dog sled, he visits the communities and keeps track of the trappers and hunters and scientific parties.

A few tourists come each summer to Spitsbergen on the cruise ship "Lyngen" which visits Longyearbyen, Ny Aalesund and Denmark Island, where the abandoned hangars for the polar balloon and dirigible flights still can be seen. Passengers stay aboard the ship, however, as there are no hotels in Spitsbergen.

AT KAP LINNE, at the mouth of Icefjord, Norway maintains a radio and meteorological station, as it does also at Bear Island and at infinitely remote Hope Island farther south and east. At Kap Linne the radio boys have a beautiful, modern, split level, ranch-type rambler with the latest of Hi Fi—but for months are totally inaccessible on a windswept spit of land.

The last ships, the coal boats, leave Spitsbergen in the middle of November and the first come back in the spring, usually trying to get in through the ice to bring the mail in time for May 17, the Norwegian "Fourth of July." With some effort and expense ice breakers could be built to come in almost all winter long, as the Russians do, or mail could be flown in. But the regulars of Spitsbergen are not sure they would want such modern luxury. The eerie remoteness and the magnificent privacy hold great attractions for them; they keep going back year after year.

The Ambassador as Administrator

by David Anderson

The authority and responsibility of the United States Ambassador abroad for the administration of foreign affairs has not been, until relatively recent years, the object of much attention. Up to World War II, the Ambassador occupied the traditional position of head of the official United States representation in the country to which he was accredited, this position deriving from the time-honored diplomatic practice wherein an Ambassador is recognized as the personal representative of his Chief of State overseas.

The pre-World War II Ambassador did not, of course, have to contend with the problem of supervising large staffs of other agency personnel. It is true that the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, and Interior established their own services in the 1920's and 1930's and had special staffs overseas, but their activities were not considered by the Department of State, properly speaking, to be part of the "foreign affairs" of the United States. The Foreign Service saw its duties as confined mainly to the traditional diplomatic and consular functions. Commercial and agricultural activities, for example, were outside the pale. As a consequence, no provision was made for the Ambassador to control such specialized activities. It may be said that, in general, up to World War II, the Ambassador was the unquestioned senior United States representative abroad. His primary position of authority was seldom challenged by any other official United States representative.

World War II drastically changed that situation. A host of special agencies sprang up which sent their own special missions overseas to represent their interests. Conflict between these special missions and the regular diplomatic establishments was the order of the day, and it was standard practice for the Ambassadors to be disregarded by the special mission chiefs.*

The situation in the field was a direct result of the state of affairs in Washington where the Department of State had gradually lost its position of leadership in the field of foreign affairs. The Department had long held as a guiding principle that war was for soldiers and peace for diplomats, and it followed this philosophy after 1941. The proliferation of special agencies with overseas interests and responsibilities was allowed to act more and more independently of State Department direction. The culmination of State's divorce from leadership in foreign affairs came immediately after the war when responsibility for the administration of occupied areas was left largely to the Department of the Army.

The fact of the matter was that the State Department was not equipped physically or philosophically to assume the burdens of operating (or even guiding) so many of the new agencies' functions engendered by the war. The Department did try to maintain the fiction that it would provide foreign policy guidance to the operations of these agencies. The line between policy and operations was difficult to define at the field level, however, and the "operators" came to act quite independently of the policy laid down in Washington, to the detriment of the position of the Ambassador.

The decline in the Ambassador's power continued even after the end of the war, in 1945. Semi-autonomous and strong separate missions continued to function and special post-war missions were established which added to the confusion abroad. The forerunner of such post-war special missions was the American Mission for Aid to Greece (AMAG) which was sent to Greece in 1947 and which operated for a time entirely independently of the Embassy. The Ambassador's authority reached an all-time low in mid-1948 with the establishment of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Special ECA missions were sent to the field and, while the superior rank of the Ambassador was clearly recognized in the statute establishing ECA, ECA mission chiefs could, and sometimes did, operate virtually independently of any Embassy direction since they were not responsible to the Ambassadors for their official actions.

The Embassy-ECA mission relationships were strained in the beginning of the program, but with the passing of time a working arrangement came to be devised. This was done definitely by the Clay Paper, a Memorandum of Understanding, between State, Defense, and ECA signed in February 1951. This document established the country team concept and was the first clear statement of the primary position of the Ambassador with regard to the other agency personnel.

It should be mentioned here that the Military Assistance Program (MAP), begun in 1949, posed no threat to the Ambassador's authority since the Military Assistance Advisory Groups (MAAG's) created by MAP were assigned directly to the Embassy and were subordinated to the Ambassador. The same is true of the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA) Missions sent abroad in 1951.

By 1951, the Ambassador's primary position of power and authority was fairly well defined and even recognized by the other major agencies operating overseas. The period

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David Anderson entered the Department in September 1959. A member of the Management Staff until July, he is currently studying Serbo-Croatian at FSI.

*When the U.S. Ambassador to China resigned in the fall of 1944, it was reported in the Army and Navy Journal that he had done so because of embarrassment over the presence of so many other American representatives in the Chinese capital and his ignorance of their dealings with Chinese officials.

from 1951 to 1961 has seen a consolidation of this position by a series of Executive Orders (E.O.'s 10338, 10476, 10575, 10893), Presidential letters and memoranda and State Department instructions. In the years 1951-1960, the E.O.'s granted the Ambassador authority to supervise and coordinate the activities of all agencies involved in the Mutual Security Program overseas, although in 1956, in a State Department instruction approved by the President, the Ambassador's authority was enlarged to cover leadership and supervision of the activities of all U.S. agencies in foreign countries. This latter concept has been maintained and strengthened in subsequent legislation and documents. The current operative statement of the Ambassador's authority is a section from the Presidential memorandum of November 8, 1960, which describes and explains E.O. 10893 of the same date. It states in part:

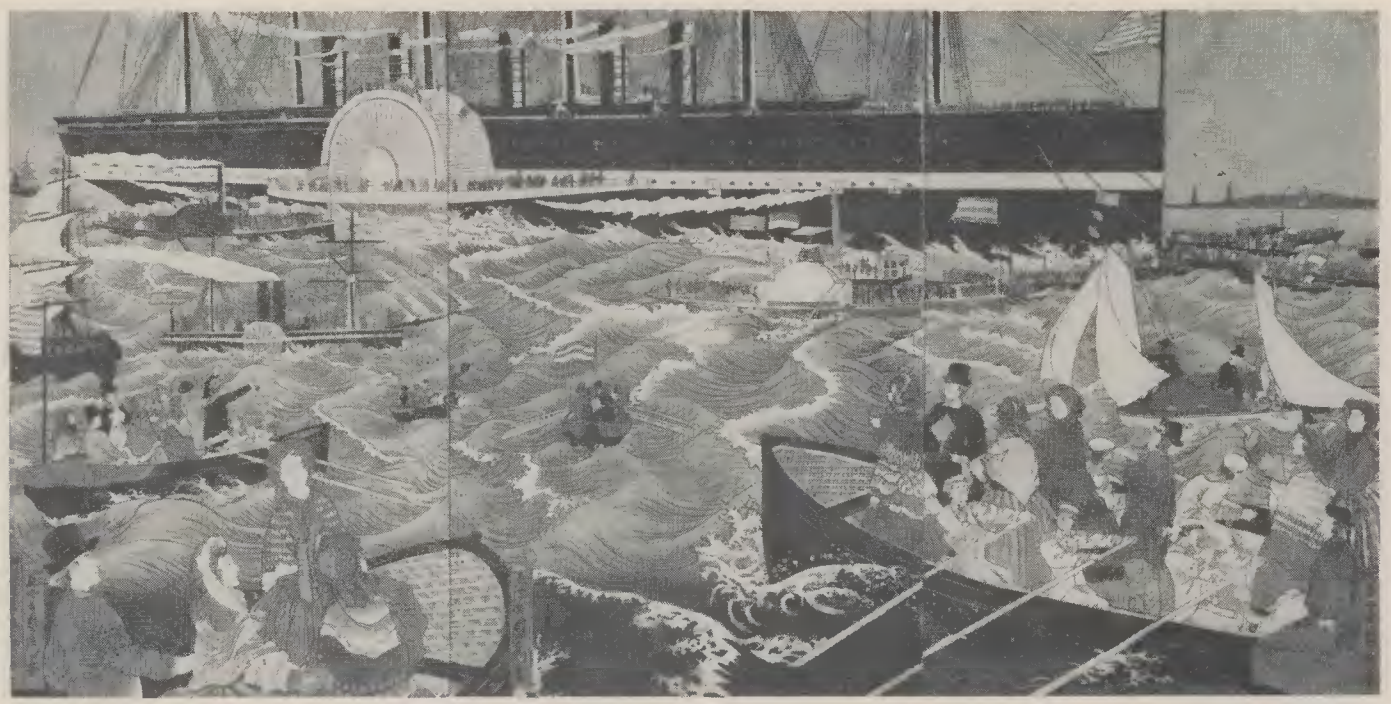
> "The Chief of Mission shall have and exercise affirmative responsibility for the coordination and supervision of all United States activities in the country to which he is accredited. It is expected that particular emphasis will be given to the following in the exercise of this authority: (1) the Chief of Mission will take affirmative responsibility for the development, coordination and administration of diplomatic, informational, educational, and trade activities and programs: economic, technical and financial assistance; military assistance; and the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities abroad; (2) the Chief of Mission will assure compliance with standards established by higher authority, and will recommend appropriate changes in such standards and suggest desirable new standards, governing the personal conduct and the level of services and privileges accorded all U. S. civilian and military personnel stationed in the foreign country and report to the President upon adherence to such standards; and (3) the Chief of Mission will establish procedures so that he is kept informed of United States activities in the country. He will report promptly to the President as to any matter which he considers to need correction and with respect to which he is not empowered to effect correction."

The most recent development in this field was a personal letter which President Kennedy sent to United States Ambassadors last spring which clarified their responsibilities. Secretary Rusk himself reflected current philosophy on the subject of the authority of the Ambassador in a speech which he delivered to the graduating members of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at FSI on June 9, 1961:

> "We expect our Ambassadors abroad to take charge of the relations of the United States with countries in which they are posted and, if necessary, to take charge of all (United States) officials who are in these countries working with them."

It may be seen, then, that the Ambassador's responsibilities, authority and functions have undergone a fundamental change in the last generation. He is no longer solely a diplomat in the traditional sense of the term. He is also the leader of a large group composed of sometimes centrifugal elements and his executive responsibilities are awesome.

In effect, he is now the leader, the coordinator, the supervisor of all official United States representatives in the country to which he is accredited. It is not a simplification to say that on his executive abilities does the effective implementation of the United States program abroad largely depend.



"Sketch of a Large American Ship," dated 1864 — *by Sadahide Gountei*

A Different River

by Robert J. Schubach

Something is missing. I've searched anthropological treatises, discussions of the cultures of "foreign countries," suggestions to Americans working abroad, "Social Usage in the Foreign Service," post reports, and even the "Ugly American." I've listened to lectures, adjurations, arguments. I've heard "Don't be arrogant," "Don't feel that your own way is best," "Don't try to change *them* to our American ways," "Don't give offense," "Don't think that you know better than the locals," and in all ways, "Be aware of the customs of the host country." And especially for South American and Oriental countries, "Don't expect promptness," and "Don't expect *them* to be slaves to clock or calendar as we are."

These negative and passive admonitions are probably well taken for those whose job is to "maintain foreign relations." But what about Americans who are assigned to work projects—for instance, ICA employees? For that new and numerous—and may I say expensive?—crop of FSO's will this approach get the job done? On schedule? Within budget? In time to be effective? Or at all? (The "O" in USOM means Operations.)

In today's world, the most obvious and universal characteristic is desire for change. In the project countries—our new term, "developing countries," is sharply descriptive—the drive of this desire is a hundred-fold stronger. A few days ago, a high official speaking for the Head of State of one of the project countries said, in a major speech, "The effort to rally the people's potentials is of great importance for changing our agrarian society into an industrialized society in line with our planned development." He expressed the new policy for all the developing countries.

So, when we are warned "not to disturb the ideals and customs" of the locals (horrible term), we must ask, "Which ideals? Which customs? Which locals?" Many of the locals of the foreign-aid countries have just come home from study and observation in the United States, where they have been concentrating on learning the means of change. Others, to the same purpose, have pored over our books, listened to our lectures, questioned our specialists. And all of these have influenced family, friends, and working companions. Thus, stepped-up transportation, travel, and communication have created an ambivalence. Their world, their ideals, their desires, their ambitions have changed. But generally, they do not want, or seem unable, to change work habits. They don't enjoy meeting schedules, or budgets, or commitments, or appointments—or reporting accurately, in detail, and on time. Well, who does? But they want, and expect, the change.

All training material, and other commentary writing relating to culture patterns of the developing countries is out of date, outmoded. The FSO on a work project must learn that today, the culture of his host country is not a stagnant pool, or tranquil lake, which he "must not disturb." It is Heraclitus' river. But the Dark Philosopher did not know the half of it: true, you cannot step into the same river twice; but it is even more crucial that in today's culture streams the different levels are running at different tempos. In the depths, the current is slow, following the comfortable curves and bends of the past; on the surface, the current is swift—desire for change sweeping everything ahead. It is interesting. It is charming. But it is a puzzle for the USOM employee to work with.

I have heard nationals of several countries confirm what was said of Americans in Israel (Foreign Service Journal, May 1960, p. 14); that USOM personnel, far from being "ugly Americans" are "unaggressive and soft-spoken to a degree that makes an interview difficult." It has sometimes been said that this pleasant attitude even makes work-planning difficult, or ineffectual.

Sometimes our extreme sensitivity to "don'ts" reminds me of one of the most successful mediocre Government employees I ever met in Washington. His advances and raises puzzled the rest of us. One day a fellow-worker abruptly asked him how he accounted for his "success." Startled, the man answered truly: "I never ruin anybody's racket." After that I observed his actions. He didn't do exactly what he said he didn't do. To be fair, "racket" did not mean anything criminal, or perhaps even harmful. He just never opposed anyone on anything, never tried to get anyone to do, or not to do, anything. He was the division "agreer." Maybe every division needs one.

But in the foreign-aid country, the "project" man, who has limited time, scheduled work, obligations to the American taxpayer and to the host country, must find a way to make the program move. Where there is work to be done, there must be a common ground—a common culture—on the action level between the American FSO and his counterpart workers of the host country. We must work out a *modus operandi*, in the classical sense of the term. We must learn a method for operating.

Now what do we *do*? Certainly we may not push our hosts around and we may not indulge in too much American "griping." But perhaps we could begin to make clear—at least to ourselves—the two levels of culture in which we must work—the ages-old, almost immovable culture patterns in the depths and the mill-race of new desires on the surface. It is possible that both our counterparts and ourselves are suffering from what Dominique Pire, recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, calls mutual deafness. If we could "hear each other," perhaps our hosts could tell us how to help them get what they want and still preserve their culture depths.

Robert J. Schubach worked for the Army Comptroller and for GSA and taught at several universities before becoming Financial Adviser, USOM, Indonesia.

Letters to the Editor

Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's correct name. Anonymous letters are neither published nor read. All letters are subject to condensation. The opinions of the writers are not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, or of the Foreign Service as a whole.

Retirement at Age Sixty—Three Suggestions

I HAVE read with interest Mr. W. Hoffmann's letter in the July JOURNAL on the subject of retirement at age sixty.

Recently I retired voluntarily a few months before reaching age sixty, after over a third of a century of service at ten posts, both comfortable and turbulent; through peace, wars and revolutions, and do not regret a single day. I would like to offer some views on compulsory service after age sixty.

The decision as to when to retire is not the most important one in a man's life but ranks about third after the choice of a career and, as men naively think, *our* choice of a spouse. The criterion for continued service after age sixty should be that the FSO-1 officer is not merely useful, but that his record shows clearly that he has not reached the peak of his usefulness and can offer, based on his past performance, service that very few of his age-group colleagues can equal.

I have reviewed several hundred files of FSO-1 and -2 officers and believe that one out of twenty, or at the most one out of fifteen, should be asked to remain after reaching the mandatory retirement age. And even then, asked or invited to remain, certainly not compelled.

We have in the Foreign Service an outstanding group of mid-career and "junior" senior officers, most of whom entered by the examination route between the years 1946 and 1955. And from about the latter year to date many hundred officers who are or will soon be mid-career, selected by the highest standards as applied by the BEX. None of these several thousand officers is without ambition nor wants to see the top posts of the Service held unduly long by the veterans. Most of these younger men would agree that experience and maturity, in its proper place, must inevitably delay unrealistic and too rapid advancement for officers in the junior and mid-career groups. They simply desire, when the time comes, that the top rungs of the ladder are not cluttered up by sixty-year-old FSO's-1 and CM's, some of whom are simply hanging on for the duration.

I resent, mildly, Mr. Hoffmann's statement about receiving pay for "standing idly by," and, "being turned out to grass." Having paid for my retirement, I'm entitled to my green pasture for the balance of the three score years plus ten and in any case am enjoying it thoroughly.

The British Foreign Service requires retirement at age sixty for all its officers, including ministers and ambassadors. Exceptions are very few and far between. As we know, their service is composed nearly 100 percent of career men who devote their entire lives to their chosen profession. Their retired officers are of course available, as are ours, in case of a serious emergency. They have, in addition, a group of on-the-job-trained men between the mid-forty age group and the late fifties who step in each year and take over from the sixty-year-old veterans who retire annually. In other words, two experienced and trained seasoned officers for each important job, in case of need. We do not have, to a comparable extent, such a facility.

I wish to make three suggestions:

a) That the law and regulations governing retirement of FSO's remain for the present unchanged.

b) That there be an increase, in moderation, of the number FSO's of proven top-usefulness appointed to the class of CM,

c) That FSO-1 officers, who have not been appointed CM's and are eminently qualified for service after age sixty, be approached by the Board of Foreign Service before mandatory or voluntary retirement as to their willingness to accept an immediate recall on the date of retirement.

Vineyard Haven, Mass. R. T.

"Go on Safari"

MR. WHITEHOUSE's "Go On Safari" in the May issue of the JOURNAL will undoubtedly appeal to a fair number of FSO's—the newer ones in particular—but personally it left me somewhat perplexed.

It has occurred to an increasingly large number of people since the last century that there is not too much to be said in favor of the destruction of African (or any other) wildlife largely with the purpose of coming home with tusks, horns, skins and photographs of the "victor" and his prizes.

When I was fifteen years old, I recall being intrusted with a shotgun for the first time by my grandfather, on whose ample Maine farm I loved to spend a part of each summer. Will Bangs, the hired man (in truth, very much one of the family), taught me with parental concern how to handle a gun, when and when not to shoot, and particularly what not to shoot. Will Bangs taught me never to kill anything unless it was to serve a legitimate or useful purpose ("A real gunner never shoots just to kill").

UN DIPLOMATS *by Peter Ustinov*

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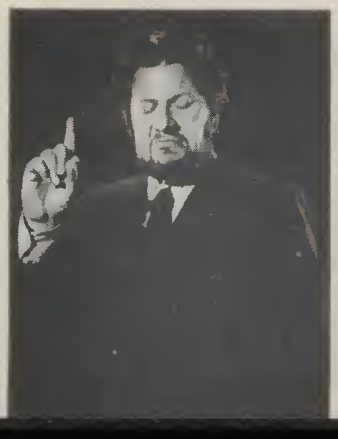
ITALY: "E facile to vote yes or no, but to abstain . . . ah, this takes character."



GERMANY: "We have nothing against American bases in Germany so long as we can have bases in Florida."

UNITED STATES: "The dispute between Nepal and Laos? I'll have to play this one by ear, sir."

RUSSIA: "Abstain? We're walking out!"

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Letters to the Editor

The author tells us finally of the "profound satisfaction" he experiences when shooting "potentially dangerous" game. He recognizes the "urgency of conserving African wildlife" yet admits, quite honestly, that he felt no qualms of conscience when "his" elephant slumped to earth.

He tells us of cluttering collections of antlers, tusks, skins, feet, etc. With the removal of the neighborhood taxidermist from our scene, it had long been my impression and hope that such trophies had outgrown their usefulness.

Mr. Whitehouse recalls with nostalgic deduction that each year the wild and lonely places where old Africa and its game still have a toehold are rapidly dwindling and fading forever. Having had his share of the "dwindling" process, he sounds a clear, resolute, clarion note at the close. "If you are coming to Africa now," he cries to the reader, "borrow a rifle, get out of the office and go on Safari!"

As I typed these exhortations, I heard Will Bang's quiet voice whispering in my good ear: "Tell those Government fellers over there they'd do a sight better to borrow a camera!"

H. T. MOORS

St. Petersburg, Fla.

P.S. Hope you will print more of these slightly off-beat FSO adventures in adventure; gives us restless old timers something to write home about.

Phillip Funkhouser

IF AN announcement of my son's death has not yet been published in the JOURNAL, the facts are that Phillip was born in Paris on November 6, 1946, educated in Rumania, Switzerland, Syria, Lebanon and in U.S. public and private schools. He was Varsity athlete and Honor Roll student at St. Albans, hoped to attend Princeton and join the Foreign Service. On June 25, he was killed in an automobile accident in Buffalo, Wyoming, where he had a summer job on a ranch. A scholarship Fund has been named for him at St. Albans.

RICHARD FUNKHOUSER

P.S. For condolences received from friends in the Service, the Funkhouser family is truly appreciative.

Rescues Two

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL might be interested in knowing of an example of that physical courage which everyone, including the drafters of old Form FS-315, consider so important in a member of the Foreign Service and which few are called upon to demonstrate.

A few weeks ago Mr. Edward F. O'Brien, Jr., FSS-13, who has been the Administrative Assistant here in Bilbao since early this year, rescued a young Irishman and an Englishman who were drowning off a local beach. While participating in the local version of beach soccer, Mr. O'Brien had heard the young men's cries for help. Realizing that they were being pulled helplessly out to sea by the beach's infamous undertow, he went to the rescue. He brought one of the men ashore, and then astounded the beach crowd by re-entering the sea to rescue the other. The latter was revived only after forty minutes of artificial respiration applied by some onlookers.

Newspapers here and in San Sebastian reported the deed and gave praise for the heroism of the "Secretary" of the Consulate of the United States in Bilbao.

JOHN R. OLESON
Vice Consul

Bilbao, Spain

A True Fable

B. A., WHOSE "true fable" appeared in the May JOURNAL, may take encouragement from the following story with a happier ending:

Some four years ago I knew a young man in the largest visa-issuing office in the world who, being a Staff man instead of a career officer, had only a temporary commission. While the Department, by then absorbed into the Foreign Service, was resisting our efforts to get him promoted from FSS-11 to FSS-9, another agency in the Embassy promoted one of its secretaries (not a diplomatic secretary, a typing one) from FSS-11 to FSS-9.

Nothing daunted, the young man stuck to his guns, or rather his visas, and when he left Mexico, he was given another temporary commission. Still later, when Castro kicked the Foreign Service out of Cuba, the young man became a Principal Officer. Somewhere along the way he had become a career officer.

Congratulations to him. Congratulations also to the Foreign Service and its Washington subsidiary.

NEIL PARKS

Merida, Yucatan

Photos of Nakuru

I AM MAKING a study of geographical factors in the development of Nakuru, Kenya, and would like to establish contact with Foreign Service personnel who possess pre-1957 photographs of any aspect of this area. I will gladly pay the costs of reproductions etc., and will appreciate receiving any identifying information available with the pictures.

PATRICK KIRBY

Dept. of Geography
Univ. of Calif.
Los Angeles, 24

RED CHINA: "China small country. Desire for expansion is natural."

UNITED KINGDOM: "I find myself, as it were, of two minds, both more or less in agreement with each other."

FRANCE. 'Vote, vote, vote—it's all you think about! I hate votes. They mean the end of debates."

ARAB BLOC: "What are my wives doing in the public gallery?"

Overseas and Latin-American Departments.
F. Dell'Agnese, *Manager*

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