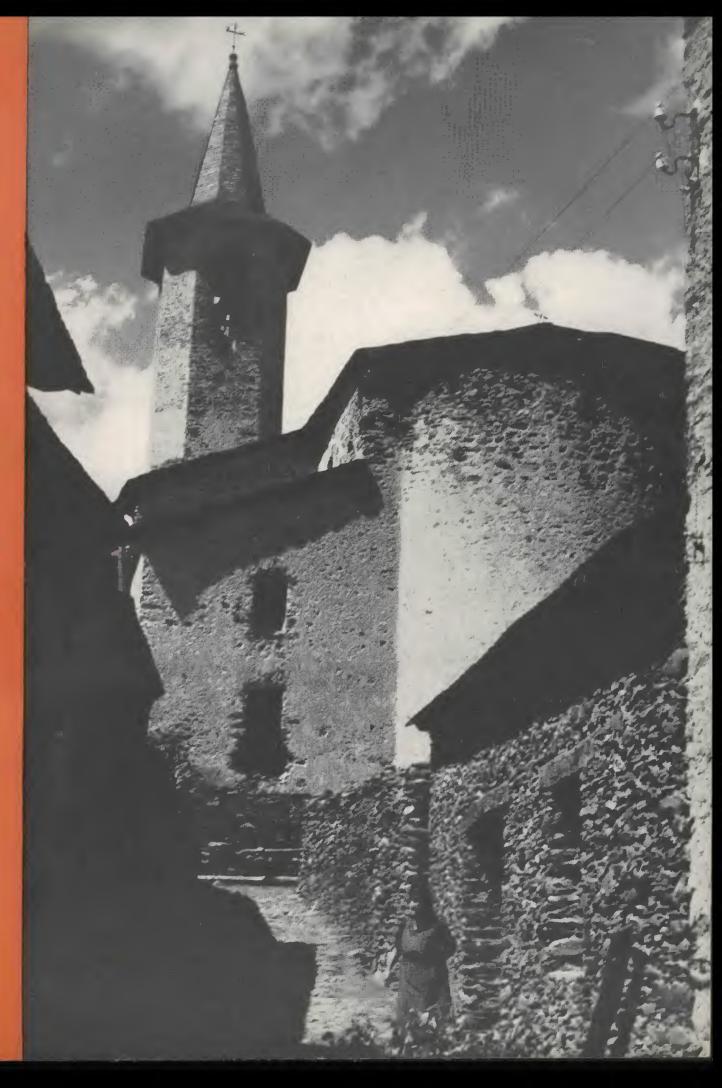
# October 1961 / Price 50e Foreign Service Journal



# The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

### INFORMATION AS TO POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Better administration of members' insurance coverage will result if they will be guided by the following information.

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- 2. Correspondence with and payments to the two Associations should be kept completely separate. Both Associations may be addressed c/o Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. The office address of the Protective Association is: 1908 G Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. The office address of the Foreign Service Association is: Ruom 301, 1742 G Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
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> Shadow and Sunlight on the Costa Brava, Spain.

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### New Ambassadors

CHARLES F. DARLINGTON to the Republic of Gabor
Lincoln Gordon to Brazil
Edmund A. Gullion to the Republic of the Congo

### BIRTHS

FLATIN. A son, Mark August, born to Mr. and Mrs. Bruce A. Flatin on August 22, at Saint Paul, Minnesota. The Flatins are en route to Sydney, Australia.

GATCH. A daughter, Alice Clark, born to Mr. and Mrs. John N. Gatch, Jr., July 19, at Washington.

Gregory. A daughter, Kathleen Faith, born to Mr. and Mrs. John M. Gregory, Jr., June 30, at Yokohama.

GWYNN. A daughter, Catherine Ann, born to Mr. and Mrs. John B. Gwynn on July 18, at Karachi.

HARTE, A daughter, Rita Rose, born to Mr. and Mrs. James P. Harte, July 28. at St. Louis, Missouri.

Hess. A son, Patrick Gardner, born to Mr. and Mrs. Clyde G. Hess, Jr., July 2, at Washington.

Johnston. A daughter, Susan Beatrice, born to Mr. and Mrs. James R. Johnston, May 2, at San José.

Laingen. A son. Charles Winslow, bern to Mr. and Mrs. L. Bruce Laingen, July 26. at Karachi.

Makepeace on August 15, at Karachi. Mr. Makepeace is Consul at Peshawar.

MARTIN. A daughter, Helen Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. S. Douglas Martin, June 15, at Washington.

WILLIAMSON. A son, Timothy Grafton, born to Mr. and Mrs. Larry C. Williamson, June 27, at Freetown. Sierra Leone.

### MARRIAGES

BAKEMEIER-STEWART. Marilyn Ann Bakemeier, daughter of Mrs. Seymour Bakemeier of Washington, and Donald E. J. Stewart, son of the late Foreign Service Staff Officer Warren C. Stewart and Mrs. Stewart, were married, August 19, at Washington.

Bence-Rusk. Delcia Bence, daughter of Dr. Carlos Alberto Bence and Mrs. Delcia Elida Spinosa de Bence of Buenos Aires, and David Patrick Rusk, son of the Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk, were married on August 24 at the Holy Sacrament Basilica in Buenos Aires. The young couple are living in Berkeley, where both are students at the University of California.

Gerlach-Blair. Catherine Gerlach of Chicago and William McCormick Blair. Jr., Ambassador to Denmark, were married on September 9, in the Frederiksborg Castle Church near Copenhagen.

Goodwin-Bragdon. Patricia Goodwin of Perth, Australia, a member of the Consulate staff for several years, and FSO Merritt C. Bragdon, Jr. were married on July 3. Mr. Bragdon is currently studying Russian at the FSI.

MASSIE-GLASOE. Donna Evans, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Massie, and FSO Paul John Glasoe were married August 19, at Hamburg, Germany, where Mr. Glasoe is assigned as Vice Consul.

McClure-Butrick. Lyn McClure, daughter of Major General Mark McClure and Mrs. McClure, and Richard Porter Butrick. Jr., son of the Honorable Richard P. Butrick, FSO-retired, and Mrs. Butrick, were married August 12, in the Fort Myer Chapel, in Arlington, Va. The young couple is living in New York, where Mr. Butrick is attending Columbia Graduate School.

Palmer-Cullion. Patricia Anne Palmer, daughter of Mrs. John Joseph Palmer, and FSO Edmund Gullion, newly appointed Ambassador to the Congo, were married on September 2 in the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany in Danville, Va. Ambassador and Mrs. Gullion will make their home in Leopoldville.



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BEHR. Frederic H. Behr, Jr., FSO, died of cancer on September 11 at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. Mr. Behr entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Montreal, Duesseldorf, and Bonn. Last year he was one of the first five Foreign Service officers selected for the exchange program with the Defense Department.

BUCKNELL, John A. C. Bucknell, a Foreign Service Reserve Officer and son of Howard Bucknell, FSO-retired, was drowned off the island of Corsica, on June 10. He had been assigned to the Embassy at Bern.

FISHER. William Dale Fisher, FSO, was killed on September 5, near Addis Ababa, in the crash of an Ethiopian Air Lines plane. Mr. Fisher entered the Foreign Service in 1916 and served at The Hague, Prague, Paris, and Florence. At the time of his death he was First Secretary and Economic Officer at Addis Ababa.

GREGORY. Kevin John Gregory, son of FSO and Mrs. John M. Gregory, Jr., died July 20, in Japan. Interment was at Arlington National Cemetery.

LEHRS. John A. Lehrs. FSSO-retired. died August 7, in Basel, Switzerland. Mr. Lehrs entered the Foreign Service in 1918. He served at Moscow, Copenhagen, Riga, and Basel where he was Consul at the time of his retirement in 1958.

McKinnon, Robert A. McKinnon, FSO, died in an Army hospital at Frankfurt, Germany, on September 8. Mr. Mc-Kinnon entered the Department in 1948 and the Forcign Service in 1949. His posts were Cebu, Dar-es-Salaam. Brussels, and Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, where he was Deputy Chief of Mission at the time of his death.

MILLER. David Hunter Miller died on July 25, at his home in Washington at the age of eighty-six. Mr. Miller helped draft the Covenant of the League of Nations after World War I, and held several positions with the Department, including "editor of treaties" from 1929 until his retirement in 1948.

MOORHEAD. Maxwell K. Moorhead, FSO-retired, died July 7, at Warrenton, Va. Mr. Moorhead entered the Foreign Service in 1905 and retired in 1937 as Consul General at Istanbul.

SMITH. General Walter Bedell Smith died of a heart attack August 9. at Washington. Following a distinguished military career, General Smith had an equally distinguished career first as Ambassador to Russia from 1946 to 1949 and then as Under Secretary of State in 1953 and 1954.

Tyson. Mrs. Elizabeth Gerard Merchant Tyson, daughter of Ambassador to Canada and Mrs. Livingston T. Mcrchant, died on September 8, in Washington, after a long illness. Mrs. Tyson is survived by her husband. William Tyson, and four children.

WRIGHT. William P. Wright. FSO-retired, died on August 27, at Asheville, North Carolina. Mr. Wright entered the Foreign Service in 1939 and served at Johannesburg, Caracas and Canton. Prior to entering the Service Mr. Wright was with the Department of Commerce from 1925 to 1939. He retired in 1949.

### **Selection Boards Convene**

The Fifteenth Selection Boards convened on September 6. to review the records of Foreign Service Officers, for promotion and selection out.

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Continued on p. 8



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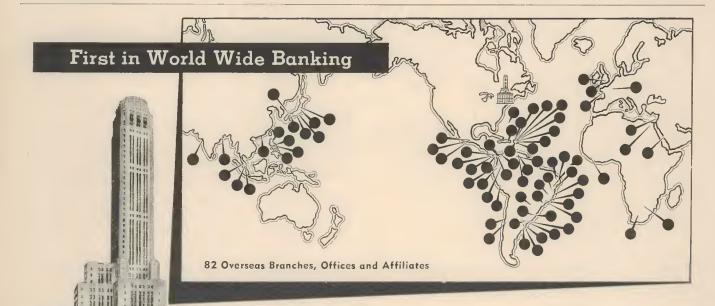
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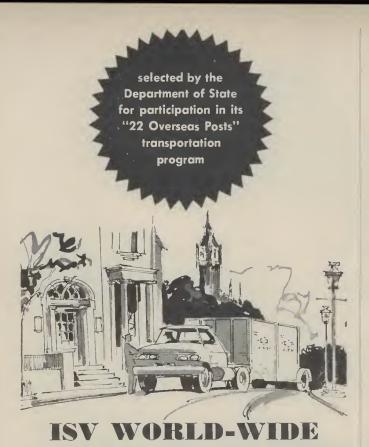


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October, 1936

by JAMES B. STEWART

### Diplomacy and Letters

Augustus E. Ingram, Consul General-Retired and onetime editor of the Journal, stated in an article in the October 1936 Journal that careers in diplomacy and letters have often gone hand-in-hand and that the United States, like other countries, has often called upon its literary men to represent their country abroad.

Gus mentioned first the careers of Benjamin Franklin, John Quincy Adams and Joel Barlow and then proceeded to name some of the literary Americans who filled certain diplomatic and consular posts: Madrid: Washington Irving, James Russell Lowell, Claude G. Bowers. London: Edward Everett, George Bancroft, John Hay, Walter Hines Page. Germany: Bayard Taylor. Turkey: General Lew Wallace. Italy: Thomas Nelson Page, Richard Washburn Child. Denmark: Norman Hapgood. Netherlands: Henry Van Dyke. Belgium: Brand Whitlock. Paraguay: Meredith Nicholson. Some of those at consular posts were: Venice: Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel). William Dean Howells. Glasgow: Bret Harte. Liverpool: Nathaniel Hawthorne. Lyons: James Fenimore Cooper. Tunis: John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home."

When the American Consul at Bristol notified his colleagues in England that he had been victimized by an American applying for relief, Bret Harte replied:

I'm acquainted with affliction, chiefly in the form of fiction, that is offered up by strangers ut the Consul's open door, And I know all kinds of sorrow, that relief would try to borrow, with various sums from sixpence upwards to "a penny more."

And I think I know all fancy styles of active mendicancy, from the helpless Irish soldier who mixed in our coantry's war,

And who laid in Libby prison in a war that wusn't his'n, and I sent back to the country that he never saw before.

I know the wretched seuman, who was tortured by a demon captain, 'till he fled in terror, with his wages in arrear:

And I've given him sufficient to ship as an efficient and active mulefactor with a gentle privuteer.

Oh I know the wealthy tourist, who (through accident the parest) lost his letters, watch, and purse from the "cold deck"

And I heeded that preamble, and lent him enough to gamble, till he won buck all his money on a "cold deck" here ashore.

But I never, never, never, in beneficent endeavor, fell into the meshes—wicked meshes—by the Saxon Fowler spread;

And it seems to me a pistol, ased judiciously at Bristol, would have not too prematurely brought this matter to a head.

### The Foreign Service in Action

Meeting An Emergency: "Before the week is out American authorities in Spain will have completed the extremely diffi-

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### 25 Years Ago (Continued)

cult and nerve-racking task of evacuating American refugees from that war-torn land. . .

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"With courage, resourcefulness and skill, members of the American Embassy at Madrid and American consular officials throughout the country, set about rounding up the stranded, providing shelter for them until means of egress from Spain had been made available, and seeing that they got away safely. As a group they have lived up to the highest standards of our Foreign Service and have performed a task of which all Americans may justly be proud.

"Particular praise is due Eric C. Wendelin, third secretary of our Embassy at Madrid. With the Ambassador and next ranking officials away, youthful Mr. Wendelin automatically assumed charge and has for two months skillfully surmounted all the enormously difficult emergency tasks which have fallen to him."—The Washington Post.

The state of the s

Nielsen-Morgan. Orsen N. Nielsen and Miss Esther Lynette Morgan were married at Warsaw September 2, 1936. Mr. Niel-

sen is first secretary at Warsaw. • The marriage of Miss Clara Cecelia Goddard, daughter of Consul General and Mrs. James B. Stewart, to Dr. Stephen Lawrence Kallay took place in Budapest, September 12, 1936.

Comment, 1961: The Kallays live in Denver where Dr. Kallay is practicing medicine. There are two sons. Steve is in the army overseas and Jim is on submarine duty.

And More Recently

Cheers: Charles C. Eberhardt, a career officer who retired as U.S. Minister to Costa Rica in 1933, celebrated his 90th birthday on July 27 with relatives in his old home town of Salina. Kansas.

Mr. Eberhardt travelled the globe inspecting American Consulates longer than anybody. He still loves to travel, but in the good old U.S.A.

Mile High Briefing

A REGIONAL briefing conference on foreign policy was held in San Francisco on July 20, and in Denver on July 21. From the Department there were: Messrs. Tubby, Labouisse, Coerr, Mrs. Louchheim, and three officers I had not seen for thirty years i.e. Chip Bohlen, Tim Timberlake and Walter McConaughy. When we last met, I was in charge of the Foreign Service Officer's Training School and they were neophytes. It was exciting meeting them here in the Mile High City and it was good to see that time had been good to each one of them. As someone said: "They have been all over the lot, having played every position, and are still in there pitching."





### Gen. Forrest recalls how he "got thar fust with the most"

Explaining a campaign, Forrest coined this famous phrase in a reminiscent evening with Gen. Morgan and Basil Duke.

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ahandy personal console, rich uphol-

stery, luxury trimmings, yet is priced

New Falcon Club Wagons seat 8 and sleep 4. Club Wagons offer twice the room of the biggest full-size station wagons, yet they are priced below most compact wagons.

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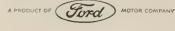
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Foreign policy derives its strength and character from the vitality of the national community behind it. We are effective in leading the world today only as we are effective in leading ourselves.

# Foreign Policy and National Morality

by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Jr.

THE ALL-TOO-FAMILIAR question of the relationship be-I tween foreign policy and domestic policy is worth considering again only because so much of the current talk about this relationship seems superficial, misleading and ultimately harmful. Thus, when white Americans were mobbing their Negro fellow citizens a little while ago in Alabama, we heard these events deplored on the ground that they made bad "propaganda" for the United States in the parts of the world controlled by colored peoples. While this was no doubt true, it suggested that the only reason why we think we should give Negroes a fair break in the United States is because, if we don't we will "lose Africa." This is obviously a poor secondary argument for doing something which should be done for its own sake. We owe it to ourselves, not to Africa, to live up to our own professed standards of freedom and of opportunity,

I would suggest that we must consider the relationship between foreign policy and domestic policy in a wider framework than simply the question whether our performance at home creates good or bad "propaganda" abroad. When we do so, I think we will conclude that the political and moral force—the very penetrative power—of our foreign policy derives from the political and moral vitality of the national community, and that the test of this vitality lies in the character of our policies at home. When, for example, have American leaders had impact on the world in this century? Three names spring to mind: Theodore Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. If one asks why these men exerted particular influence, why their words moved the minds and hearts of people in other lands while the words of other American Presidents fell on deaf ears, one is forced. I believe, to seek the answer in the background of national achievement which charged their words with meaning.

All three of these men had world impact because, in the world's view, their efforts at home had earned them the right to speak of freedom and of justice and of opportunity abroad. In other words, their professions before mankind, the abstractions to which they harnessed American foreign policy, were demonstrably more than abstractions. These professions expressed the visible realities of their domestic performance. What these men had done already in the way of fighting for human progress at home proved that they

Mr. Schlesinger, who is a professor of American history at Harvard University, is currently on leave to serve as Special Assistant to President Kennedy. He is the author of "The Age of Jackson," which won the Pulitzer Prize, and of a work in progress, "The Age of Roosevelt," three volumes of which have been published.

meant business when they invoked noble moral and social generalities in their dealings with the world. Their words, in short, were not advertising slogans: they were symbols of concrete performance.

It was this that gave these words power and meant that no one dismissed them as empty rhetoric. It was Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom which both produced and validated his Fourteen Points; it was Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal which produced and validated his Four Freedoms. Not only was the creativity of these administrations abroad an extension of their creativity at home, but their creativity at home made people abroad accept their ideals not as cynical gestures hut as national commitments.

To put the point even more simply, we must never forget that in an open society it is what we are that counts. It is what we are that substantiates or refutes what we say. We can better understand the limits of "propaganda" in this perspective. There has developed in our country in recent vears a belief in public relations as a form of sorcery—a belief that, with the proper techniques and the proper gimmicks and the proper manipulation of "images" we can make something out of nothing-that propaganda can hecome almost a substitute for policy. This is a belief suitable for a nation of hucksters but hardly for a nation which aspires to the moral leadership of free peoples. Nothing surely is more illusory than the notion that words by themselves can miraculously transform the American "image" before mankind. The cruel fact is that no amount of Madison Avenue magic can ever persuade the world that we are different from what we are. The effective "propaganda" of an open society derives not from what we say but from what we do.

DESPITE the hucksters, it is what is in the package that really counts, not what it says on the label. If we really care ahout our "image" before the world, the best way to improve that "image" is, not to blame all our troubles on USIA, but to give USIA better material with which to work. We simply will not persuade humanity that we believe deeply in equality against the backdrop of Montgomery and Birmingham, New Orleans and Little Rock, any more than we could persuade humanity that we believed deeply in freedom in the high noon of Senator McCarthy. If we are serious in the desire to stand better in the world, we can well begin by acting better in our own communities. An essential first step might be to banish the huckster words from our vocabulary and shift our attention from "image" to reality. The regeneration of our political warfare rests primarily on a visible

determination on our own part to live up to great standards as a great nation.

Sometimes the actualities in our own land are worse than our representation of them. In this case, since ours is an open society, all our "propaganda" does is to lose us credibility. Sometimes the actualities are better than our representation of them. In this case we do ourselves and our prospects unnecessary injustice.

For example, for some years our official line has been to present the United States as the peculiar citadel of "unfettered private enterprise." We have suggested to the world that the best way to insure economic growth is to throw off all forms of government intervention in the economy. We have acted as if our own economic life was the purest model of Manchester laissez-faire. Yet the fact is, of course, that we do not have a pure laissez-faire system in this country—and we never did.

E VEN WHEN we were an underdeveloped nation teetering on the edge of what Walt Rostow has taught us to call economic take-off, our economy was not obsessed with ideas of laissez-faire. Insofar as people thought about economics at all, the prevalent doctrine was pervaded with the theory of mercantilism, according to which the state was expected to take a leading role in guiding and stimulating economic growth. Hamilton was a distinguished exemplar of this view on the national scenc. When one asks where capital for American economic growth came from in this period, one finds that a good deal was from public sources (and much of the rest from abroad). In the years before the Civil War, for example, half the southern railway system was built with public capital. In this period state governments bought into, owned and in some cases even operated a good deal of the business enterprise in such states as Virginia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Historical research has long since exploded the myth that our past was one of immaculate laissez-faire.

The period when the laissez-faire model began to predominate was after take-off—in the years following the Civil War. And even in the period when laissez-faire became our official creed, we have, especially since the times of Theodore Roosevelt, steadily expanded the role of government in our economic life. We have had to do so in order to establish the bases of economic opportunity, to insure the conditions for economic growth and to safeguard our economy against periodic depression. We have done all this while clinging stubbornly to the ideology of "free enterprise." The consequence is the contemporary irony that, while India styles itself a socialist nation and the United States styles itself a capitalist nation, our economy has in important respects a larger measure of public intervention and control than the

economy of India. If we take as the measure of planning the proportion of current resources—gross national product—disposed of by the state, about 20 percent of the American economy is planned as against 13-14 percent of the Indian

In short, we simply do not have a classical frec enterprise system except in the fantasies of those who prefer myth to fact. What we have in the United States is a mixed economy with government guarantees of basic minima of life and labor and welfare and with government commitment to the maintenance of a high level of economic activity. This is our American actuality. It is absurd enough to hide this actuality; it is even more absurd when the actuality is far more impressive to the rest of the world than our cherished screen of clichés about "unfettered free enterprise." Why have we tried to pretend to the world that our economic practice is far more inflexible, far more doctrinaire, far less relevant to the economic problems others encounter, than in fact it is? This pretense may gratify our own economic mythologists. But it does us great harm, and nowhere more than in the parts of the world aspiring to the same economic development through which we went ourselves a century and more ago.

The emergent nations are undergoing-in inconceivably more difficult circumstances - the experiences we went through in the first half century of our own national independence. They are not going to confide this process to uncontrolled laissez-faire any more than we did. Our doctrinaire passion to deny the facts of our own experience has scparated us from them. And the pressure in recent years of a conservative administration in Washington has widened this gap. Men who had fought the mild and innocuous reforms of the New and Fair Deals as dangerous and revolutionary could not easily achieve emotional or intellectual contact with the savage urgencies behind the contemporary revolution of the underdeveloped world—a revolution against accumulated centuries of stagnation and oppression and want. We may refurbish the rhetoric of '76 all we wish; but it will convince no one of our sympathy with change in the world if we meanwhile dedicate ourselves to resisting change in our own land.

In a world of change, our foreign policy will be effective only as it expresses an America which shows that it understands the imperatives of change. And this suggests again that foreign policy has meaning only as an extension, a projection, of what we are at home.

This proposition may throw some light on the vexed question of the relationship between morality and foreign policy. For some recent American statesmen, the "moral"



At the head table when Mr. Schlesinger addressed members of the American Foreign Service Association, (1. to r.): Robert Newbegin, Tyler Thompson, Gerald A. Brew, Allen Dulles, Bonald R. Heath, U. Alexis Johnson, William L. Blue, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Charles E. Bohlen, Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., Walter P. McConaughy, Thomas S. Estes.

element in foreign policy has consisted of the application to the world of a body of abstract dicta, a process to be accompanied by appropriate sermons to others and congratulations to ourselves. The underlying assumption is that we are the custodians of the correct rules of international behavior, and that the function of United States foreign policy is to mark other peoples up and down, according to how well they observe these rules.

This moralism, which has characterized so much of our foreign policy utterance in the last decade, has been mordantly criticized by Ambassador Kennan, by Walter Lippmann, by Hans Morgenthau and others. It is founded on a basic fallacy—a fallacy which is perfectly plain to us when employed by other nations against us. Any state which makes a practice of telling other states that their policy is motivated by low considerations of national interest while its own is motivated by noble moral considerations of universal import risks leaving its audience cold. We know this when other countries in their dealings with us seek to disguise national interest under a cloak of moral universalism. Why do we suppose that other countries will not find us equally repellent when we don that cloak ourselves?

THE IMPRESSION we have given in the last decade has too often been that of laying down the moral law from our seat of judgment to weak and erring brethren. Preaching to the world no doubt does wonders for our inner sense of self-righteousness. But foreign policy is not a matter of ventilating our interior emotions. Foreign policy is a matter of producing hard results in a hard world. The conviction that foreign policy is a lesser branch of preaching becomes particularly stupid if a gap exists between our professions and our performance. When our foreign policy invokes principles on which we do not act at home, our diplomacy becomes the diplomacy of Pecksniff.

When I join the condemnation of moralism in the conduct of foreign affairs. I do not mean to suggest that moral values have no legitimate role in foreign policy. They have such a role, and it is indispensable to a mature foreign policy to understand what that role is. The role of moral values in foreign policy consists not in what we preach to others but in what we preach to ourselves. The moral issue, in my judgment, is the content that each nation puts into its own conception of its national interest; and this content is basically a matter of keeping faith with a nation's own values and traditions. Morality in foreign policy, in short, consists not in applying one's standards to other nations but in living up to them oneself. If "moralism" is the application of the national energy to faulting others, true morality is the application of the national energy to improving ourselves. It is no accident that the statesman in our time who practiced "moralism" most consistently and ruthlessly in international discourse was regarded with mistrust by our allies throughout the world; while someone like Ambassador Kennan, who has denied that moral standards apply in any conventional sense to international relations, has none the less conveyed to friends and foe alike a sense of authentic and searching morality in his utterances.

Our forefathers took care to abstain from self-righteousness. No one should forget the wisdom of the Sixty-Third Federalist:

An attention to the judgment of other nations is important to every government for two reasons: the one is, that independently of the merits of any particular plan or measure, it is desirable, on varions accounts, that it should appear to other nations as the offspring of a wise and honourable policy; the second is that in doubtful cases, particularly where the national councils may be warped by some strong passion or momentary interest, the presumed or known opinion of the impartial world may be the best guide that can be followed. What has not America lost by her want of character with foreign nations; and, how many errors and follies would she not have avoided, if the justice and propriety of her measures had, in every instance, been previously tried by the light in which they would probably appear to the unbiased part of mankind?

Moral language is something the prudent statesman handles with considerable wariness. And when he does talk in moral terms, he must be sure that a record of national performance entitles him to do so, that his words are not undermined by his country's deeds.

This places the responsibility where it must ultimately rest in a democratic society, on the people themselves. A people cannot expect the world to believe in its alleged passion for human dignity if they remain inert about human indignities in their area of direct responsibility. As Kennan once said, "Any message we may try to bring to others will be effective only if it is in accord with what we are to ourselves, and if this is something sufficiently impressive to compel the respect and confidence of a world, which, despite all its material difficulties, is still more ready to recognize and respect spiritual distinction than material opulence."

It is the achievement of this state of national character that should be the first outlet for our moral impulses in foreign affairs; not the reading of sermons to the rest of the world. I would not suggest, of course, that we must await perfection at home before tackling the urgent problems which assail us every day in the world.

BUT 1 DO BELIEVE that our long-run effectiveness in foreign affairs will depend on an energy and purpose springing from our national community. That is why it seems to me that President Kennedy's effort to bring about a national revival within the United States is so vital to our efforts abroad. The New Frontier, as it succeeds in bringing about the moral and social revitalization of America, is laying the necessary foundations for the reconquest of leadership in the world.

What happens in our own country, what happens in Congress, what happens in Alabama, what happens in Hollywood, what happens to the state of our economy, what happens to the condition of our culture—these things create the impression the world has of the United States. If it is a bad impression, it will still be too vivid a one for even Ed Murrow, with all his genius, to override. If it is a good impression, all the notorious ingenuity of the Communists will not erase it. It is the quality of our own life in the United States which will enable us to win—or compel us to lose—the leadership of the free peoples.

Foreign policy in a free society, in short, derives its quality, its energy and its purpose from the nation and the people behind it. America will be effective in a world dominated by change and revolution only if our own energies are progressive and strong, uncommitted to the past and unafraid of the future. This, I take it, is the message of the New Frontier in foreign affairs. And these are the terms, in my judgment, in which our nation is mostly likely to make its essential contribution to the struggle for freedom.

### Modern Analytical Techniques

The relevance—and limitations—of decision theory, operations research, and mathematical models for diplomacy.



"Combat de Cavaliers"

Houplain

by HARRY H. BELL

### Introductory Note:

Our readers will recall last year's extended and spirited controversy between Dr. Oskar Morgenstern ("Brass Hats and Striped Pants," July 1960 and "Decision Theory and the Department," December 1960) and the Service on the applicability of the von Neumann-Morgenstern theory of games of strategy to the formulation and execution of foreign policy. But while many of us were willing to let the dust of this controversy settle in the letters column or on the editorial page, FSO Harry H. Bell spent his year at the Air University getting to the bottom of things.

mathematical practitioner of foreign affairs need not be

The result is a truly impressive thesis, "Modern Analytical Techniques and Foreign Policy Problems," which has won the approbation of three leading exponents and practitioners of game theory: Dr. Morgenstern himself, Herman Kahn of the RAND Corporation, and Dr. T. C. Schelling of Harvard. We print the concluding chapter of this thesis below in the hope that it will stimulate wide reading of the entire study (copies are available at the Foreign Service Institute and in the Department's Library) and influence the curricula of the FSI and Senior Seminar. For, though game theory has limited applicability to decision-making in foreign affairs, its concepts and vocabulary are important to a full understanding of much of the more valuable literature being produced in the field of military strategy.

Mr. Bell restricts his analysis to game theory, which is by no means the only modern analytical technique capable of contributing new insights into problems of foreign policy and social behavior. His general conclusion is that the nonmathematical practitioner of foreign affairs need not be concerned lest he be replaced by operations researchers and computers. He finds that at most game theory "provides a convenient framework and terminology for conceptualizing decision problems and suggests certain rules (some obvious, some less obvious) for deciding among alternative strategies when their payoffs are known."

One thing that should be remembered is that game theory alone does not formulate strategy. Another is that it does not estimate payoffs or penalties at each possible combination with the opponent's strategies. These, as Mr. Bell points out in his study, are among the most vital areas of decision-making which must, therefore, in the field of forcign affairs ultimately depend on the non-mathematical parameters of experience, knowledge of the facts, judgment, intuition, and that intangible known as professional flair or style.

Not the least valuable contribution of Mr. Bell's study is his very comprehensive bibliography on analytical methods having some applicability to foreign affairs and a recommended list of books on game theory in an ascending order of difficulty. He recommends, as do we, that the novice in the field begin with J. D. Williams' "The Compleat Strategyst: Being a Primer on the Theory of Games of Strategy." (McGraw-Hill).

—Henry C. Ramsey

T IS ESTIMATED that a technological revolution in weapons systems now occurs every five years or less. These changes not only have direct implications for our national strategy but also have indirect effects on the less dramatic aspects of our foreign policy stance all over the world. Even allowing for some exaggeration in Professor Morgenstern's indictment, it is a matter for concern that career diplomatic officers are said to have failed to give as much hard thought to the new problems of war and peace as their military and scientific colleagues of comparable professional levels. Deterrence, for example, is as much a diplomatic as a military question, but what has the Foreign Service had to say in refutation, amplification, or even discussion of the literature produced in this field by such Rand Corporation authors as Bernard Brodie, Charles Hitch, Herman Kahn, T. C. Schelling, or Albert Wohlstetter? Aside from Ambassador Kennan, how many Foreign Service officers have

Before his War College tour at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, FSO HARRY H. Bell served in economic assignments in Rome, Djakarta, Paris, and the Department. He is now in our Mission to the European Communities, at Brussels.

had comparable intellectual impact on the thinking of high executive officials outside (or even within) their own Department?

While the recent literature of deterrence contains some of the clearest thinking available in an area in which fuzziness can be disastrous, it has sometimes tended to err in the direction of a characteristically military over-preoecupation with pure-conflict situations. If true, this is due in part to the fact that most of this research is produced under military contracts or as a by-product of military research. This could also be explained in part by the theoretical framework of game theory, which sometimes predisposes toward an ultra-pessimistic assessment of the opponent's malevolent rationality and toward the conservative minimaxing‡ strategy which has proved "optimal" in the two-person zero-sum, i.e. strictly competitive game.\*

Yet the game theorists themselves have shown that in a thermonuclear world—as in the Prisoners' Dilemma\*\*—this may lead to payoffs almost as bad as the worst the enemy could do unopposed. The recent obsession with the objective of mere "survival," the emphasis on the alleged tremendous advantage of the "first strike," and the pervasive nostalgia for what many privately believe to have been missed opportunities for "preventive war"—these are all characteristic of those who, if they could, would compress the whole world into an oversimplified two-by-two Prisoners' Dilemma matrix."

To avoid or mitigate this danger, theory must be complemented by empirical evaluation of the psycho-social. economic, political, and just plain human parameters which are at least as important in assessing any particular country's probable behavior as the rationality assumptions favored by most pure game theorists and many of the military. The experienced diplomatic officer is, or is supposed to be, particularly qualified to fill in many of these parameters, not least of which is the assessment of the threshold beyond which "the Prime Minister's nerve will crack."

The Foreign Service is at a disadvantage in communicating with either the military or the operations researchers. It cannot fully share the military value-system, any more than the military ean fully share the values of businessmen, labor leaders, or the elergy. It simply does not want to do its thinking in the abstract mathematical language of the new technocrats. Yet in the contemporary United States, where the military spend fifty-five percent of the Federal budget

and ten percent of the GNP, and where private industry is increasingly oriented toward space-age "systems," it is the Foreign Service that gives the appearance of being out of touch with the times.

It is always the lot—and to some extent the function—of the professional diplomatic officer to be slightly out of phase with the momentary fashion of opinion in his own country; but he should preferably be one-quarter cycle ahead, not half a cycle or more behind. The author suspects that there is considerable catching-up to be done in order to meet more effectively the double challenge of the military and the scientists at home (not to mention the new forms of the Soviet threat abroad!).

To remedy this situation, four rather modest suggestions are offered, (It should be observed that they do *not* include computerizing our foreign policy or setting it up in game matrices.)

1. Further efforts are needed at all levels of the Department of State and the Foreign Service to reach a better understanding of contemporary military technology, organization, and attitudes.

The present eross-assignment of officers to the various service colleges is valuable and should be expanded. The eountry-team concept is effective at many, but not enough, foreign posts. In Washington, however, the Department and the Pentagon are both so big that close and continuing working contacts are still rare except in inter-agency committees (where precommitment to agency positions frequently obstructs real collaboration) or in crisis situations (when it is too late).

In the right direction is the new program of detailing FSO's to appropriate staff assignments with the military departments and taking better advantage of the reserve status of many officers. Similar details of military officers to the Department might also be feasible.‡

There should also be established a regular program of political war-gaming comparable to military CPX exercises, in which FSO's, military officers, and a few academic specialists would participate. It will, of course, be objected that busy men can not take time off from their full in-boxes to play games, which will in any case be unrealistic. But perhaps one of the reasons in-boxes are so full is precisely because the Department and the military often work on contradictory assumptions that are not brought into confrontation soon enough. Moreover, it makes no difference if the simulated problems are unrealistic. The purpose is not to find actual solutions, but to exercise and test potential decision-makers.

2. The Department should acquire its own independent capability in advanced economic and behavioral-science theory, operations analysis, etc. and, if possible, support some basic research in these fields.

It has even been suggested—by Mr. Paul H. Nitze in 1960—"that an institute similar to IDA (the Institute for Defense Analyses) but more heavily oriented toward political, economie, and psychological expertise be attached to the State Department but housed with IDA so that there could be continuous eross-fertilization of ideas between the

<sup>‡</sup>ie. Minimizing the maximum loss.

<sup>\*</sup>In this type of game, one player gains exactly what the other loses.

<sup>\*\*</sup>An important representative of 2-person non-cooperative non-zero-sum games, in which one player does not always gain what the other loses. In the Prisoners' Dilemma parable, both players "lose," i.e. receive severe (although not maximum) sentences, if both act "rationally."

<sup>†</sup>The author earlier concluded that if thermonuclear strategy were formulated within this matrix of the Prisoners' Dilemma, the only logical (maximally rational) course would be for each side to launch a surprise attack immediately, thereby precipitating the thermonuclear exchange which the theory of deterrence is designed to prevent.

<sup>‡</sup>A start in this direction has been made.

weapons-system experts and the political experts."

Having one or more semi-autonomous research institutes on the string is becoming a sort of status symbol among Government departments. Furthermore, whether or not such an institute solved any immediate policy problems, it could be claimed it is needed for defensive reasons in view of the present prestige of the military contract-research organizations. It is questionable, however, whether creation of still another of these organizations is justified since, except for budgetary limitations, there is nothing to prevent expanded use of existing procedures whereby the State Department's Division of External Research farms out research to universities and individual scholars. Hitherto, this has involved relatively small projects, such as sections of the National Intelligence Survey, but the FY-61 program calls for a major expenditure of \$400,000 for research on disarmament and arms control and more is being requested for FY-62. Morcover, the real objection to establishing a semi-autonomous research appendage of the Department similar to Rand or IDA is that it would operate in a vacuum as long as there was not a relationship of mutual confidence with the policy-making line officials. On the other hand, if such an institute did succeed in having real influence on policy formulation, there might be the contrary danger of injecting further confusion into the chain of decision.

It is more important for the Department to have an "in-house capability"—enough expertise integrated within the regular organizational structure to absorb, evaluate, and—most important—to interpret into plain English the output of contract research. If the Department properly inventoried its own resources it would probably find a number of outstanding junior officers having the requisite academic qualifications, in mathematical economics or other scientific fields, who could be encouraged to develop wider professional recognition. However, as this solution would hardly accord with the traditional career-development policies of the Service, it might be more practical to hire outside consultants of established prestige at higher cost.

# 3. Sooner or later, the Foreign Service will have to take conscions steps to improve the level of mathematical preparation of the corps as a whole.

This is not to suggest that all FSO's can or should be mathematicians any more than they all can or should be professional linguists, historians, or members of the bar. However, some compensation for the previous neglect of the mathematical and scientific side of a liheral education is in order.

Much of this lack can be made up through recruitment, at FSO-8 level, of candidates having sound economics qualifications. Universities are now much more strict than during the 1930's in demanding at least calculus and elemenmentary statistics as prerequisite for economics majors and graduate students. This is also becoming true in sociology and political science.

At present many "economic officers" in the Foreign Service are ignorant of the basic tools of the trade: demand theory, theory of the firm, macro-economics, and the formal theory of international trade—not to mention statistics, econometrics, input-output, etc. This can be remedied within the present program of advanced university training for

mid-career officers provided these officers have already had at least the equivalent of a postwar undergraduate major in economics and provided they are required to take one of the excellent "quickie" courses in modern algebra and calculus offered for social-science students in most universities.

It is also possible for a political or other non-economic officer having negligible mathematical background to learn the minimum amount of modern mathematics required to appreciate the basic concepts of game and decision theory, the analytical discipline most relevant for diplomacy. Actually, this depends less on calculus than does traditional economic theory and more on mathematical logic, set theory, combinatorics, probabilities, vector and matrix algebra, and simultaneous linear equations. Minimum essentials of all these topics can be learned very painlessly from a popular freshman-level textbook by Kemeny, Snell, and Thompson, "Introduction to Finite Mathematics." The Foreign Service Institute might consider giving such a course, which could then be followed by a course in game and decision theory sufficiently solid to permit participants to reach their own conclusions about the relevance of the formal analytical approach to political problems.

# 4. Finally, and despite the above recommendations, the Foreign Service should and undoubtedly will preserve a skeptical sense of proportion with regard to both military doctrine and the application of analytical fads to foreign policy.

Regarding military doctrine, one should keep in mind the advice given by Lord Salisbury to the Viceroy of India in 1877 about the dire predictions of the soldiers in Simla:

No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by experience of life as that you should never trust experts. If you believe doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent; if you believe the soldiers nothing is safe. They all require to have their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of insipid common sense. . . . Soldiers are dangerous advisors as to a military policy.

Similarly, game theory and other mathematical analysis when inappropriately applied are worse than no mathematics at all. To quote Professor Kindleherger (who is no opponent of mathematics in the social sciences):

For the time being . . . I prefer an intuitionist or a philosopher rather than a mathematician as Secretary of State. But not every intuitionist, I hasten to add.\*

There is no imminent danger, however, of the Department of State going overboard for formal mathematical thinking. Meanwhile, a greater awareness of what these techniques can contribute and a greater boldness in the use of mathematical models for analytical, decision, and occasionally even predictive purposes in those fields where the problems are obviously quantitative will help to indicate the limitations of the methods more clearly. This might strengthen the Department in warding off incursions by the technically sophisticated but politically naive into the formulation and execution of foreign policy, which remains, and must remain, more an art than a science.

<sup>\*</sup>Quoted from C. P. Kindelberger's "Scientific International Politics," WORLD POLITICS (October 1958).



Bengali

Hal W. Vaughan

# EDITORIAL PAGE

### Nose Flutes and Other Instruments of Diplomacy

Some three years ago Lederer and Burdick bestowed upon an eager—or at least eagerly buying—world their dramatized answer to the perennial question, "What's wrong with the striped pants boys?" For a while the nose flute school of diplomacy was all the rage and, indeed, some of the Lederer-Burdick points were well taken. The nose flute supporters still get a good deal of lip service from those who are looking for a simple answer to a complicated problem, but several pertinent commentators have pretty well demolished it as a panacea pattern for the conduct of our foreign relations. Notable among these is Tom Wilson, whose delightful spoof was reprinted in the August 1959 JOURNAL.

We have all heard and read more than enough about the Ugly American. We resurrect him again only to call attention to a recent comment on diplomacy which indirectly but very effectively exposes what seems to us one of the basic misconceptions of his creators. The comment occurs in a speech made by Ambassador Bohlen in Kansas City last May. We think it deserves more thought and more attention than interment in the Department of State Bulletin is likely to produce. Mr. Bohlen said,

"Diplomacy . . . is primarily the art or profession of the transaction of affairs between governments. It is, of course,

true that in the modern world our relations with any given country involve many factors other than the direct dealings between governments, and an effective and competent diplomat, whatever his rank, must be prepared and equipped to deal with these non-governmental aspects of his work. But, however much we recognize the importance of the public relations aspect of a diplomat's profession, however much importance we attach to aid programs, getting in touch with the people of the country in which he is stationed —these modern developments in international relations should not cause us to forget that the chief purpose of the diplomat is the transaction of business for his country with the government to which he is credited. The success or failure of a given diplomatic mission in any country will, in the last analysis, come down to the degree of success it has achieved with the government of that country. The settlement of disputes that inevitably arise between countries, as hetween individuals, the ability to influence without improper interference the course of the foreign country's action in a direction which would serve the overall objectives of our foreign policy—these are the real business of diplomacy, to which all other aspects are supporting and subsidiary."

### Tours at Hardship Posts

H ow Long should Foreign Service Officers stay at hardship posts? It is not a new question, but it remains an interesting one.

Among the six amendments to the Foreign Service Act of 1946 just enacted is authority to pay officers and employees and their families at certain posts transportation costs for rest and recuperation purposes. The Department hopes through the use of this authority to make it possible for some officers to serve continuous three-year tours at hardship posts.

In this connection, it is interesting to read the testimony of Mr. H. Field Haviland, Jr., before the Senate on January 27. The hearing concerned "The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy," a Brookings Institution study that Mr. Haviland directed. In his testimony, recently released, he said:

I think there is a problem about [the length of foreign assignments] being too short. . . . We think two years is too short a time. There are posts that are called hardship posts. But the conditions in some of these are improving, and it is

almost impossible for a person to master his job within a period of two years. The first year he gets to know the job, and the second year he is probably getting ready to go to his next post, so that he really does not have a long enough period of effective operation. We feel something closer to four years would be preferable.

Certain questions come to mind. Does it take a year to learn a job and another to prepare to leave? How much are conditions improving—are they still trying enough in some posts to reduce an officer's efficiency after a comparatively short period? Are there perhaps benefits that come from changing posts relatively often? And after all, are some observers over-emphasizing the newness of a new post to the experienced officer?

Among those best qualified to answer these questions are officers who are now serving or who have already served in hardship posts. Their comments would be interesting to hear, both on Mr. Haviland's statement and on the desirability of the three-year policy being considered by the Department. The JOURNAL would welcome such comment.

# WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS



"The great problem here, Senator, is getting to know the people,"

### September 1961

Leaves curled up crisply and fell rattling to the earth early this year, perhaps due to the long seige of warm weather, and children in the area returned to school in temperatures that they're given summer holidays to avoid.

This was a month when:

- ▲ Lights in the Capitol burned late as members of Congress tried to clear their desks preparatory to getting home to their constituents.
- ▲ The fall theatre season opened brightly with "A Bit of Honey" and the town's single theatre-serving over 1.000,000 people - reported solid bookings for the fall-winter season. Simultaneously, repertory theatre at the Arena Stage's building in southwest Washington was busy rehearsing and fitting out its handsome new edifice for a late October opening.

- ▲ There was serious talk of locating a new \$12,000,000 public library where it would be available to all in the heart of downtown Washington. The Central Library has done a consistently excellent job of serving its faithful public, but its current location at New York & 7th is a handicap in terms of transportation and desirable neighborhood.
- Autumn book lists of the publishers were longer than ever as titles for Christmas buying were released.
- ▲ Cash cards, as opposed to credit cards, entitling their possessors to discounts of from 5% to 40% made their first appearance in Washington.

It was also a month when:

- ♦ The area of chaos was not confined to the hurricane's raging in Texas and Louisiana.
- ♦ Even long-suffering wives were objecting strenuously to the regularity of the eight-day week many husbands were working at New State.
- ♦ Decision-making too often took on the appearance of government by
- ♦ FSO's returning from brief holidays were unable to find their desks for the litter of paper that had accumulated in their absence.
- ♦ Fallout and chances of survival in the event of attack were much discussed and a variety of do-it-yourself shelters were being sold, ranging in price from \$200 and up.

But there were some of the old certainties, too:

- ▼ College students were invited to register for FSO written examinations to be held in December. Sign of the times: starting salaries are \$5.625 to \$6,345.
- ▼ Opera will again be heard at the Lisner Auditorium this month.
- ▼ Selection Board members (page 6) took up their bi-focals for the strenuous reading job that would keep them busy well into December.

### Dag Hammarskjold

A cloud of gloom hung heavily over the UN and the State Department alike, following the news of Dag Hammarskjold's untimely death in Africa on September 18. The United Nations' Secretary General was one of the world's great diplomats and an extraordinarily talented, effective civil servant. His death (and its far-reaching consequences) seemed to millions an irreparable personal loss.

### "Advise and Consent"

There was considerable flurry round town as the filming of Allen Drury's "Advise and Consent" got underway. Tryouts for bit parts drew thousands of Washingtonians to the Sheraton-Park carly in the mouth. all of them eager and willing, they said, to drop work or schooling at a moment's notice when the shooting began. The Women's National Press Club opened its fall season with a special "inaugural" ceremony down in the Senate's caucus room and entertained producer-director Otto Preminger and the cast, including



On the receiving end, in Mandalay







Charles Laughton (Senator Cooley), Walter Pidgeon (Senator Munson), Henry Fonda (Robert Leffingwellnominee for Secretary of State), Franchot Tone (the President) and George Grizzard (Van Ackerman). Assembled were more talent and more ham than had been heard in the Senate Chambers since Will Rogers accepted with delight the Senate's invitation to speak and to be reported in the Congressional Record. At that time, he expressed his appreciation of the honor, said he realized it was unusual for an amateur to be able to compete with the professionals who had all had to start out at the bottom and work their way up, in Congress. (Something else that people may have forgotten: Will Rogers had more than 40,000,000 readers of his column at the height of his journalistic career, Bob Hope recalled recently.)

The parts of the ambassadors in this film have been assigned, we learned, to René Paul (French Ambassador). Victor Merinow (Russian Ambassador) and Tom Helmore (British Ambassador).

Here is a film, almost documentary in character, that will be watched with enormous attention by filmgoers overseas as well as at home.

### International Affairs Center

Further shape was given to the project for an International Affairs Center last month when the plans were shown to GSA, who put some draftsmen onto it. It was discovered that there was, in fact, a very convenient site available for such a center near New State.

Among the facilities it is hoped the new center can offer are:

Dining room, grill, transient bedrooms, nursery, barber shop, writing room, library and reading room, lounge, large hall for dances, receptions, etc., and parking space.

As we go to press, we have just received word that Senator Humphrey has introduced S. 2581 which would provide "certain facilities to promote the meetings and contacts among American governmental officials, the Diplomatic Corps, Members of Congress, representatives of the international agencies," etc.

### TV and Radio Programs

Last summer ABC-TV showed a one-half hour documentary program



"Why shoot the Administrative Officer? It was FBO that furnished this place."

on life in the Foreign Service, called "Our Durable Diplomats." It was done with taste and imagination and attracted considerable attention in its showings across the country. Two families were filmed: the Archer Bloods in Dacca, and at the contrasting post of Santiago, Chile, the Dan Alexanders.

CBS has been taping a lively new radio series, "Debriefing," which will begin to be heard about mid-month. In "Debriefing," returning FSO's will be interviewed and their families will be encouraged to give some of their reactions to life at their foreign post.

### On the Road to Mandalay

Recently we were happy to receive a line from the American Consul at Mandalay, enclosing photos taken by his wife Désirée, of their goods and chattels being unloaded at the railway siding. (p. 28)

When asked for identification on the pix, FSO Marshall Noble wrote: "I regret to say that the only positive identification I can make is to point me out. I'm the one wearing the white shirt outside my trousers. The photographs marked 1. and 2. were taken in the railway 'goods yard' at Mandalay when our furniture arrived. There are no forwarding agents in Mandalay and the Consulate had then no staff other than the Consul. So

down I went to bargain with the oxcart drivers and to supervise (see photo number 2) the unloading. In the third photo I am leading a part of the 12-cart procession to our house in a jeep (flag flying) on loan from the Embassy. The brick wall barely visible in the background is on the inside of a moat and surrounds the location of King Thibaw's former palace."

Here surely is material for ABC's next documentary film on life in this Foreign Service.

### Signs of the Times:

A local (mass appeal) language school, never known for its interest in the esoteric, recently advertised for: "teacher candidates of Meo, Lao, Portuguese (Brazil), Burmese, Vietnamese, Khmer, Amharic, Somali, Swahili, Lingala."

### A Mouse in the Arras

We learned from the columns of the (London) SUNDAY TIMES recently that while William Rees-Mogg was interviewing the Chancellor a mouse had appeared out of the wainscot of his room in the Treasury.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the TIMES reported, was not put out for a moment. "Show him into the outer office at once," he said, and returned to the discussion of the balance of payments.

### A Foreign Service Reminiscence

by James O. Denby

N MARCH 20, 1934, an enigmatic man from Montana, the Honorable William Wallace McDowell, arrived at the Irish port of Cobh. He arrived from the United States in the S.S. Washington, as the newly appointed American Minister to Ireland, for a tour of duty both brief and memorable. It was to be of only three weeks' duration. At its conclusion those of us who knew him there were plunged in gloom. We felt that a bright comet had swept across the Irish sky.

The ocean liner on which he had crossed the Atlantic rode at anchor in the outer harbor and the Port Captain's launch ferried him ashore. A cold rain cascaded periodically down upon the docks while shining forth between those wintry moments were golden interludes of warm Spring sunshine

Through a film of spray on my eyeglasses I saw the launch churning back to land again. I was the Secretary of the American Legation in Dublin, standing with other members of a reception committee beside a markee erected for our benefit. An official of the Irish Department of External Affairs headed the committee and several officials of the local Port Authority were on it.

Anxiously, while waiting, I reviewed in my mind the meager information I had on my new chief: it was to the effect that he was noted for his restless energy and that thus endowed he had fought his way up from humble beginnings to the top of the copper mining industry in his home state of Montana. He had likewise become prominent in Midwestern Democratic politics. Now, at the age of 67, a widower without children, he was rounding off his career with a diplomatic appointment.

I viewed the situation with misgivings. In those days. Dublin was as ealm and quiet as something painted on a wall. The post was one of the last remaining bastions of a vanishing mode of diplomatic life. Five or six Legations were established there, with staffs of only three or four persons each. Mr. McDowell's colleagues had pleasant, tranquil offices in which they were not always to be found. Frequently, when not entertaining or being entertained by Irish wits and scholars or by the lords and ladies of the Anglo-Irish county gentry, they were in the open air, salmon fishing, fox hunting, or horse racing. Remote from the

realities existing elsewhere, they had little need for ordinary business suits. They vaulted instead across that middle ground back and forth from the one extreme of casual (but very earefully selected) country clothes to the other extreme of formal attire, and it goes without saying that their wardrobes included white or beige or dove-colored spats.

Meanwhile, the Port Captain's launch drew nearer and nearer until it flung itself against a row of groaning and protesting pilings at the dock side. A precarious contact was achieved and the Minister sprang onto Irish soil. With quickening pulse, I saw him close at hand. I saw before me a man very simple and unpretentious in appearance. Certainly he was not, in a diplomatic sense, carefully dressed. His ready-made overcoat was of nondescript material. It was too large for him, while in almost comic contrast his bowler hat was a size or more too small. On his feet were what appeared to be a miner's heavy square-toed shoes. These obviously were sartorial shorteomings but it was equally obvious that he himself was indifferent to them. His gaze, direct and penetrating, was focussed on me from dark eyes deeply set in a face of translucent pallor. Many lines were etched in his face, suggestive of long years of struggle as well as of stubborn resistance to fatigue.

We advanced to meet the other committee members and as we did so one of them shouted: "Failte rombat abhaile." A high hurdle, so soon in his eareer, had been thrown across Mr. McDowell's path. The words meant "Welcome back to your home land," and since he was in fact of Irish origin a reply likewise in the vernacular seemed obligatory. Standing by his side, I endeavored in an undertone to suggest something suitable to say, but he did not hear me. He was gazing out to sea, grappling with this problem in profound concentration. Embarrassment descended on the reception committee. Then he replied, in Irish of a stilted, bookish cast but of exquisite exactness. He said he was glad at long last to set foot on the fabled, the emerald isle, glad also to be welcomed in so cordial a fashion in the language of his forebears. Broad smiles now wreathed the faces of the Irish members of the committee and at that high point of the reception, quite hopeful for the future, the port of Cobh was bathed in sunshine.

A special train took us to the Kingsbridge Station in Dublin from where we drove by motor car to the Legation located outside the city in the eenter of the Phoenix Park, the largest and perhaps the most charming park in Europe. The Legation also had great charm. It was a residency in

Mr. Denby was an active member of the Foreign Service from 1922 to 1952. He is now the director of a museum in Washington, D. C. At his farm in Virginia he raises beef cattle.

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the British 18th Century colonial style, serenely detached in those surroundings from the bustle of urban affairs. The Minister's living quarters were on the second floor. At ground level three rooms had been set aside for the Chancery. They lay across the hall from the state dining room, the principal reception rooms, and the conservatory. Terraced lawns, a walled flower garden, and a cobblestoned stable yard encircled the building, while a greenhouse, a carriage house and box stalls and harness rooms clustered nearby. Incredulously the Minister asked: "Is this where we work?"

Soon I was to find out what he meant by work. In a kind of frenzy he sought to get the feel of this new job of his, brooking no delays as though there might not he time enough for all he wished to accomplish. Hard on his staff, he was harder still upon himself, fairly tearing the heart out of the Legation's previous correspondence, out of the State Department's instructions, and out of the reference material I laid before him. At an early opportunity I provided him with a list of the official calls he should make and I suggested that it would be protocolaire for him to make the calls in the order in which I had listed them. His eyes narrowed. What strange diplomatic subtlety was this, he seemed to be asking himself. What he said to me was, "protocolaire, there's a five dollar word if I ever heard one. I happen not to have come across it before but you may be sure I will remember it."

I became aware, as the busy first few days flew by, of his personal version of outdoor activity for a diplomat in Ireland. It was to walk, when time permitted, along the tecining Dublin Quays. There, in that confluence area of the country's commerce, he would engage, for his own educational and informational purposes, in informal colloquics with likely-looking passersby. It was the first stage of a plan he was hatching to walk through, or in, all the 32 counties of Ireland.

In the third week after his arrival we came to the day of the dinner given in his honor by Mr. Eamon de Valera, the President of the Executive Council. As a special courtesy, the locale chosen for this function was Dublin Castle, a newly restored and redecorated feudal stronghold frowning down upon the eity from a rocky eminence on the River Liffey. In former centuries the Lords Lieutenant, the Viceroys and the Justiciars of Ireland had entertained there.

Sixty guests were invited to the dinner, among whom were Mr. and Mrs. Richard Washburn Child, two friends of the Minister's then living in Paris. Mr. Child, novelist, poet and political commentator, had earlier in his political career been Ambassador to Italy, and he was slated, after Mr. de Valera and Mr. McDowell had spoken, to be the third speaker at the dinner. Mrs. Child was Irish, an Irish beauty. Rather willful, imperious even, with red-gold hair and flashing bright blue eyes, she was a personage in her own right, neither overshadowed nor overawed by her celebrated husband.

On the day in question, at the twilight hour, I looked in on the Minister in his office. The door was open and the room was dark. Peering from the threshold, I caught sight of him indistinctly as he sat motionless, slumped and sunken at his desk.

"Is that you, Jim?" he asked, speaking with difficulty and in muffled tones.

"Yes," I replied uneasily, "it is."

He brushed a handkerchief across his brow and drew himself more erect in his chair. Then gropingly he turned on the light and motioned me to sit beside him. I sat on the edge of the proferred chair until, having regained his composure, he chose to speak again. "Thanks," he said, "for checking with me but as far as I am concerned the program for tonight needs no change at this late stage."

T WAS RATHER an abrupt statement. I think merely for the purpose of softening it a little he added, "However, since you are here, you may be interested to learn that Dick Child has decided on a last-minute change in his speech. As you know, he and his wife went to a concert this afternoon but it seems he did so against his will. The concert was her idea. He would have preferred to go to the races. He was not a free agent and now he wants to say in his after dinner speech that he likes freedom just as much as Irishmen do, but that he doesn't get much of it for the simple reason that he is married to an Irish girl."

The Minister spoke lightly, humorously, of this whimsicality on Mr. Child's part, and as I gazed into Mr. McDowell's pale, lined countenance I felt the iron quality in his nature.

He became impatient with my scrutiny. "What's the matter with us anyway?" he asked gruffly, but in a kindly manner. "Aren't we forgetting how late it is? Let's get ready for the party."

At the Castle all went well at first. The Minister arrived promptly at the appointed hour to review a guard of honor drawn up in the courtyard. We entered the Castle together and in a euphoric atmosphere ascended a marble staircase curving upward to ceremonial apartments. Myriads of little candles in sconces and chandeliers glowed warmly on walls and ceilings. Distinguished-looking men and gracious ladies converged upon us. Each wanted a word with the Minister and he had a word for each of them.

In mellowing rhythm, a lavish meal unfolded, at whose conclusion Mr. de Valera, tall, slender and intense, rose to introduce his guest of honor. The Irish leader was in good form. He welcomed Mr. McDowell to Ireland; reviewed the happy state of Irish-American relations; and in heart-warming fashion he mentioned as a link between the two countries, at any rate from his personal point of view, the fact of his own birth in New York. His thoughts ranged further afield. In rising fervor, he brought within the scope of his remarks the universal human need for freedom and independence. These concepts he said were embedded with special firmness in Irish hearts and minds although the rightful heritage of all men everywhere.

I looked across the table at Mr. Child to see whether thoughts on the same theme were marshalling themselves in the Ambassador's mind. Apparently they were. He was gazing pensively up at the coiling through half-closed eyes and a mischievous grin flickered on his lips.

Mr. de Valera brought his speech to a close and now it was Mr. McDowell's turn. The Minister thanked Mr. de Valera and went on smoothly as follows:

"Our host," he said, "mentioned the fact of his birth in the United States. To establish a nice balance, would that I could on my part claim to have been born in Ireland. That I cannot do, but I can at least state proudly that I am of Irish origin. In 1726, an ancestor of mine sailed with his young wife in the good ship Mary and Anne from Ireland to the New World and tonight you see that in my person a

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member of my family is back again. It is, I can tell you, the realization of a cherished dream. If the President of the United States had offered me a choice of all the diplomatic posts at his command it is this post of Dublin which I would have chosen."

The Minister paused and his Irish audience looked up at him with approval.

"Many ties of family and friendship," he continued, "link my home state of Montana with Ireland. Among our leading citizens I revere Senator Thomas J. Walsh as Montana's greatest son. Another Irishman, Joseph Toole, holds the record for length of service as Governor of my state. In a park in Butte, Montana, there is one statue only-hut I see you have guessed already—yes, you are right, it is a statue of an Irishman."

A marked change now came over the Minister. He placed a limp hand on the table in an endeavor to arrest a perilously swaying motion of his body.

Nevertheless he continued speaking: "The statue," he said, "was erected in honor of General Thomas Meagher. Nearby is a principal thoroughfare of Butte. It is called 'Dublin Gulch' . . .'

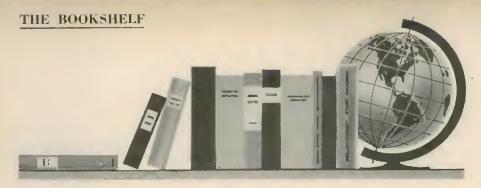
He could not go on. The word "Gulch." not clearly articulated, was more of a gasping sound as he sank down below the level of the table top. In acute heart failure, as ascertained by two doctors hastily summoned, the Minister had gone beyond human aid.

The Chief of Protocol ushered the majority of the dinner guests out of the hushed banquet hall and away from the figure on the floor into an adjoining room. I remained behind. Mr. Child stayed with me for a while, and then, in loyalty to his friend, he followed the others into the next room. He felt impelled to do so in order to make clear to them the Olympian aspect of the grim occurrence we had just witnessed. He raised an arm above his head and cried out:

"Most men seek cover at the end of their lives in a dark forest of pain and distress of mind. Bill McDowell stood in a high and shining place. He had come a long way and before him, across the green fields of Ireland, stretched a panorama of further achievement. At such a time and in such a place he died instantaneously not in defeat but in victory.

The dinner guests nodded their heads in acquiescence as they departed from the Castle.

Let me add these few more words: Funeral services were held in the Baptist Church on Harcourt Street, Mr. Mc-Dowell being of that faith. The little church was crowded and many persons stood outside, for he had gained a strong hold on the imaginations of the people of Dublin. Among the official tributes offered that day, the Irish flags on all the public buildings in the city were flown at half mast, the Foreign Office remained closed, and both Houses of Parliament likewise stood adjourned. Two days later a military cortège, serpentining through a melancholy Irish mist, conveyed the Minister's remains through the Phoenix Park from the Legation to the Kingshridge Station, en route to the United States. Numerous thoughtful accounts appeared in the local press in that period reviewing and appraising the circumstances of his tour of duty in Ireland. "Let there be no mistake about it," one reporter wrote, "this was, in simple truth, a grand affair entirely."



### **Indian Economic Policy**

A DOZEN years after the event, the Marshall Plan is widely recognized as having been one of the most farsighted, historic, and successful acts of American statesmanship. In this, her latest hook, Barbara Ward contends that the moment has again arrived for the United States and the West to make history, this time by guaranteeing the success of Iudia's Third Five Year Plan through a longrange aid program.

Why India? Simply because it is an important country by almost any standard and is certain to grow in importance. Its million square miles lie strategically between the Near and Far East. Its northern border flanks Communist China. If lost to a totalitarian system, its 400 millions could tip the population balance decisively against the free world. Finally, India is important because it is a democracy in urgent need of help.

Miss Ward points out that despite the unparalled efforts of its Government, India's economic growth has been uneven and the future of that growth remains uncertain. Significant progress has indeed been made in laying the foundations for a self-generating economic expansion: new steel mills, dams, railway lines and power systems have been constructed. New industries have been founded.

But the all-important agricultural sector lags, foreign debts have piled up, the new industries have yet to liquidate their high costs through increased production, some important industrial targets have been missed, and foreign exchange reserves are all but exhausted. Inevitably, questions have begun to be asked as to whether the rapid economic growth that India has attempted is possible within a democratic framework. This, then, as Miss Ward sees it, is the time of greatest

peril: when the Indian economic revolution will be completed one way or another. The West by aiding India must prove that the democratic government of a developing country can deliver the goods to its people. In doing so, the West will be serving its own interest as well as India's.

But will foreign aid do the job? Not, according to Professor Bauer, if the Indian Government pursues its current development policy with its emphasis on heavy industry and on the expansion of government ownership of industry.

In this sharply written criticism of Indian policy, an expansion of a study written originally for the American Enterprise Association, of Washington, D. C., the author contends that Indian planners are more concerned with the establishment of a socialist state than they are with economic costs, increased output, and an improved Indian standard of living. In support of this view he quotes extensively the pronouncements of Indian leaders and economists who drafted the Plans. He notes the bias of the Second and Third Plans in favor of heavy industry which, he believes, reflects a Soviet model. He cites the growing regulation and control of private industry and its confinement to specified spheres of activity. Finally, he describes what he regards as the serious neglect by the planners of agricultural productivity, educational facilities, and communications, all of which are essential elements in economic growth.

Mere investment, Professor Bauer emphasizes, is not enough to ensure growth. This, he believes, has been a cardinal error of Indian official thinking. Its direction, composition, and timing are equally important.

Anyone who wants a challenging intellectual experience should read hoth of these books. Each in its own way is excellent. Both are certain to make the reader appreciate the importance of judgment in the art of policy making.

-James J. Blake

Washington

### "Incisive Commentary"

THE CONSERVATIVE Radical Party of France had a remarkable history reestablishing itself during the thirteen years after World War II. FSO Francis De Tarr spent a winter diagnosing the party's history from the inside, with full cooperation from its officials and leadership. His highly competent volume is the result. It is a model of political analysis and an incisive commentary on the postwar political ills of France. The Radicals were really a club of centrist politicians dedicated to the social and economic status quo, to the reestablishment of France as a great power, and to stabilizing the French scene through the "stomach theory" of political assimilation rather than rejection. It was a collection of astute professionals tending to promote moderation and compromise in government until Mendes-France splintered the party by endeavoring to shape it into a disciplined instrument for political and social reform. The author suggests that the diverse tendencies among the Radicals, which he describes in considerable detail, were in many ways similar to our own contemporary political spectrum. This excellent primer on practical politics is also a handy hiography of the Radical leaders who managed to head half of the twenty-one governments of the last Republic. The Party and the Fourth Republic more or less expired together-for the time

-E. J. Beicel

THE FRENCH RADICAL PARTY, by Francis De Tarr. Oxford. \$5.60.

### A Short Guide

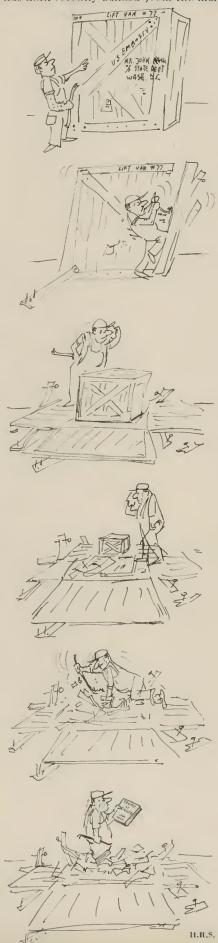
MR. PARTNER, a Professor of His-ory at Winchester College, has turned out a rather brief (135 pages) hut useful "guide" covering the situation in the Arah countries up to the beginning of 1960. Country by country narratives are provided, as well as a relatively lengthy historical section on the vicissitudes of Arab nationalism hoth prior to and since the Ottoman Empire. The work is objective and suffers only from brevity. Given the increasing importance of the Maghreb, for example, one could wish for lengthier treatment of that area, not to mention the discussion entitled "The Entry of America."

-WILLIAM J. PORTER

INDIA AND THE WEST—PATTERN FOR A COMMON POLICY, by Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. \$4.50.
INDIAN ECONOMIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT, by P. T. Bauer. Frederick A. Praeger. \$4.25.

A SHORT POLITICAL GUIDE TO THE ARAB WORLD, by Peter Partner. Praeger. \$4.00.

Washington book stores report the two top book titles, rated according to sales are: "The Agony and the Ecstasy," by Irving Stone and "Tropic of Cancer," by Henry Miller. The latter book was until recently banned from the mails.



### U.S. Interests in the United Nations

As Mr. Eichelberger tells us, "a world organization cannot be a comfortable club of like-minded people." With imagery like this he gives a good but much simplified picture of the first fifteen years of the United Nations, more useful to J. Q. Citizen than to a well-informed FSO. Some of his proposals, such as enlargement of the Security Council and ECOSOC to afford better geographical representation of the UN's present membership, while perhaps desirable, seem unlikely in the context of present world politics,

Dr. Bloomfield's thoughtful and detailed study of U.S. policy interests in the UN should be read by all FSO's, especially officers dealing with multilateral diplomacy. Dr. Bloomfield supports Mr. Eichelberger's contention that it would be to the U.S. interest to make greater use of the UN. In the field of national security, the UN performs a useful function in putting the lid on areas of tension and local eruptions of violence. In the economie and social fields it would improve our worldwide position to put more aid funds in multilateral channels and to try to regain our squandered initiative in supporting human rights covenants. We should have more Americans serving in international secretariats; it is not enough to provide machinery for temporary secondment to the UN; more im-

portantly, we should make a tour of duty in Secretariats more appealing to our most qualified FSO's. It is only in the area of international law that Dr. Bloomfield seems to be off base. He proposes a new protocol providing for compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in order to establish a community of states where international law can be applied in all disputes lending themselves to legal solutions. But the machinery is already available; it is a change in the disposition of states, including the U.S.. that is required, and not more pieces of paper.

Mr. Hovet's analysis of bloc politics is rather technical, and too often stops short of drawing conclusions for action. He surveys the blocs and groups which play an increasing role in UN politics, and concludes that if properly approached, they can contribute to the resolution of conflicting interests. Twofifths of his study is devoted to charts on voting patterns.

—Barbara B. Burn

UN, THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS, by Clark M. Eichelberger. Harper and Brothers \$2.75

ers, \$2.75.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY, by Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Little, Brown and Company, \$4.75.
BLOC POLITICS—IN THE UNITED NATIONS, by Thomas Hovet, Ir. Harvard University Press, \$6.50.

### Management—Here and Overseas

T TOOK A LONG time for the Harvard Business School to convince Americans that management could be learned anywhere but in the school of hard knocks and by any other method than on-the-job training. By the end of World War II, however, it had achieved general acceptance and since then the idea has found enthusiastic acceptance internationally. Today governmental organizations, educational institutions, business firms, and banks are all involved in management training prograins. Many associations, foundations. and research institutes support such training programs, and professional management consultants are numerous. Furthermore, this activity is heavily involved overseas. Thousands of foreign businessmen, government officials, and students have come to this country for management training under ICA tech-

TRAINING MANAGERS ABROAD, by Jane Dustan and Barbara Makanowitzky. The Council for International Progress in Management, 2 vols. \$12.50.

nical assistance programs, and hundreds of our management specialists have been sent overseas.

"Training Managers Abroad" is a two-volume reference work on this nearly universal development. It includes chapters on the history and development of management training and analyzes the kinds of training and the trends it is following. It has detailed descriptions of the international training activities of over 450 organizations. The preponderance of American leadership in the field is clearly shown, as is the readiness of alert business in foreign lands to take advantage of the new knowledge. At the rate that forcign business in Europe and Japan is crowding us in the economic field we may be pardoned for asking whether we should have sewn the seed so generously and effectively. Since the development is here to stay, everyone concerned with management training should have this reference work.

-RICHARD FYFE BOYCE



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# Seurice Glimpses

- 1. Calcutta. Consul General Gordon H. Mattison during a recent fishing trip. Mr. Mattison had just taken this five pound Mahseer from the Ranghit river in North Bengal.
- 2. Woomera. Ambassador William J. Sebald (r.) is shown during a tour of the Australian satellite tracking station at Woomera; Dr. D. W. Moran (I.) is in charge of operations at the "Big Dish" station, used in tracking the U.S. Project Mercury.
- 3. Djakarta. Ambassador Howard P. Jones (center) inspects the progress being made on the tallest building in Indonesia. Djakarta's new 425-room Hotel Indonesia. Shown with the Ambassador are (r.) William Land, manager, and (l.) Abel Sorenson, architect and designer of the hotel, who was co-designer of the UN building in New York City.
- 4. Recife. Consul Edward T. Walters is pointing out to Edward M. Kennedy, younger brother of the President, some of the problems of a depressed area.
- 5. Nassau. Consul General J. Lawrence Barnard presents trophies to the Bahamas Baseball League award winners.
- 6. Addis Ababa. Sgt. Paul Cook, USMC, being fed the first slice of wedding cake by his bride, the former Miss Ramona Day, FSS, Addis Ababa. Ambassador Arthur L. Richards toasts the happy couple.
- 7. Manila. Many Embassy, USIS and ICA personnel lrave been taking advantage of the foreign language study program offered at the Embassy to learn Tagalog, the language spoken by the majority of Filipinos. Last Christmas a group of the Americans presented a short skit in Tagalog, "Mano Po, Ninang..." (May I Kiss Your Hand, Godmother?). Shown participating in the play are: (I. to r.) FSO Jorma L. Kaukonen, Lt. Angelo P. Semeraro, FSO Carl H. McMillan, Jr., FSO John F. McJennett, Jr. and Mrs. McJennett.









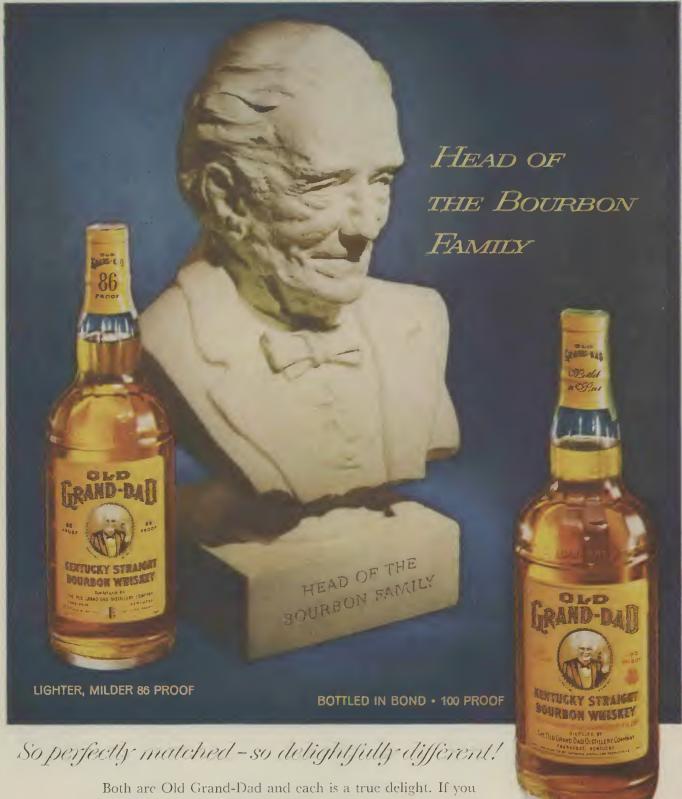








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Acheson, Dean G. Sketches from Life of Men I Have Known. New York, Harper, 1961. 206pp. \$4.00

Bloom, Solomon F. Europe and America; the Western World in Modern Times. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961, 761pp.

Bozeman, Adda B. Polities and Culture in International History. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1960. 560pp. \$10.00 Clark, Grenville, and Louis B. Sohn. World Peace Through

Clark, Grenville, and Louis B. Sohn. World Peace Through World Law. 2d ed., rev. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960. 387pp. \$6.50

Conference on World Tensions, University of Chicago, 1960. The Promise of World Tensions, edited by Harlan Cleveland. New York, Macmillan, 1961. 157pp. \$3.50

Feis, Herbert. Between War and Peace; the Potsdam Conference. Princeton. N. J., Princeton University Press, 1960. 367pp. \$6.50

Footman, David., ed. International Communism. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, 151pp. \$3.75.

Gnevara, Ernesto. Gnerrilla Warfare. Translated by J. P. Morray. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1961. 127pp. \$3.50.

Hayes, Carlton J. H. Nationalism: a Religion, New York, Macmillan, 1960, 187pp. \$5.00

Hayter, Sir William. The Diplomacy of the Great Powers. New York, Macmillan, 1961. 74pp. \$2.75.

Jenks, Clarence W. International Immunities. New York, Oceana Publications, 1961. 178pp. \$6.00

#### **ECONOMICS**

Aubrey, Henry G. Coexistence: Economic Challenge and Response, and a Statement by the NPA Special Project Committee on the Economics of Competitive Coexistence. Washington, National Planning Association, 1961. 323pp. \$5.00

Benham, Frederic C. Economic Aid to Underdeveloped Countries. London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1961, 121pp. 12s. 6d. Black, Engene R. The Diplomacy of Economic Development. Cam-

bridge, Harvard University Press, 1960. 74pp. \$3.00

Braibanti, Ralph J. D., and Joseph J. Spengler, eds. Tradition, Values, and Socio-economic Development. Durham, N. C., Published for Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center by Duke University Press, 1961. 305pp. \$6.00

Krause, Walter. Economic Development; the Underdeveloped World and American Interest. San Francisco, Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1961.

524pp. \$7.50

Levin, Jonathan V. The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960. 347pp. \$6.75

Millikan, Max F., and Donald L. M. Blackmer, eds. The Emerging Nations: their Growth and United States Policy. Boston, Little, Brown, 1961. 171pp. \$2.50

Nove, Alee, and Desinond Donnelly. Trade with Communist Countries. New York. Published for the Institute of Economic Affairs by Macmillan. 1961, 183pp. \$6.00

Shonfield, Andrew. The Attack on World Poverty. New York, Random House, 1960, 269pp. \$5.00

Theobald, Robert. The Rich and the Poor; a Study of the Economics of Rising Expectations. New York, C. N. Potter, 1960. 196pp. \$4.50

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Bailey, Sydney D. The General Assembly of the United Nations; a Study of Procedure and Practice. New York, Pracger, 1960. 337pp. \$5.00

Bloomfield, Lincoln P. The United Nations and U. S. Foreign Policy; a New Look at the National Interest. Boston, Little, Brown, 1960. 276pp \$4.75

Conrlander, Harold. Shaping our Times; what the United Nations is and does, New York, Oceana Publications, 1960. 242pp. \$3.50

Coyle, David C. The United Nations and How it Works. Rev. ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. 222pp. \$3.75

Eichelberger, Clark M. UN: the First Fifteen Years. New York, Harper, 1960, 147np. \$2.75

Harper, 1960. 147pp. \$2.75 Sharp, Walter R. Field Administration in the United Nations System: the Conduct of International Economic and Social Programs. New York, Praeger, 1961. 570pp. \$9.50

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Bechhoefer, Bernard G. Postwar Negotiations for Arms Control. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1961. 641pp. \$3.75

Breunan, Donald G., ed. Arms Control, Disarmament and National Security. New York, Braziller, 1961. 475pp. \$6.00

Bull, Hedley. The Control of the Arms Race; Disarmament and Arms Control in the Missile Age, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961, 215pp. 12s. 6d.

Curnegic Endowment for International Peace. Perspectives on Peace,

1910-1960. New York, Praeger, 1960. 202pp. \$3,00 Carter, Gwendolen M., and John H. Herz. Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century. New York, Praeger, 1961. 218pp.

Dean. Vera M. Builders of Emerging Nations. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. 277pp. \$5.00

Hovet, Thomas, Jr. Bloc Politics in the United Nations. Cambridge House House House 1967

bridge, Harvard University Press, 1960. 197pp. \$6.50 Kaplan, Morton A., and Nicholas de B. Katzenbach. The Political Foundations of International Law. New York, Wiley, 1961. 372pp. \$6.95

Liddell Hart, Basil H. Deterrent or Defense, a Fresh Look at the West's Military Position. New York, Praeger, 1960. 257pp. \$4.95

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Power, Paul F. Ghandi on World Affairs. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1960. 128pp. \$3.25

Roucek, Joseph S., ed. Contemporary Political Ideologies. New York, Philosophical Library, 1961. 470pp. \$10.00

Schelling, Thomas C., and Morton II. Halperin. Strategy and Arms Control. New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1961. 148pp. \$2.50

### II. UNITED STATES

#### GENERAL

American Assembly. The Secretary of State, Don K. Price, editor. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1960, 200pp. \$3.50 Childers, James S. The Nation on the Flying Trapese; the United

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# Notes from a Marine Guard's Diary

by Edward R. Parauka

October 1956

T was a chilly, foggy, October morning. A slight breeze wafted across the Danube River blowing away autumn leaves from the tree-lined bank. Through the mist the bleak outline of the Margit Island bridge could be distinguished. In their first floor apartment facing the Danube, I was having breakfast with friends and fellow Marines, Bill Comer and Jerry Bolick. We had just finished standing an all-night watch, and though a little bushed, we were excited about the revolt that was taking place.

The chatter of burp guns and the crackling of rifles could be heard outside. Occasionally the deadly piercing whoom of a tank gun would shatter the air. Suddenly, only a block away, a burp gun sounded off; men started shouting: more firing followed. Then, just as quickly as it had began, it ceased. This was war. This was Budapest, Hungary, 1956.

We kept asking ourselves how could an uprising such as this succeed? The freedom fighters, mostly young boys and girls armed with obsolete rifles, home-made gasoline bombs, and a few machine guns, were pitted against an enemy that had everything it needed for war, including the atomic bomb. Even with the sheer guts they showed in the first days of conflict, it seemed impossible for them to win. Yet, strangely enough, it was being done. Russian tanks were being knocked out, Russian soldiers were being killed, and the surging tide of victory and freedom was sweeping across the city.

We had watched the huge demonstration that had taken place two days earlier. It was late afternoon. While we stood on the river bank near the Parliament building looking across the Danube toward the Buda side, we saw thousands of people parading along the street leading to the Margit Island bridge. As they marched forward, more and more people joined them. After reaching the bridge and crossing it, they swung toward us, heading for Parliament Square just two blocks away from our apartment house.

As they marched by, we could read their banners proclaiming the rights of man and freedom for Hungary. Conspicuous, too, was the true Hungarian flag, the Kossuth emblem in the center, waving proudly and defiantly. More Hungarian flags, the Communist symbol cut from its center, flew alongside. On and on the marchers came, a never ending cavalcade, singing, shouting, pleading for freedom. Freedom from twelve years of suffering, humiliation, and terror. A rebirth of life seemed to be taking form.

We joined them at Parliament Square. By this time it was dark and torch lights were being lit throughout the crowd. The barrage of outcries continued. Then, surprisingly, a hush fell over all. Quietly at first, then gaining strength and spirit as each one took up the note, they began to sing the Hungarian National Anthem. A tear came to

Edward Parauka served with the Marine Corps at Paris and Budapest and is currently working part-time and studying at the University of Virginia, preparatory to joining the Foreign Service.

our eyes. For those who have never heard this beantiful and stirring melody, it is difficult to describe, but once you have, you will never forget it. Glancing around, I could feel resolution and pride in everyone's voice. Old folks, their tired, wrinkled faces showing the strain of years of hardship, were crying unashamedly as they sang. Young men and women, their heads held high, eyes sparkling brightly, were singing with all their hearts. Mothers, cradling their babies, were singing and praying fervently that their children would grow up free. Fathers placed their arms firmly around the backs of their sons, sensing perhaps that soon, many young lives would be given to free Hungary.

By this time, we realized that serious trouble lay ahead. Returning to our apartments, we awaited instructions from our Legation. Meanwhile the situation had progressed from a fervent demonstration into a small-scale revolt. After increasing in size and boldness, the crowd in Parliament Square marched down Stalin Ut toward Vidam Park, where, adjoining it, stood Stalin Square. Towering over this square was the enormous iron statue of Joseph Stalin. Insults and stones were thrown at the figure by the people. Then men with aceteylene torches climbed up the pedestal and proceeded to cut into the knees of the figure, while others attached chains and ropes to the neck and body. These lines were secured to trucks. When the knees were almost severed, the trucks pulled, and an era came crashing down. A mighty roar of approval rocked the area.

At approximately the same time, in a different part of the city, another crowd, mainly of students, gathered in front of Radio Budapest, the official radio station of Hungary. They asked access to the station to broadcast their pleas for freedom and help to the outside world, but their way was barred by locked doors and windows and by the hated Secret Police (AVO) inside, armed with machine guns. The determined students were not shaken. One of them, apparently the leader, jumped up on top of a parked automobile nearby. From this post he led the people in their demands and made flaming speeches protesting the Communist regime.

At this decisive moment, in the heat of passionate cries and oration, a short burst of gunfire erupted from a station window, and the fearless young leader, perched high on his makeshift podium, fell dead into the street. Turning upon the radio station with the savagery of an animal gone berserk, the crowd pommeled the walls and broke windows with rocks, hricks, anything they could throw. Eventually, a few who had weapons hidden in their coats, brought them out and fired back, but the AVO, safe inside, continued shooting. During this slaughter, the small contingent of Hungarian soldiers, placed in the area to keep order, witnessed with horror the scene before them. Disregarding their Communist indoctrination, they, too, started firing at the radio station.

Word of this action quickly spread through the city. Wherever the AVO were known to be located, the people attacked them. The government called for more Hungarian solders to quell the uprising, but it couldn't be done. Instead, some of the troops, who knew well the brutality and ruthlessness of the AVO, joined the resistance movement; while others refused to obey orders to shoot, knowing that their own family and friends were among the crowds. Fight-

ing continued all that night and the following day. Finally, in the early morning hours of Octoher 24th, the Russians stormed in.

By now the little park directly across the strect from our apartment served as a Russian bivouac camp. Trees had been knocked down to make room for equipment and various vehicles, while tank treads and foxholes scarred the earth and streets hideously. Bonfires flamed brightly, soldiers huddled to-



Above: Maria Teresa area near Killian Barracks, scene of heaviest fighting. Below: Parliament Square, then and now.

gether to keep warm and to cook their food. Parked not more than twenty feet away from us stood three armored carriers. We watched the soldiers inside as they cleaned their weapons. Once in a while one would glance at us, then turn quickly away. Looking about, we saw Russian troops everywhere, and to our left, ahout 300 feet toward Parliament Square, a heavy concentration of tanks was deployed.

At this time a new crowd gathered in Parliament Square, a peaceful and rather restrained group, much different from the ones that marked the first day. Solenmly singing the National Anthem, they were making no aggressive moves either at the Parliament building or at the Russian and AVO troops placed strategically around the square. Suddenly, without warning, a shot was fired. A woman screamed in agony. More shots followed and scores of men and women fell dead or wounded. The AVO and Russians were deliberately firing into the crowd, It was cold-blooded murder. Freedom fighters appeared and started shooting back, but it couldn't stop the torrent of bullets pouring into the defenseless throng.

During this fire-fight we were still on our balcony, when unexpectedly from the rooftop ahove us, bursts of machine gun fire rained down on the Russians below. This caught the troops off-guard and they scrambled for their weapons and cover. We ducked inside and hit the deck just as a fusilade of shots came crashing into the room. While bullets thudded and ricocheted around us, knocking plaster and stone down, Jerry, Bill, and I were shouting at each other to find out if any of us were hit. Fortunately none of us was seriously hurt. Crawling over broken glass and brick, I made my way into the bedroom facing the park. Reaching the window I cautiously looked out. The Russians, after raking the entire front side of our apartment house, were now firing at the roof, throwing everything they had against the freedom fighters.

Knowing that more people were in the house, mostly local Hungarian employees, we made our way to the inside hallway away from direct fire, and there, each of us checked the different apartments. No one was hurt but a few were badly shaken up; we gathered them together and escorted the group down into the basement for safety.

Shooting continued all day. A fire started in one of the apartments, caused, we discovered later, by a tracer bullet in a sofa. We put out the blaze after a twenty-minute battle. The buildings around us were not as lucky as ours. Tanks started blasting into them, demolishing one and badly damaging the rest. For a while we feared the Russians might break into our place. Though it would have been a losing fight, we were prepared to defend the women and children with our lives and with what meagre weapons we had. The Russians never came in.

The following morning all personnel had moved to the sanctuary of our Legation. There, under awkward conditions, quarters were set up for Americans and their dependents plus a few Hungarians and foreign nationals. Our duty increased in size and responsibility, with double watches around the elock and the off guard performing extra duties day and night. Sleep came to us very rarely and it was luxury to lie down for three or four hours at a time. With all this work we didn't have any time to venture outside, but passing pedestrians and anonymous phone calls kept us informed of the fighting.

During this period and thereafter, a critical food shortage affected us as well as the city. Short rations were the order of the day, but even then, we managed to scrape some food together for some of the homeless children and hungry people crying at our door.

During this period we received word that Cardinal Mindszenty was on his way to ask for sanctuary in our Legation and the staff busily prepared for this event. Then on a cold dark morning he appeared, haggard and tired, and was graciously and respectfully admitted to our protection. The armed escort of Freedom Fighters bid their farewells to His Eminence and cautiously made their way back to where they came from. No Russian or AVO troops interfered.

Then the day of liberation arrived. The freedom fighters had successfully pushed the Russians out of Budapest. It was a day long to be remembered. Prayers of thanks were offered up to God, and prayers were said for the many

brave Hungarians who died in the bitter conflict. The Kossuth flag flew from every rooftop and balcony and, alongside was draped the black flag of mourning.

Our work-load decreased slightly, so, two at a time, we were allowed outside the Legation. We saw that many of the buildings were badly shot up, some burned out, others were completely flattened. In one area where some of the heaviest fighting took place, it seemed as if a giant had crashed his fist down and squashed everything beneath. Wrecked tanks, trucks, over-turned trolley cars, upturned stone street blocks, marked the scene. Dead Hnngarians and Russians dotted the area.

The slow process of cleaning up began. Damaged vehicles were being towed away, dangling trolley wires were cut down, buildings swept clean, and debris in the streets shoveled into trucks to be carried away. In a courtyard off one boulevard captured Russian tanks were being worked over by mechanics. Freedom fighter patrols roved about everywhere searching for hidden AVO agents. Some were found and executed. As a grim reminder that the day of reckoning had arrived, other AVO agents hung from lamposts and trees. In the cleaning up the Hungarians were very thorough.

Around the city the people were working to start a new life. It appeared as if a heavy yoke had been lifted from their backs. They stood straighter than before and spoke with confidence of better things ahead.

All this was destroyed, when, in the early morning hours of November 4th, the Russians returned in full force. The might that was hurled at the brave but out-numbered Hungarians proved too much for any one small nation to withstand. More and bigger tanks, heavy artillery, jet fighters and hombers, thousands of ruthless troops poured into the city, but still, with all this against them, the Magyars fought bitterly. The fighting raged on for a few days, but it was evident that it was a losing battle. A battle that will live through history as a proud victory for Hungary and a shameful defeat for the Soviet Union. Finally, a deathly silence shrouded the city, everyone sensed what had happened. The Kossuth flag, the symbol of freedom, flew no more.



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### Return to Paradise

Once again Tin Can Island is being resettled by its original natives, who defy death by returning to their villages on the brink of an active volcano.



Eruption of Niua Fo'ou in 1946

by WILMON MENARD

THE SOUTH PACIFIC island of Niua Fo'ou, commonly known as "Tin Can Island," located midway between Samoa and Fiji, was once, and will now be again—at least to philatelists—one of the most fascinating islands in the world.

Niua Fo'ou, owing to its small size and insignificant commercial potentialities, cannot be found on a standard map of the Pacific; it is merely indicated by a pin-prick dot on navigation charts. Up until fifteen years ago, however, Niua Fo'ou was famous as a "stamp-collectors' island," because of the primitive manner by which mail from the island was swum by a white mailman and his Tongan postal assistants through shark-infested waters to passing steamers.

Following a violent volcanic eruption in September 1946, which destroyed the islanders' villages and gardens, the island's 1,300 inhabitants were removed from the smoldering, trembling island and resettled 400 miles to the south on Tongatabu, the central island of the Tongan Group where the famed Queen Salote rules, and also on Eua Island farther southward. From the date of this cvacuation stamp brokers and collectors received no more stamps with the coveted cancellation-mark: NIUA FO'OU—TIN CAN MAIL SERVICE.

When the eruption of 1946 subsided, a party of native workers ventured back to Niua Fo'ou to prepare copra from the coconut palms which had not been destroyed by the earth tremors and holocaust; by 1955 fifty men were regularly visiting the ravaged island in this mission.

In September of 1958 over 200 former Niua Fo'ouans returned to the devastated island to rehuild permanent villages, their devotion to the land of their ancestors overcoming the terrifying prospect of living on the rim of a treacherous volcano that could explode and spread fiery death in a matter of seconds. By the end of last year 500 Tongans had returned to their island home.

A handsome sub-chief voiced the sentiment of the home-coming Tongans when, his bare feet touching the rocky ledge at Agaha, he said happily: "It is so good to be back! This is the island of our ancestors. Their spirits would

wander forlornly on the night winds if they thought we had deserted them forever."

At this writing, most of the Niua Fo'ouans have returned, and the charred or effaced villages are being quickly restored; life is returning to normal, and singing is heard in the groves and along the rocky beaches. And, important to the outside world, of which these natives have only a remote conception despite the global demand for their valuable stamps, the aquatic mail service has been revived again.

Although Niua Fo'ou is the ancestral island of Queen Salote, its background of history is negligible. It was thought to have been discovered by the Dutch explorer Schouten in 1616, who named it Isle of Good Hope. Its next sighting was on the morning of August 3rd, 1791, by the British frigate Pandora under command of Captain Edwards, who was returning to England with sixteen of the mutineers of H.M.S. Bounty, whom he had captured on Tahiti's beaches. He sailed the Pandora slowly around the volcanic cone's 25-mile circumference, endeavoring to find a suitable cove for anchorage. Rising sheer from the blue Pacific in strange isolation, its shape suggesting an ornate hat, the island presented only an ominous aspect. The entire coastline was ringed by a high white ruff of surf where the angry seas smashed against ledges and sheer basalt cliffs. And from numerous craters sulphurous smoke spiralled skyward.

CAPTAIN EDWARDS nervously gave the order to head away from the forbidding shores. But he did make his report on Niua Fo'ou to the Admiralty. However, as his log indicated that there was a deceptive heavy set of the currents and treacherous shoals, holding also the threat of volcanic disturbances, his Niua Fo'ou landfall was considered of no importance, and promptly forgotten.

Niua Fo'ou Island is about 3½ miles long by 3 wide, merely a precipitous circlet of land surrounding a lake 2¾ miles in diameter. The islanders are a thrifty, agricultural race of Polynesians, but with a great capacity for humor, singing, dancing and sitting around the kava-bowl and philosophizing. In appearance they are attractive, resembling the Maoris of New Zealand and the Samoans. They are tall, superbly formed, with handsome, regular features, dark liquid eyes, golden-brown complexions, and gentle, friendly dispositions. And most of the women are beauties.

Wilmon Menard, free-lance writer, has just returned from a year-and-a-half's voyage through the South Pacific and is currently finishing work on "Vabine," a book on Tahiti.



Envelope and stamp, with prized cancellation

There is practically no disease, crime. poverty or discord on Niua Fo'ou.

It was a rare event when a passenger was landed at Niua Fo'ou, and then it was usually a trader or missionary returning from

a vacation or business trip to Tongatabu. And the landing was always very tricky and dangerous. The steamer just moved dead slow in the offing: and a surf-boat, manned by husky Tongans, put out from the rocks at Agaha to collect the human cargo. But frequently the long-boat was tossed high on the combers and crashed on rocky fangs of the cove, whereupon the battered, terrified passenger, more drowned than alive, was tossed up on a ledge, where the natives retrieved him, most times minus his cherished luxury purchases.

The credit of inaugurating the "Tin Can Mail Service" belongs to Charles Stewart Ramsay, a Britisher, who was appointed some years ago to the Niua Fo'ou trading-post of Morris Hedstrom Company. Ramsay, or "Lamisi" as the natives called him, was an avid reader and letter-writer, and he quickly realized that the receipt and dispatch of mail and reading-matter at Niua Fo'ou presented almost insurmountable obstacles.

Then, a chance observation solved the dilemma. In his own words, "One day I was watching some natives making their way down to the rocks with their buoyant swimming-poles of fau (hibiscus) wood to go fishing. A heavy swell was running, and I wondered how they would get into the water. After a few minutes of watching the waves as they roared in, the natives suddenly seized their poles, threw them into the backwash, and immediately followed. I lost sight of the men in the surging white foam, but soon they



In calmer weather outrigger cauces handle the mail from passing steamers. Usually, however, the surf is too great and a swimmer with a hibiscus pole carries the mail.

appeared a little distance out, where they again secured their wooden floats. The towering white crest of the close following wave imminently threatened the natives with destruction on the rocks, and I held my breath. There was a flashing glimpse of strong brown arms, and the poles sailed into the air over the white crest. Then the swimmers dived beneath the roaring monster in front of them, to reappear beyond the danger zone of the breaking waves. I said to myself: 'Now, why can't I do that?' "

So Ramsay made his first swim to deliver and collect mail, periodicals and books from the regularly passing *Tofua* of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand. He came aboard on this initial experiment, yarned with the captain, and then executed a splendid swan-dive from the high bow of the vessel.

When his head broke the surface, Captain Davey of the *Tofua* foghorned down: "Not bad, my boy!" Then, with the showman's instinct, added: "You'd better do that every time and we'll soon get ourselves talked about! And remember, even if you send someone out in a boat, you'll have to swim out, or I'll be called a liar by all the passengers aboard! G'bye!"

Ramsay, a slight man, and considered at this time only a fair swimmer, gained the reputation over the next few years as being the greatest white swimmer in the South Seas—and one of the bravest. His route to and from Niua Fo'ou to the *Tofua* was through waters in which the fins of *tenifa*, or man-eating sharks, made ominous cut-waters. And, heading out to the waiting steamer. to misjudge by so much as a second or bare inch a plunge off the rocks at Agaha-landing between a crashing comber and the strong ebbing. meant instant death.

Now and again it was too stormy for Ramsay and his native postal assistants to brave the strong cross-currents, and the steamers were forced to drop over the mail tins, in the hope that they would float ashore. Frequently, the strong westerly currents carried the containers to Fiji's beaches, and even beyond to the shores of the New Hebrides Islands.

Ramsay braved the ronghest seas for his prized letters and reading-matter. And it was handled in this manner: the outward mail from Niua Fo'ou was made up ashore into several parcels, wrapped in oiled waterproof paper, and tied to the ends of sticks about three feet in length. Two or three Tongans, depending on the amount of mail on hand, accompanied Ramsay out to the steamers, each with a stick topped by its parcel of mail and their bodies supported by six-to-seven-foot-long fau poles, which were very buoyant and easily carried the weight of a recumbent body. These parcels were placed in the buckets reeled down from the deck of the steamer, and the 40-lb biscuit tins, containing the inward mail and literature, which the ship's carpenter had previously sealed, were then lowered or tossed overboard to the swimming mailmen.

And so, because of this unique mail service, Niua Fo'ou was dubbed "Tin Can Island."

But, getting back to Ramsay, the original mail-swimmer of "Tin Can Island," he did have his brushes with near death

There was the terrifying dark night when the *Tofua's* skipper, thinking that Ramsay and his native assistant Biutau were well clear of the hull, signalled the engine-room to get

underway. The vessel swung abruptly around, and Biutau, caught in the ship's turbulent wake and about to be mangled by the whirling propellors, shouted to Ramsay: "Lamisi, tokoni mai teu mate! Ramsay, help me, or l shall die!"

Ramsay later described the harrowing experience:

"Biutau was helpless to save himself, and Heaven only knows what I thought I could do to save him; but, flinging aside my swimming-pole, I instinctively struck out for him with all speed. I yelled with all the strength of my lungs: 'Ahoy, the bridge! For God's sake, stop the engines!'

"When I reached Biutau, the stcrn was almost upon us. In spite of our frenzied efforts to escape, it swept, like a Juggernaut. inexorably nearer. Then, in a panic of fear, we felt the drag of the propellers and foresaw ourselves being sucked to an awful death, gashed and ripped by the thrashing blades.

"'Let the tin go!' I gasped to Biutau, as we fought the deadly undertow. The mail-tin, released from our hands, was pulled past our shoulders to the propellers and sucked down out of sight.

"Then, there came one of the grandest sounds that has ever reached my ears, the engine-room telegraph signalling —Stop! Only a second saved us. As the impetus of the steamer carried her overhanging stern like a roof above our heads, the blades of the now motionless propellers actually bumped us in the dark!"

It was only by a miracle that the Chief Officer of the *Tofua*, about to signal *Full Speed Ahead!*—which would have spelled a horrible mutilated death to the two swimmers—heard Ramsay's faint cries!

Perhaps the adventures of Ramsay and his native postal assistants will add more interest and importance to the Niua Fo'ou stamps, which some older collectors already have in their albums, no doubt cancelled and hrought out by Ramsay and his Tongan swimmers through storm-lashed, shark-patrolled seas.

But for younger philatelists, whose page on Tonga's Tin Can Island has only blank squares, it is suggested that they write to the Postmaster, Tongan Post Office, Nukualofa, tonga-tabu, Tongan Islands, enclosing an envelope and sufficient postage in the form of an International Postal Coupon (obtainable at any post office) for information on how they can get the stamp from the famous stamp collectors' paradise island of Niua Fo'ou.



Freighter in Lagos Harbor

by Howard R. Simpson

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### - CHANGING YOUR POST? -

Please help us keep our mailing list up-to-date by indicating to the Circulation Dept. of the JOURNAL changes in address, in advance when possible. APO or FPO address should be mentioned if applicable.

# 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 opinious of the writers are not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, or of the Foreign Service as a whole.

### "One of the Roving Kind"

THE AUGUST, 1961, issue of the JOURNAL carried an unsigned article entitled "One of the Roving Kind" pointing up in a humorous and vet revealing manner the apparent undue personal preoccupation of the vast majority of officers in the Service with political reporting as contrasted to evident aversion for other functions, particularly administrative. Unlike the author, whose passion for anonymity may be based more on defense than modesty. I feel the article is of such accurate and clear insight that I have clipped it for possible appropriatelytimed reference to future rating officers, inspectors, etc!

M. LEE COTTERMAN

Ciudad Trujillo

### "Snoopers and Sniffers"

GERALD A. DREW, Inspector General, in the August News Letter, states that "Happily gone are the days when an inspector swooped out of the underbrush onto the trembling Consul, locked the doors, checked the fee stamps and counted the cash."

I regret to say that my friend of many years has not given the whole story about the inspectors of olden times. Jerry failed to mention how thoroughly those "dead-eye Dicks" were trained hefore they hit the trail. For a first assignment they were given a bunch of detective stories to read. Then they were sent to a famous detective agency for three months training, during which time they were not allowed to communicate with the outside world or even with each other.

Before leaving Washington, each inspector was handed a kit containing two pairs of gumshoes, a regulation slouch hat, a pair of Greta Garbo glasses, brass knuckles, and a starshaped badge. At the same time he was warned never to register at a hotel under his real name.

Upon arrival at a post the inspector at once began to snoop and sniff around town in search of choice, juicy tidhits of gossip about the American Consul; he would then barge into the Consul's office unannounced, turn back the lapel of his coat, hand a questionnaire to the Consul and proceed to throw him off

balance by asking him to open up the safe without consulting with the messenger. (He was a snoopy fellow, all right. Why the wife of one inspector once confided that her husband even inspected her bureau drawers.)

JAMES B. STEWART A Former Swooper Downer

Denver

\*A few of them were: Charles Eberhardt, Ralph Totten, Bill Dawson, Tom Wilson, Pen Davis, Klahr Huddle, Monnett Davis, Merle Cochran and Jake Jacobs.

### International Affairs Center

THE JUNIOR Foreign Service Officers Club is keenly interested in the progress of the proposed Center for International Affairs. For the past year we have been actively working to improve the opportunities for junior Foreign Service officers to get acquainted with their foreign counterparts in the Embassies in Washington. We have found out that it is not too difficult to meet our younger colleagues if a little effort is expended, but for many reasons, all too familiar to most Foreign Service officers, we have found it difficult to see and entertain our friends regularly on an individual basis. Distance, cramped living quarters, the difficulties in preparing a dinner and taking care of the children at the same time all make it difficult for many of us to do much entertaining, even of a simple nature, in our own homes.

The proposed Center for International Affairs, with facilities which we could use for entertaining our foreign guests on a relatively inexpensive basis, would be an ideal locus for the junior Foreign Service officer who wishes to get together with his foreign counterparts with some regularity. It is significant that a number of our foreign friends have also lamented the lack of some place, such as the proposed Center, to which they could repair to meet their counterparts in the Department of State and other emhassies.

The Junior Foreign Service Officers Club (JFSOC) gladly adds its voice to those who call for as speedy action as possible to bring this long needed Center into reality.

FRANCIS J. McNeil

Washington

### Career Chiefs of Missions

FROM TIME to time the Foreign Service News Letter used to publish a list of the Chiefs of American Diplomatic Missions, with an indication of the percentage of these Missions headed by Career Foreign Service Officers. I have not seen such a list appear since sometime last year, and I imagine many of my colleagues are curious, like me, to know where the Career Foreign Service now stands in this regard.

Can you publish for us the present proportion of Career FSO's among the Chiefs of U. S. Diplomatic Missions?

KENEDON STEINS

Managua

Editor's Note:

Readers by now will have seen the Journal's editorial "U.S. Envoys on the New Frontier" in our August issue and noted that approximately 72 percent of the Missions will be headed by career officers.

### Foreign Service Anecdotes

YOU MICHT wish to consider the creation of a new column called "Foreign Service Anecdotes." I have one to contribute to this column should it be created:

At the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in 1951, in Washington, the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, overheard a Latin American Ambassador voicing a familiar complaint to three of his colleagues that they did not have enough regular contact with the Secretary of State. Mr. Acheson asked that an appointment be made for the Ambassador to call on him. As Desk Officer, I approached the Ambassador (the late Felix Nieto del Rio, of Chile), set up the appointment, and asked what he wished to discuss with the Secretary. I was given a list of four subjects and prepared the customary briefing memorandum for the Secretary.

On the day of the meeting, the Ambassador indicated his pleasure and interest in having the interview with the Secretary. But it became evident that the Ambassador was more interested in the interview than in the subject matter, for he raised only three of the questions listed. However, Mr. Acheson, a rapid reader with a retentive memory, had read the briefing memo carefully and answered all four.

MILTON BARALL

Washington

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# LETTERS to the Editor

### Community Services

THE THE full support of the President and the Secretary, the Department is again lending its resources to the United Givers Fund Campaign.

The 1961 goal for the entire community has been set at \$7,800,000-an increase of 8.3 percent over that of 1960. The increase reflects the augmented requirements of the growing Metropolitan area for the services rendered by the 148 agencies participating in this appeal for funds. Among the better known of these agencies are the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Family Service and the Mental Health Associations, the YM and YWCA's. Many others provide home and institutional medical care, specialized care for children and the aged, and recreational facilities for young people and the Armed Services.

The availability, in adequate measure, of this wide range of medical and social assistance within the community which is or may become our home is probably of vital concern to us all. The need for these services is not restricted to any one social or economic segment of our community. Their support through voluntary, private contributions is in the best traditions of our society.

Response during previous drives from personnel associated with the Department in Washington and at foreign posts amply documents the high sense of community responsibility which prevails among the large majority of our co-workers. State has exceeded its assigned quotas in all five of the preceding campaigns.

I earnestly invite early and generous pledges and gifts again this year, so that our now traditional level of contribution may be achieved not only expeditiously, but with 100 percent of staff participation.

GEORGE C. McGHEE
Vice Chairman
UNITED GIVERS FUND

Washington

### Rigorous Requirements

In his review of "The Foreign Service of the United States, Origin, Development, and Functions," in the August 1961 JOURNAL, Ted Achilles notes that "in the early days" one consul was dismissed because the Department had heard nothing from him for seven years (at least one despatch a year was expected).

By 1838 the requirements had become more rigorous. In that year the

Booklet of General Instructions to the Consuls and Commercial Agents of the United States contained the provision that—"The consuls are expected once in three months to write to the Department if it be for no other purpose than that of apprising the Department of their being at their respective posts. They are not required to write oftener unless in emergency cases or when interest or business points out the propriety of more frequent communication."

CARL W. STROM
Director
Foreign Service Institute

Washington

### "General Tone"

WOULD LIKE to mention that over the past year and a half, the general tone and level of your articles has improved in no small measure.

Specifically, there has been a considerable increase in the number of articles from university, state, and political sources dealing with the more appealing and very much more stimulating topics of political philosophy, USA-images abroad, evaluations on our challenges, and serious steps being taken to meet them—and their meanings and implications for the Department.

Keep up the good work; the public, including myself, needs prodding on these matters; even in addition to the New York Times, Henry Kissinger, and Foreign Affairs.

JOHN R. BROOKS

Port Chester, N. Y.

### Garbellable Goods

The Following item from "The Story of the City Companies," by P. H. Ditchfield, might interest those who are constantly perplexed with the never-ending effort to decipher garbles:

Another lucrative office was granted to the Grocers, an old company of the City of London, that of the Garbeller of Spices. The Garbeller had the right of search and could enter the shops of tradesmen and examine drugs and garble them, i.e., to cleanse and purify them. The following goods were said to be garbellable: nutmegs. mace, cinnamon, ginger, gauls, rice and currants, cloves, grains, wormseed, aniseed, cumminseed, dates, senna and other things.

ALFRED WELLS

London



"Concordia Maritale" Tiepolo (1696-1770) (Currently at the National Art Gallery)

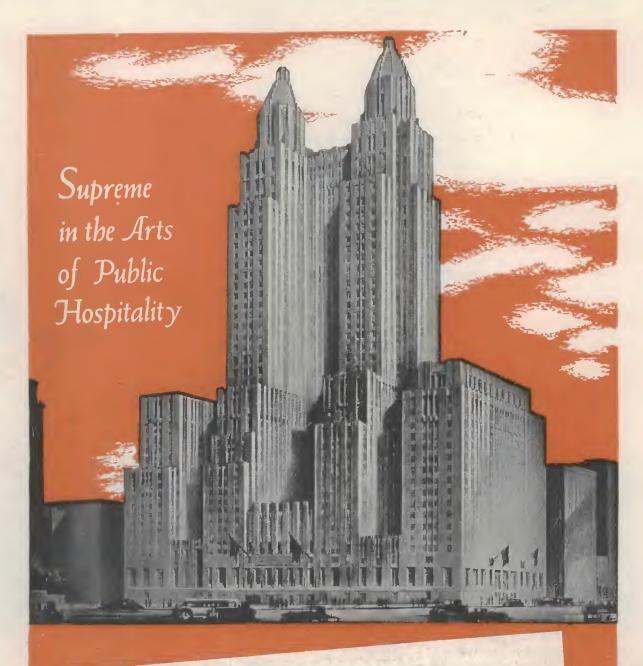
### Hole in One

READERS OF THE JOURNAL would probably be interested in learning that crack golfer Bob Ryan (Embassy Executive Officer) made a hole-in-one on the 200 yard tenth hole at the Marly Country Club (near Paris) on Sunday, August 6, 1961. Bob was playing in a four-some at the time and his tremendous feat was witnessed by Carmen Pasquale, Vic Keay and the undersigned Ted Allen.

Paris

TED ALLEN





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