Foreign Service Journal

"La Edad de Oro" *by Roberto Gonzales Goyri*

FEBRUARY 1962 50c

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Volume 39, No. 2

THE GOLDEN AGE — *Sculpture by Roberto Gonzalez Goyri.*

"La Edad de Oro," shown on the cover this month, is the work of Roberto Gonzalez Goyri, Program Manager of USIS Guatemala's Exhibits Section. Mr. Goyri recently received the Order of Quetzal from Guatemalan President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. His works have been shown in the Rockefeller Gallery, the Pan American Union and in Venice.

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Ambassadorial Appointments

JOHN M. CABOT *to Poland*
HENRY R. LABOUISSE *to Greece*

BIRTHS

CABOT. A son, John Ridgeway, born to Mr. and Mrs. John G. Cabot, December 9, in Boston. John Ridgeway is the grandson of Ambassadors John M. Cabot and William C. Trimble.

MARTIN. A son, Richard Reynolds, Jr., born to Mr. and Mrs. Richard Reynolds Martin, in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, on September 7.

PAGANELLI. A daughter, Carla Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Paganelli, November 21, in Beirut, Lebanon. Mr. Paganelli is Vice Consul in Basra, Iraq.

SCHLAUDEMAN. A daughter, Katherine Estelle, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harry W. Schlaudeman, on November 30, in Carmel, California. Mr. Schlaudeman is assigned to the Legation in Sofia, Bulgaria.

WARKER. A daughter, Ann Flanders, born to Mr. and Mrs. Peter F. Warker, Jr., October 30, in Nürnberg, Germany. Mr. Warker is assigned to Prague.

DEATHS

BOHNE. Frederick A. Bohne, FSR. died on December 2 in Toronto, Canada. Mr. Bohne entered the Foreign Service in 1920 and served at Toronto, Kingston, Hamilton (Ontario), Beirut and Munich. At the time of his death he was on home leave and was to return to Munich as Consul.

COOKE. Cassandra Kinsman Cooke, three-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin Cooke, died November 20, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

FLOURNOY. Richard W. Flournoy, former assistant legal adviser for special problems in the State Department, died December 6, in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Flournoy had been with the Department for 45 years when he retired in 1948. He was considered one of the country's foremost authorities on immigration, naturalization and international law.

FROST. Judith Spivak Frost, wife of William Lee Frost, former FSO, died December 23 in New York. Mrs. Frost taught at the International School in Belgrade while her husband was Second Secretary at the Embassy there. The Frosts had also served at Salzburg and Bonn.

LANE. Francis Adams Lane, FSO-retired, died December 5 in Loehnhorst, a suburb of Bremen, Germany. Mr. Lane was a member of the Foreign Service from 1929 to 1954 and served in Bremen, Gibraltar and Liverpool.

MINOR. George C. Minor, FSO-retired, died on December 12 at Orange, Virginia. Mr. Minor joined the Foreign Service in 1923 and retired in 1953. Among the posts where he served were Tirana, Stuttgart, Cologne, Paris, Moscow, Ottawa and Rome where he was Assistant Attaché at the time of his retirement.

Staff members from thirty-four embassies at a recent tour, sponsored by AAFSW, of the State Department.

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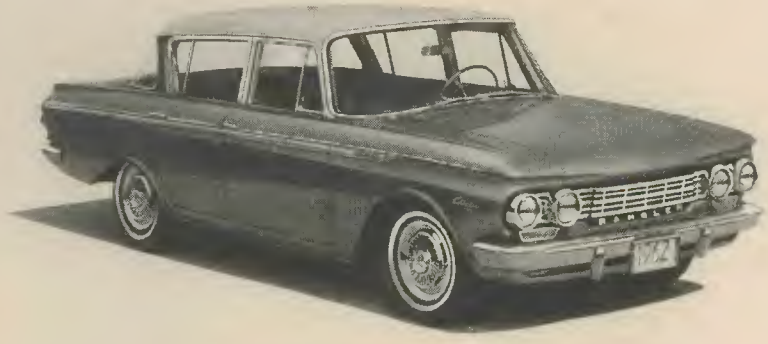

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The Ninth USIA Foreign Service Promotion List was signed by Edward R. Murrow, Director of USIA, on December 15, 1961, and became effective December 24, 1961.

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*FSCR, Foreign Service Career Reserve; FSLR, Foreign Service Limited Reserve.

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AAFSW

Tour of State

DIPLOMATIC staff members representing thirty-four embassies from Afghanistan to Uruguay visited the upper reaches of the State Department building on December 1, as guests of the AAFSW. Also invited to meet their embassy counterparts and to take the grand tour were junior echelon members of State.

The keynote of informality, which prevailed throughout the evening, was set by Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Harlan Cleveland, who told the guests that the building was like a ship, for "the further down you go, the more institutionalized it becomes."

Mr. Cleveland then paid tribute to staff employees as "the pillar of both the embassies and the Department." He also summed up American foreign policy with the succinct statement that "We like differences. We don't want the whole world to be one. We want it to be different."

At the end of the tour guests descended from the top floors to the first, where coffee was served in the International Conference Lounge.

The idea for giving diplomatic staffs an opportunity to view the top echelon workings at State originated with AAFSW president, June Byrne, who was assisted by Mrs. Charles E. Bohlen, wife of the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Tyler Thompson, Director General of the Foreign Service, and Mrs. Thompson.

—JEWEL FENZI

▲ Photo on p. 4

AFSA

Scholarships and a Circus

THE American Foreign Service Association frequently receives generous and pleasing contributions to the Scholarship Fund. Two such donations received in December deserve special mention. Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, who has been a generous donor on previous occasions, has made two additional contributions of a substantial nature which will enable the Committee on Education to award Bruce Scholarships on a continuing basis from year to year. The other donation came from children of members of the Legation staff at Sofia and can best be described by publishing in full their letter of transmittal.

—JULIAN F. HARRINGTON

American Legation
December 14, 1961

American Foreign Service Association
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Enclosed is $10.40 *for the Foreign Service Scholarship Fund. We earned this money by giving a circus for the Americans in Sofia.*

Adrienne Stefan (9 *yrs.*)
Elizabeth Garrison (11½ *yrs.*)
Mark Garrison (9 *yrs.*)

Sofia, Bulgaria

25 years ago

February, 1937

by JAMES B. STEWART

Lincoln the Story Teller

"FLATTERY, calumny, myth and fiction have a habit of plastering historical characters until the true likeness is gone or sculptured out of all proportion to the original. Give a story wings and it passes all belief how it grows overnight!" Thus wrote Charles W. Moore in the JOURNAL. He continued: "During the Civil War, a telegram reached Mr. Lincoln announcing that in a slight skirmish near Drainsville, Virginia, 'thirty or forty prisoners were taken, all armed with Colt's revolvers.' Mr. Lincoln read the dispatch with a humorous snort, and remarked to the operator: 'By the time that report gets into print tomorrow, those little *Colt* revolvers will grow into *horse* pistols.'"

Mr. Moore ended his article: "In Lincoln was something of the leadership of Moses; the vision of Isaiah; the weeping of Jeremiah; the wisdom of Solomon. . . . His stories will go on winging their way as long as time lasts, stories that have become the classic columns of the nation's temple."

Nathaniel Hawthorne, Consul

Mrs. Philip Holland, wife of Consul Holland, Liverpool, tells us in the JOURNAL of Nathaniel Hawthorne's experiences and feelings when he was Consul in that city: "When Nathaniel Hawthorne was appointed by his friend President Franklin Pierce, he probably viewed what was generally considered his good fortune with somewhat mixed feelings.

"To a man of his extreme sensitiveness, even a temporary exile from his native land was a trial and Liverpool with its long periods of rain and fog, its shivery winds and cold mists even in midsummer, appeared uninviting and inhospitable upon a wet day in the summer of 1853, when he and his family finally set foot upon English soil for the first time."

Mrs. Holland continues: "It is a great pity that during his sojourn in England, Hawthorne did not meet Thackeray, Dickens, Reade, George Eliot, or Carlyle, Mill and Grote. He did meet the Brownings but he never came to know them until he saw them later in Florence during his residence there. . . . It is not difficult to visualize the shy, sensitive man wellnigh overwhelmed by the gloom of his surroundings, the uncongeniality of his office duties and the loneliness that he never overcame. . . . That he appreciated and loved the undeniable charm of England itself is manifest on every page of his voluminous journals kept faithfully during his seven years abroad."

Comment, 1962: Chad Braggiotti (O-2), in a recent paper on the Consular Service, quotes the following from an article by Hawthorne which shows why his office dutics were particularly uncongenial: "The duties of the office carried me to prisons, police courts, hospitals, lunatic asylums, coroners' inquests, deathbeds, funerals and brought me in contact with insane people, criminals, ruined speculators, wild adventurers, diplomatists, brother-consuls, and all manner of simpletons and unfortunates, in greater number and

variety that I had ever dreamed of as pertaining to America."

Briefs: George H. Butler, Wilbur J. Carr, Hugh S. Cumming, Jr., Eugene H. Dooman, and Roy E. B. Bower contributed articles to the February 1937 issue.

A son, Gordon Erskine, was born to Mr. Aubrey Erskine Lippincott, Vice Consul, Madras, and Mrs. Lippincott, at Pasadena, California, December 4, 1936.

Foreign Service Changes

Glion Curtis *to Wellington*
Robert English *Paris to Ottawa*
Norris Haselton *to the Department*
Joseph Jacobs *detailed as Inspector*
Marselis Parsons *to Berlin*
James Stewart *Budapest to Mexico City*
Walter Sholes *Brussels to Milan*
Carl Strom *to Zurich*
Howard Travers *Southampton to Budapest*
Roger Tyler *to Mexico City*
Eliot Weil *to Canton*
Ivan White *to Yokohama*

Tony Biddle

Biddle! There is magic in that name especially for those who lived in Philadelphia before the turn of the century.

Arthur Krock in the NEW YORK TIMES wrote of the late Tony Biddle's intense patriotism—"a heritage from one of the few leading Philadelphia families which supported the Revolution during as well as before the British occupation." His column also said:

Tony Biddle's record of personal courage includes acting as shepherd of his embassy flock and the Polish Government to a place of safety, after Hitler's bombing of Warsaw; maintaining the diplomatic liaison of the United States with the French Government as it retreated from Paris to Tours and thence to Bordeaux after the Nazi attack on France; and saving his wife and another woman from drowning in the Potomac after a gasoline explosion on their boat.

The record of public service encompasses Chief of Mission at Oslo before moving to the same post at Warsaw, from which his reports of the oncoming Nazi assault on Poland and France remain in the State Department files as models of prescience and accurate information; and the remarkable period during which he was United States Ambassador in London to all the European governments which took refuge there during the war Biddle had forecast. After successfully performing this unusual and delicate task, he entered active military service.

. . . Tony Biddle was a mirror of three centuries—the elegance, grace and enlightenment of the eighteenth, the ruggedness and change of the nineteenth in which the composite American type was formed, and the fortitude that the twentieth has required of those who accept the high obligation of sharing its miseries with its blessings.

Denver's Buffalo Bill and Elizabeth Blanc

Denver is host each year to hundreds of visitors from overseas and the hostess is Miss Elizabeth Blanc, assistant to Dr. Ben Cherrington, director of the Denver office of the Institute of International Education. In 1938, Dr. Cherrington organized the Department's first cultural relations office.

In 1960, 560 foreign leaders and specialists from eighty-one countries visited Denver. Miss Blanc interviews each visitor as soon as he or she arrives. "You never can tell," she says, "what they'll want to see. I remember one man who was an outstanding scholar from Iran and a student of Persian history. He wanted to see motels, drive-ins and Buffalo Bill's grave on top of Look Out Mountain."

Storks Like Turkey

Fletcher Warren retired in December, 1960, as our Ambassador to Turkey. During their four and one-half years

25 Years Ago *(Continued)*

in Ankara the Warrens were interested stork watchers. Every spring they awaited the arrival of the storks from the South and noted that each one returned to its own nest.

On the way to Ephesus there is a one-story school house and Fletch says that in each corner of the roof there is a stork's nest and a fifth one on top the chimney in the middle of the roof. These storks join others in the general area and when the time comes they all fly off en masse to the South.

Comment: Fletch and Wilhelmina have settled in Greenville, Texas and they miss the storks. They should have retired in Chicago where the stork yards are located.

The Mystery of the Underweight Bodyguard

Dogs are practically unknown in Reykjavik as they are not allowed within the city limits without very special permission. When I was preparing to leave for my new post in Iceland with my family, including dog, Icelandic Airlines kindly offered to arrange the necessary documentation. Their New York office informed their Reykjavik office that the new Ambassador would be arriving accompanied by his wife, mother, daughter and seventy-pound boxer. Back came a query, "Can't understand why Ambassador's boxer weighs only seventy pounds."—Ambassador James K. Penfield.

Jet Dementia as a Diplomatic Weapon

Since World War II a small but vocal group in this country has contended that the nation has been betrayed at major diplomatic meetings, Yalta among them, by the demon rum.

Our spokesmen, the argument goes, were so boozed up on these occasions they happily gave the Communists anything they wanted.

Dr. Hubertus Strughold, of the Aerospace Medical Center in Texas, has a slightly different theory. American diplomats may be befuddled by the effect of long, fast air journeys which carry them through several time zones and upset the body's biological clockwork.

Dr. Strughold advises our diplomats not to engage in morning talks for the first two or three days after arrival. Mental confusion may affect their judgment, he suggests.

This is obviously an important consideration, but another is that none of the agreements we have made with the communist world seem to work out anyway. Jet confusion might, in fact, be utilized by our diplomats to make them more of a match for the communists' dizzying double-talk and lies.

As long as a diplomat *knows* that he has been left half-wacky by his ride, the condition could be a useful weapon.

—*Montgomery Advertiser*

► Earl Packer, FSO-retired, keeps on the go. As the representative of the Department of State, he spent three weeks each in New York, Cleveland, and Denver this year with the Soviet's Children's Book Exhibit. He also represented the Department in 1958 when he accompanied the Moiseyev Dance Company of Moscow. In 1929 he traveled with a group of Russian economists. After retiring in 1950, Earl spent the next six years as consultant, International Studies Group, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

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THE FUTURE AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

by JOHN Y. MILLAR

THIS ARTICLE is an attempt to present one man's view of where the Foreign Service stands today and where it ought to be going. A personal estimate of this kind may not receive wide agreement, but it may stimulate further examination of the whole subject or of some of its parts. Furthermore, it may be time for a member of the rank and file within the Foreign Service to be heard from, in view of the amount of comment by outside observers concerning the state of the Service.

The treatment will be: first, to describe briefly the ideal role the Foreign Service officer should play; then to set forth some assumptions about the prospects for achieving it; thirdly, to examine the present condition of the Foreign Service in relation to its past and the future; and finally to consider how the Foreign Service can work toward meeting the requirements and opportunities before it: "How to get there from here."

The ideal for the Foreign Service can be summarized in one sentence: to take the best qualified young Americans and train them within the Foreign Service to play the major role in conducting U. S. foreign relations. "Best qualified" means, most importantly, integrity of character, which is easier to recognize than describe. Character is the essential ingredient for leadership and leaders are what the Service needs most. Without becoming too esoteric, generally the aim should be to select someone who is "his own man"—with individuality, independence of mind and the courage of his convictions. In a calling where the important questions have no answers except as knowledgeable minds are applied to them, an independent cast of mind is especially valuable. As has been observed in these pages before, this calling over the years seems to offer the major recognition to those of a different stripe—those who are notable for "getting along" or those "with a sure touch," rather than those who might be classified as contentious or controversial. The latter—the independent-minded officers—are thus at more of a premium. They are the kind that will argue for their views if they think they have a case while the subject is open, and then abide by whatever is decided. The point is illustrated by the attitude of a fairly highly-placed officer a year or so ago, who, when told that the course of action he advocated would be highly unpopular with the top command, observed quietly, "Well, I guess they're in for a fight."

Other important characteristics to be sought in a prospective officer are intelligence, dedication and interest in people. Some of the other qualities—perhaps not all to be found in one individual—are resourcefulness, balance, stamina, imagination, humility, humor and versatility. At the end of about twenty years the best products of the system should be among the best qualified men in the country to advise and assist the President and the Secretary of State in conducting U. S. foreign relations. The knowledge, experience, judgment and general competence of Foreign Service officers should earn the Service a reputation for excellence equivalent to that of the Marine Corps in its field. Thorough-going competence—excellence—should be the standard of the Service. Foreign Service officers should be completely at ease in the gray world of intangibles in which they spend their professional life: confident, articulate, practical and down-to-earth. They might then receive the respect and appreciation of their fellow citizens; and incidentally, more and more of the best talent would be attracted to the Service.

THE PROSPECTS for the Service are excellent. Never has there been such an opportunity for good, capable men to cope with America's foreign relations. The public attitude toward the Service has improved considerably within the last several years. Congress and the sister services, such as the military, are more kindly disposed. There is more interest in the Service in universities and even in schools than ever before. The present climate in Washington is propitious for self-examination, improvement and change, so that the prospects should be good for constructive moves to strengthen the Service. Furthermore, the amount of talent within the Service is extraordinary. The Service still offers a most fascinating, rewarding and exciting life. The scope is limitless, so are the opportunities for development, for imagination and exercise of self-reliance. The world lies before a young Foreign Service officer; nothing is finished, nothing closed, everything still to be done. In brief, the times combine to present the Service with its greatest opportunity. Will the Service know how to seize it?

Before suggesting how the Service can get to where it should go, where is it now? It is clear that the "old" Service

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Mr. Millar, a member of the JOURNAL's Editorial Board, has been in the Foreign Service since 1946. He is presently the Department's exchange officer with the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

is finished and will never come back again. The "old" Service probably ended with World War II, but carried over into the post-war period for a decade, to be smashed finally by McCarthyism, Wristonization and its own failure to adapt to new requirements. Although that Service is dead, together with the times in which it existed, products of it are still in the Service. In fact, the best practitioners today are of that school. It was a band of brothers, generally unnoticed by the public, who served around the world as observers and reporters in more tranquil, leisurely and independent times. The most pertinent point is that it had a style. There was a certain homogeneity of training, experience, attitude—a common tradition and spirit.

The events of the last decade, particularly the amalgamation of the Department and Foreign Service, have left the Service today in a transition or assimilation period. The shock and bitterness of the amalgamation have generally worn off, but the spirit or style has gone and has not been rebuilt. The Foreign Service still has its head down. It is mute, between two worlds. The Service lacks a common point of view, commonly accepted standards and a commonly-understood set of ground rules. The greatest problem of the Foreign Service today is that it has not re-acquired a style, a common concept, a doctrine. By doctrine is meant a set of general principles for carrying out the work of the Service. The existence of such general principles would not necessarily increase conformity or inhibit initiative, but rather afford an umbrella under which initiative could be exercised.

Certainly it is possible for officers to move around the world, doing the routine jobs, without really knowing what the purposes are. One can be transferred from here to there and do economic reporting or run a consulate in one place or another. But who knows how much a consulate should be attending to its own internal work and how much its personnel should be out in contact with the local citizenry? Who knows what the policy is for developing and training personnel within the system in which they are to spend thirty years of their lives? Who knows what training is necessary or desirable; whether specialization or generalization are more useful? Should political reporting be interpretive, or as a superior once stated, "Just report the facts, let the Department interpret them"? Under what circumstances is or is not the social game played by diplomats worth the attention and energy it receives?

IF THE FUNDAMENTAL purposes are agreed upon, much of the detail will fall into place. If we know what the functions are supposed to be it is not too difficult to determine the type of people needed to carry them out. Once the human qualities are identified, it becomes a matter of how best to select and develop the right people. The remainder of this article will be devoted to some notions about the main functions, the human qualities needed and how to supply them. The aim is to suggest the concepts and doctrine that would form the basis for the style that is believed to be missing.

Despite the intrinsic unpredictability and variety of U.S. foreign operations abroad, several trends seem apparent. Government activities abroad are likely to increase rather than to be reduced. It will be increasingly important to coordinate the activities of various agencies—the normal Embassy work, USIA, trade promotion, aid, development, military activities, science, education, space, regional organizations—and visitors. More and more emphasis will be placed on the executive role of the chief of mission, directing the work of all the agencies engaged in a given country. Besides the management functions of the executive, he will be responsible for an increased number of varied operations, that is, for executing policy. Finally, he will have to submit policy recommendations concerning his area. Management, operations and policy formulation, these are the main fields of the chief of mission. Without belittling the importance of the first two, the third area, policy formulation, is one that needs more emphasis, since the Foreign Service as a whole has tended to shy away from dealing practically with the future—at least as compared with the military, for example. Officers should be encouraged to abstract policy recommendations from the information and knowledge they possess, to relate separate contemporary events to a more generalized purpose, and eventually to put recommended courses of action before the Administration.

THE WIDER the background of the principal officer, the better he could discharge these varied activities. Hence the desirability of exposing younger officers not only to the different sides of Foreign Service work, including administration, but to that of other principal agencies as well. It also seems to follow that a man who has spent twenty years of his life learning the various sides of the business will probably be more useful in the top job than someone coming in from the outside. In addition to familiarity with the work, another requirement would be the ability to work in harness with men from different agencies. How one learns to be an executive is a question to be explored elsewhere. Perhaps there is some teaching that can help, but like the other Foreign Service skills, proficiency probably comes more from experience, observation and practice. Learning by doing seems generally more productive for the formation of Foreign Service officers than direct instruction, although the latter obviously also has a place.

One thing is painfully clear—in the Foreign Service, rank is not a reliable index of executive ability. Surely, development of executives within the Service is one of its foremost needs: men who can supervise, manage and operate—men who can lead. There is no question that no unit can rise much above the quality of its leader, a truism which makes the selection of superiors everywhere in the Foreign Service so important. One good man can do wonders with any group under him. Therefore, it is the height of folly, if people are seriously interested in getting a job done, to put or keep men in positions of authority who are known within the Service to be wanting. Operating alone, in emergencies or when time precludes instructions, puts a premium on the qualities any officer needs every day to be a capable executive: courage, self-confidence, judgment, and above all, decisiveness.

The requirement for future chiefs of mission to provide policy recommendations is largely self-evident. Obviously, in the world we are in, Washington cannot provide answers to problems without consulting the man in the field. In

order to provide such advice, the Ambassador must not only know the foreign area, but have a good sense of U. S. thinking. Thus, to anticipate partially what will be said below, senior officers will gradually have to sacrifice some expert foreign knowledge and become more expert on broad U. S. policy and thinking within the U. S. Government. In order to carry out this policy role, the chiefs of missions will doubtless have to come to Washington more often than has been the practice in the past.

Surely, it is clear that the men who are useful abroad as executives will be similarly useful in the Washington half of their careers.

How is the foregoing paragon to be developed in the course of twenty years? Most succinctly, the life cycle will be as follows: early years, doing; middle years, getting done; senior years, proposing and deciding what to do. Working backwards from the senior period, the middle period is logically the transitional phase, in which supervision and policy development are introduced, and experience or specialization may receive less emphasis. In the development of a Foreign Service officer it appears that "the child is father of the man"; so that by the middle period the result is not only probably predictable but unalterable. By the end of the middle period the future leader should have had some administrative and other-agency duty.

The first six to eight years seem to be the most significant. This is the period when the new officer is evaluated and his potentiality is judged, and when his most important training is given. Until he starts to work and has had a chance to learn a skill, he is really an unknown quantity, however promising he may appear to the examiners. More attention should probably be paid to all aspects of the development of young officers, starting with the initial recruitment efforts of the Department. First and most importantly, part of the Department's best talent should be devoted to this subject, in exactly the same way that top-quality officers now serve in Personnel to assign Foreign Service officers in Washington and around the world. Some of the questions that should be examined soon and thoroughly are the following: should recruiting start at the college level or should it begin through points of contact in secondary schools; should it be pointed to interesting the best college students or conducted in the present random manner; do the written examinations select the best candidates; and are the members of the oral examining boards of the best quality? The best officers in Washington should participate in recruiting and serve on the oral boards. Is there any officer who cannot be spared for a two-week period? If recruiting and examining are as important as they appear to be in determining the caliber of the future Foreign Service, the Department should see that both functions receive the support they need.

Selection of new officers should be on the basis of picking the best talent, without regard to geographical or other arbitrary factors. Clearly, diversity of background is desirable, on the theory that the Foreign Service is in this respect like the kingdom of heaven—a house with many mansions. Furthermore, there is little purpose in selecting the best talent to perform a lifetime of less than the most demanding work. There is no reason why the young officers should not perform some of the support or technical jobs—such as accounting, security or visas—while they are learning. But it would be self defeating to over-recruit for permanent discharge of such functions.

An additional responsibility of the chief of mission should be the development of the young officers on his staff. The training they receive in their first few years will be crucial—a concept that does not seem to have received the recognition it deserves. The best experience is undoubtedly to serve within the various main sections of a mission—ideally to go out to a Consulate too. Such variation within one country is probably more important than frequent changes of post. During these early years the young officers should be taught to write, judge and decide, in addition to learning the main phases of the work. All of the foregoing means that they should be assigned to offices where the principal officer is known to be competent in developing young officers, and principal officers in turn should be judged for their competence in this field. Furthermore, the performance of the young officers should be most carefully and accurately evaluated so that within the first few years their potential can be judged. As a consequence, they can be steered into the appropriate field within the Service, accelerated, weeded out or helped to overcome weaknesses.

The merits of specialization as opposed to generalization are beyond the scope of this article. It probably does not make much difference which path is taken as long as enough officers go both ways, since both types of experience obviously are needed within the Service. In the senior period generalization is probably the trend to encourage, but specialization in the early years will often provide a good basis for later supervision over some broad geographical area or general function.

One of the alternatives to the present promotion-up-or-out theory would be to let senior specialists or other experienced officers stay in their grade if they did not qualify for promotion to "general officers." The theory here would be that the needs of the Service are varied and that it is unwise to dismiss experienced and useful officers because they cannot qualify for a position higher than the one they may be discharging capably. Is it possible to retain such officers without upsetting the up-or-out personnel system?

Is the available talent being used to the best advantage? Almost any officer who has been in the Service for a while could draw up a list of officers who are under-employed on the basis of their ability. Without going into the mechanics of the promotion system, which is probably as good as any that can be devised, it seems clear that many officers, especially the younger ones, are capable of performing the work of several grades higher than their own rank. In Washington, officers occupy positions above their rank; in the field this seems rarely to be the case. A way should be found to give under-rated talent a chance to prove itself and to be used effectively, even at the cost of revising some

personnel regulations. The Service is not getting all it could out of the talent it has: the ablest officers should be pushed ahead as fast as they can go. The question arises, of course, what type are considered the ablest, and by whom? Here again, the lack of a common standard is a handicap.

Could a similar list be drawn up of officers who are clearly over-rated and under-qualified?

If both situations exist, can a rapid enough improvement in the Foreign Service take place without exceptional measures to redress the imbalance? The only device is probably an accelerated separation policy during a year or two, hopefully with some financial attractions to those who would leave the Service. Such a disagreeable process would not be worthwhile unless it were a part of an over-all effort to improve the Service.

ASSUMING that the foregoing analysis is substantially correct, what specifically should be done to make the Foreign Service as effective as it can and should be? How can the capabilities within the Service be applied most effectively to meet the requirements of the times, to assist the Administration and to serve the country? Some random improvements can be made, after deliberation, along the lines suggested in this article and as can be suggested by others. But the greatest improvement could be made by providing a set of principles for the Foreign Service which would afford general guidance for activities in the field and in Washington, and for the selection, development and use of its personnel. Aside from contributing to the primary objective, such guidance should have the useful side-effect of increasing the cohesion of the present Service.

Undoubtedly, the objection will be raised that the work is too varied to permit any useful generalizations of this kind. Is this really true? Suppose one or four or five of the outstanding Ambassadors were invited to prepare a draft set of principles in a period of about six weeks, to be assisted by roughly half a dozen other officers of their choosing. Suppose further that they had the opportunity to take account of the views of Administration representatives and other interested and knowledgeable persons; but that their report would reflect their own views and judgments. Do the chances that they could produce something useful warrant the diversion of their normal efforts for this amount of time? Or to put the point differently, if a few of the best men concentrate their entire efforts for a reasonably long period, would they have nothing of value to contribute concerning the calling in which they have spent most of their productive lives? This question answers itself. Is there any one of these officers who could not be spared for such a period, given the assumed importance of bringing the Foreign Service up to the proficiency required? Finally, is there any alternative first step to get at the central problem of the Foreign Service?

The Service has the capability of rising to the opportunities before it. What it needs is a new rule book, endorsed by the Administration. As Walter Bagehot observed one hundred years ago in "Politics and Physics," "When we have a definite end in view, which we know we want, and which we think we know how to obtain, we can act well enough."

Côte D'Azur — *Howard R. Simpson*

The FSO's-8 of the 1960's

by LEON CRUTCHER

GEORGE WAS clearly disturbed. He staggered into my office and plunked into a chair like a dead pigeon. He was pale and trembling.

"Get a grip on yourself, George," I suggested, "and tell me about it."

"They're coming after us," he moaned, "we haven't got a chance."

"Who, George? Who's coming?"

"Those boys in the colleges."

When I brought George around to a rational state, he explained that he had just returned from a recruiting trip to the college campuses. What had shaken his confidence was an intimate view of the maturity, poise, erudition and energy displayed by the young people who constitute the source of supply for tomorrow's FSO's-8.

George's message was not entirely news to me. I had suffered, or enjoyed, something of the same shock in the course of interviewing new FSO's-8 and reviewing their records. This experience had also sharpened my curiosity about educational progress in the high schools and colleges and the general orientation and development of the current college graduate.

I do not wish to pose as an expert on education or to pretend that these observations are based upon deep research, but I do believe that the view I have had of the FSO's-8 who are now joining us and the educational and social processes which are producing them may be worth passing on to others.

Even the casual observer is now aware of the educational revolution this country has undergone since Sputnik I. Parents who formerly attended mass meetings to protest the absence of homework now deplore the children's rat race, moan that the kids have no time for recreation and blush at the number of junior high school assignments they would have trouble completing themselves.

The opening of the college term in September, 1961, prompted a number of university authorities to issue statements praising the quality of the new freshmen and paying tribute to dynamic improvements in the high schools. A dean of one major university spoke of the revolutionary improvement in high school language studies as evidenced by freshman language attainments. Yale abolished its standard first-year mathematics course—today's freshmen don't need it.

Improvements of this sort don't come overnight. I asked the chairman of a major Department of Political Science if progress of this order was yet apparent at the advanced college level. His reply was startling; he said that his senior classes have a way of being more advanced and demanding heavier intellectual fare than his graduate students!

Some of the new departures in the educational system are of particular importance in preparing young people for the Foreign Service. These include at least the following:

(1) Revolutionary improvements in the teaching of foreign languages at all levels.

(2) The development of whole areas of study at the college and graduate levels of special interest to the Foreign Service, notably the area study courses, some of which are intensive and excellent.

(3) Exposure of graduate and undergraduate students to foreign cultures through junior years abroad, the growing influx of foreign students to our campuses, rapid expansion of graduate study, travel abroad, and similar developments.

(4) A general and continuing rise in the level of academic standards and attainment.

We can be confident on general observation that the quality of education is being improved; the increasing years of higher education being completed by today's FSO's-8 is susceptible to statistical demonstration.

Not many years ago the BA degree was general among those who passed the Foreign Service examination, and higher degrees were fairly rare. Although I did not find readily at hand a method of making a direct comparison between the educational accomplishments of today's FSO's-8 and those of some selected past period, it occurred to me that it might be interesting to compare a current group of recruits with a selected group of officers from an earlier period. At this point, a Chiefs of Mission list dated October 2, 1961, came to my desk.

Forty-seven of the Chiefs of Mission on this list entered the Foreign Service by the examination route. I decided to compare the education of these 47 officers, clearly representing an outstanding group of "FSO's-8" of some twenty to thirty years ago, with the education of a class of thirty-eight FSO's-8 who entered the Service in 1961. In preparing these data, however, I realized that certain other comparisons might also be interesting, and the table presented below was developed. Of course I am fully aware of the small size of these samples and I do not suggest that any of the data can be applied to larger groups with precision. I found them interesting, however, and they may be sufficiently indicative to deserve at least a casual and skeptical examination. How-

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LEON CRUTCHER, an FSO on duty in the Department, says that his principal claims to fame are his Texas origin and his trip to the South Pole, made while assigned to Washington.

ever, they should be read in conjunction with the notes on each item which follow the table.

	Chiefs of Mission	FSO's-8 of 1961
1. Born in Northeastern USA	45%	36%
2. College Degree	83%	97%
3. Advanced Degree	17%	42%
4. Studied abroad at least one year	15%	24%
5. Baccalaureate degree from "Ivy League" College	47%	34%
6. S-3 language level	Unk.	29%
7. S-2 language level	Unk.	48%
8. Married	27.6%	53%
9. Average age	26 years	26.5 years

1. This crude check on geographical origin shows that our sample class of 1961 FSO's-8 was born in the "effete East" in about the same proportions as our 47 "examination route" Chiefs of Mission—provided one takes into account the national shift of population over the last two or three decades. Neither group shows highly disproportionate geographical concentration and the origins of both groups are well scattered over the country.

2, 3. The longer average exposure of the FSO-8 group to higher education is actually somewhat greater than reflected in these two items. Eight of the thirty-eight Chiefs of Mission had no degrees, seventeen had a baccalaureate degree only, and six had an advanced degree, including one Ph.D. Fifteen of them had some college work beyond the BA, without an advanced degree. Thirty-seven of the thirty-eight FSO's-8 have degrees, the thirty-eighth being short of a degree by twenty semester hours. Twenty-seven of them have done graduate work, of whom sixteen hold a total of twenty advanced degrees. (Law degrees are counted as advanced degrees in both groups.) Although there is not a Ph.D. among the FSO's-8, I would regard at least five of them as being trained definitely to the Ph.D. level. The total amount of graduate study is surprisingly high; the twenty-seven who have had at least a year of graduate work have had an average of 2.3 years each of full-time graduate study.

4. Changes in the character and location of foreign study are perhaps just as interesting as the indicated increase in overseas education. The seven mission chiefs who studied abroad went to France (3), England (2), Italy and Belgium, with one studying in both France and Germany. The nine FSO's-8 who studied abroad went to Buenos Aires, Bogota, Grenoble (2), Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, Cairo and Berlin. A growing variety of methods of obtaining foreign education is apparent among today's candidates. They go on "junior year abroad" programs, go on Fulbright and other types of scholarships and devise an astonishing array of methods for going on their own. They also travel abroad in the military services, by sailing on merchant ships and under many other arrangements.

5. This item, like the one on geographical origin, seems to have moved with the times, as the Ivy League colleges have not increased their enrollment in proportion to the total increase in college capacity throughout the country. However, proportionately more of the FSO's-8 attended the smaller Ivy League institutions and fewer went to Harvard, Yale, and Princeton; at least this is clearly true at the undergraduate level, while a strong trend today is toward graduate work in the top institutions after undergraduate study which may have been done in almost any college in the country.

6, 7. How well the two groups would have compared on language ability at the time of entrance we do not know, but the gradual improvement in language skill which candidates have demonstrated in recent years will probably accelerate sharply as the four-year language programs in the high schools and continued improvement in language instruction at the college level have their full effect. These factors, plus FSI intensive instruction for all language probationers, should produce continued improvement in language competence.

8. The greater proportion of married officers among today's recruits is strictly in line with the national trend. Our candidates also follow the national trend on babies; seven of the twenty married officers had children (a total of thirteen children) and two were expecting at the time these data were recorded. It may safely be predicted that several others are expecting by now. It might be supposed that the high rate of marriage among new recruits will mean fewer wives of foreign origin, but this is not necessarily the case. Military service, travel and study abroad do not seem to retard the trend toward early marriage. Four members of this class were married to wives of former foreign nationality. I refer to foreign-born wives merely as a matter of interest; not for the purpose of suggesting that they are an advantage or a disadvantage for the Service.

9. The twenty-six year average for the Chief of Mission group is subject to interpretation, because I have averaged ages at the time of actual FSO appointment, while a number of this group served for shorter or longer periods in some other capacity in the Service before being appointed FSO's. The same is not true of the FSO-8 group. The average age of entrance has been gradually climbing in recent years, and entrance at age twenty-two or so, immediately after college graduation, while still not rare, is much less common than it once was.

IN ADDITION to advanced education and mature age, many of today's FSO's-8 display in impressive degree maturity of character, attractive personalities, and intellectual sophistication. Their professional and social self-confidence and ease is often striking. Interviewing some of the more outstanding ones, I have sometimes felt that they hardly need more than sound orientation in the Service in order to equip them to step right into the middle ranks.

This striking development of personality and character may be partly explained in terms of today's general social context and the tremendous variety of activities now open to young people at the high school and college levels. The array of extra-curricular activities, hobbies, employment, types of military service, domestic and foreign travels, and types of foreign study is extremely impressive and suggests to those of us who matured during the Great Depression a kind of social dynamism and individual optimism and initiative entirely outside the experience of our youth.

Of course, I have been speaking of the favorable side of the picture and I have been speaking, in the main, of the better material—of that fraction of the current FSO-8 intake, possibly between 30 and 50 per cent, who manifest most or all of the virtues I have been suggesting and who tempt one to apply the simple adjective "outstanding." There is, however, another side; there are definite and sometimes serious weaknesses among the other 50-70% and, when one considers the needs of the Service and the relationship of the Service to the individual, there are grave potential problems even for those I am placing in the paragon category.

Let us look at the other side.

First, many of the recruits have concentrated in college on subjects not very directly applicable to the Foreign Service. The number majoring in engineering, English, and education is rather large, and these officers often have no graduate work. It is an interesting situation that as a general rule those who have spent the most years in college study are also those who have studied in the fields most useful as Foreign Service preparation. In my judgment this is one factor tending to increase the spread between those I have called outstanding and the others.

Now I am fully aware that the Service can use a variety of skills and that almost any educational attainment, cultural or technical, can contribute to the usefulness of an FSO. I am also aware that there is abroad in the land today a philosophy which regards education more as attitude than as knowledge, and that some people consider a major in English as fine preparation for the Foreign Service. Perhaps I am conservative on these matters, but I incline to the belief that political science (especially theory), public law, economics, history, sociology, and philosophy are the prime fields for Foreign Service preparation and that we need more young people like the small minority who are coming in magnificently grounded in these areas.

Second, we are not getting the economists we need. A very few young officers are coming in with really prime economics training, but nowhere near the number the Service requires. Furthermore, large numbers have had virtually no economics, and this applies to some who are otherwise very highly developed.

Third, we must face the unfortunate fact that the worship of the political function continues to be a dominant feature of the psychological landscape in the Foreign Service—and the FSO's-8 uniformly contract a fatal case of this malaise by the time they have completed registration at FSI. Not that FSI is to be blamed; the Institute has made intelligent efforts to correct this situation, but no program and no authority can change the attitudes of the FSO's-8 until the Service generally is disabused of the tacit but largely dominant notion that the one road to the top leads through the Political Section and that important and interesting work is concentrated predominantly in the political field.

A few FSO's-8 express a primary preference for work outside of the political field, but usually for some special reason, most frequently the feeling that they might succeed best by staying out of the heaviest competition. The number who would, in a pure and unqualified expression of personal inclination, elect to specialize in the political field is so close to 100% that I hesitate to name any other figure. Even those rare, solid-gold graduate economists usually fail entirely to realize that they enter the Service a jump ahead of all competition if they will steer toward economic specialization as soon as possible—they, too, want to be political officers!

Herein lies a critical problem for the Service as a whole—and for the new FSO's-8. The Service is crippled in its efforts to make optimum utilization and induce optimum development of its junior manpower (and the rest of its manpower, too) until the psychological-preference climate has been brought into a decent relationship to the facts of life and the needs of the Service. I am fully aware that some of our top administrative officials keenly desire to solve this problem. I commend their efforts—and if any solution occurs to you I urge you to pass it along to them.

Fourth, I should like to mention a problem which the very virtues of the better O-8's may tend to make worse rather than better. I refer here to the matter of poor supervision and utilization of the O-8's, and especially to the occasional clerical-minded supervisor who thinks it's good for the soul of a young officer to endure a grinding or even humiliating apprenticeship. I make no judgment as to how prevalent these conditions may be, except to suggest that in their more extreme form they are probably passing out of the picture pretty rapidly, but in so far as our new FSO-8's are poorly used in their early years the very maturity and sophistication of the best ones may lead them to throw in the sponge and start another career. This new generation does not suffer nonsense readily, and they are perfectly capable of forming their own judgments as to what constitutes reasonable training and discipline and what constitutes petty tyranny, stupidity or bad management.

Proper utilization and training of the outstanding group in their early years presents a great challenge to the Service, but beyond this early period, another challenge arises. A few of the best FSO's-8 now coming in ought to receive advancement at a rate in excess of that which they can expect under the traditional promotion pattern. Steps taken in the last few months strongly suggest that the Department is moving in the direction of accelerating the promotion of officers recognized as truly outstanding. The prospective inflow of outstanding material at the bottom during the 1960's lends strong support to such a policy. However sound the policy, though, the desired results will be obtained only if the placement, supervision and performance rating of officers during their first few years afford a reliable basis for determining which ones are in fact outstanding. The Junior Officer Program recently launched by the Department should be a step in the right direction.

I showed this manuscript to George and invited his comment. He said he agreed in general, but he wondered if deprecating our Chiefs of Mission was really well advised. I said that he missed the point entirely; I thought they would all be pleased to know how well they were doing in such fast company.

Zeal

ONCE THERE was a Foreign Service officer who was full of zeal. He approached international relations with the fervor of a Texan at the Lido. A diplomatic note did more to him than high "C" to Rudolf Bing. And as for cultural empathy, he loved that empathy more than the entire Maxwell School at Syracuse. He even had his first name changed to Dean.

He passed the written exams with a score so high that it broke the IBM machine. He stampeded the oral panel by quoting Machiavelli and Hammurabi on diplomacy—in the original. His attentiveness at the Foreign Service Institute impressed EVEN his classmates, who ordinarily could be impressed only by the Second Coming. For instance, he was the first man in the history of A-100 to stay awake during the week at Commerce.

When the whole class was assigned to INR, our hero did not attempt suicide, write his Congressman, or threaten to resign—as is the usual custom. Instead, he earnestly spent several afternoons studying the Bureau's operations, then sent to the Director his considered proposals for their improvement. The response, of course, was cancellation of his assignment, and there was little left for him to do but volunteer for Africa.

In the field he was as eager as a Radcliffe girl at a Dartmouth House Party. Although he was the low man in the Embassy, his first party rivalled the Kennedys' affair for Ayub Khan. It also had a visible effect on the Ambassador's wife who felt that the Third Secretary might have been well advised to include his own Chief at a dinner for the local Head of State, the entire Cabinet and Frank Sinatra.

This event may have had some influence on the Ambassador's suggestion the next day that our zealous friend should investigate political tensions among the pygmy tribes of the Ituri Rain Forest. He sped off like a poisoned arrow to gather much more information about pygmies than anybody cared to know—as well as several diseases hitherto unknown to modern science. Furthermore, in his enthusiasm for his new-found friends, he got CIA started on a project to return Africa to its rightful owners—the Pygmies.

When the Ambassador heard of this, he ordered litter bearers to take up the young man's bed directly from the hospital ward and to depart forthwith in search of the Lost Oases of Ahaggar. Unfortunately, the bracing desert air and lack of water restored the officer's usual vitality and in six weeks he was back at the Embassy with a road map of the Empty Quarter personally inscribed by the Queen of the Touaregs.

In some despair the Ambassador asked the youngster to sit still long enough to hear some sage advice about how to get ahead in the Service. He drew upon his own experience for illustration and he concluded with his favorite (indeed his only) quotation from Talleyrand, "*Surtout pas trop de zèle.*"

The young man took his Chieftain's solemn words to heart and resolved to apply them diligently. When the son of the Prime Minister applied for a student visa, he advised him not to be ridiculous and to go to Paris where he could "have a ball." When Sargent Shriver asked if he could suggest any Peace Corps projects, our hero wagged his finger languidly and said, "Pas trop de zèle, old boy." To THE Assistant Secretary he suggested that a long lunch and a good nap would be more useful than a handshaking tour of the bazaar at high noon. And when Mr. Bowles came through, the young man asked him if he REE-ally thought that all the fuss was necessary about the color problem in the United States.

The end did not come, however, until the Rooney Sub-Committee passed through town like Carla hitting Galveston. A need for passport services arose, but our hero, by now thoroughly conditioned to unzealousness, pointed at a sign indicating that the office had been closed. "Who," he inquired, "does this fellow Rooney think he is?"

A cable was despatched that night, calling for the culprit's immediate and terminal transfer. In words from which a good deal of color had been edited, the Department was informed that the officer in question totally lacked initiative or drive and that he should be dropped from the Foreign Service for his lack of zeal.

MORAL: Pas de zèle will get you NOWHERE **or** Never take your Chief's advice too seriously.

Emergency Medical Program for Africa

PERSONNEL assigned overseas to hardship posts should go with the full understanding that such assignments are part of the game, and indeed are likely to become all the more frequent as official activities of the United States Government in the remoter areas of the world grow in extent and nature. At the same time, however, those sent to posts where unhealthful conditions prevail—such as in a number of African countries where U. S. missions and programs have recently been set up—have every right to expect that their own and their dependents' health will be carefully looked after, even in the midst of an expanding effort to establish an official United States presence. The incidence of serious "line of duty" ailments (tragically, even death) in some of these countries underlines the need for an improvement in medical facilities and services.

Happily, steps are being taken to meet this need in Africa, which has been the greatest trouble spot as far as health is concerned. The heightened attention being given to Africa by the Department, AID, and USIA is affirmed by the despatch of a survey team to that region to study what measures might be undertaken to improve the medical facilities and services available. Headed by Ambassador to the Republic of Chad John A. Calhoun, the team also includes Dr. Virgil T. DeVault (well known to many as the former Director of the Department's Medical Division, who has just been named Special Medical Consultant on Africa to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration), plus representatives of the Bureau of African Affairs, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations, and AID. The report of this survey team will undoubtedly be read carefully and with considerable interest, and should contribute measurably to the evolvement of a broad medical plan for Africa.

In addition, the Department has suggested a number of measures which might be quickly undertaken to improve health standards at African posts. Among these measures are leasing hospital space, chartering aircraft to provide emergency medical treatment or evacuation, establishing a central medical supply depot, appointing roving physicians, and adding nurses to the permanent staff at a number of posts. Meanwhile, the Department of State has already issued revised regulations facilitating the travel of personnel and dependents from remote posts where facilities are lacking to the nearest locality where suitable medical care can be obtained. The Department has also written each Chief of Mission and Principal Officer in Africa on the importance of making sure that each Government employee and family is responsible for carrying out the elementary health precautions which are essential in areas where health hazards abound. There is ample evidence available that such precautions have in some instances been overlooked.

The JOURNAL is, of course, pleased at what is being done to take care of medical deficiencies in Africa. We hope that what is starting out as an emergency reaction to a critical situation will settle down into a workable, long-term plan for providing the best possible medical care. We can only add the postscript that what may be found necessary for Africa might also be equally applicable in other parts of the world where health standards are lower than would be desirable. Is a world-wide medical program assuring minimum health standards for U. S. Government employees wherever the need exists too much to expect? The JOURNAL does not think so.

Pescadores do Reconcavo — *Marie Skora*

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS

Wildflowers ***by Odilon Redon***
National Gallery of Art

Things to Come

MID-JANUARY found E. B. in between assignments so we asked him if he would take a poll around New State to discover, if he could, the shape of things to come: "What will the Foreign Service look like in another twenty years" and "What should it look like" were some of the questions he galluped about with on his poll.

"Dream stuff," he was muttering to himself when he came in to report to us late one afternoon. "It's always been a mess—

"But here's my report. You'll want first to know what it looks like from a Personnel standpoint. Doesn't seem to me the Service will expand at the rate it has been during the past fifteen or twenty years. Stopped in to talk with them in PER. Already they have been working and planning for the needs of the Service during the next twenty years. But they're still exploring and it's a little early to try to get the picture into focus.

"On my way over to PER I ran into one of our younger FSO's-retired. Vigorous type; said he thought we'd have to get back to the old framework set up in 1946, which provided for three classifications—career, staff and reserve, each category to be well thought out so that the reserve, for instance, doesn't end up by being just a side-door entry to the regular service, staff personnel doesn't get frustrated for lack of proper provisions, and the career be kept for officers of outstanding ability and non-specialized backgrounds.

"All Government personnel, he insisted, should be cut one-fourth. On the other hand, until the President and the Secretary and the Congress get together to see what really needs to be done to handle international relations, we'll never have more than a cracked mirror to look into.

"By the way," E. B. said, "I discovered a new service has been initiated by PER that will help considerably now and in years to come. An Out Placement Office. Since November it's been busy lining up jobs for both Department and F.S. personnel who retire or want to change jobs. Already the office has received, in reply to their queries, requests for candidates for more than 700 job opportunities in colleges and universities, Government agencies, and business firms having international opportunities. These jobs pay salaries of from $5,000 to $20,000 a year."

"OUR READERS would be interested to know what FSO's do upon their retirement these days," we broke in.

"Tried to track it down, but no files kept that I've been able to discover," E. B. replied. "Certainly a larger percentage than ever before are taking on jobs upon their retirement from the Service. Most of them in the academic world. But in years to come, according to those I talked with, there will be some planning ahead so that an FSO will have a choice of interesting job openings for either part-time or full-time work, at the time of his retirement.

"Library services in the future will necessarily be greatly expanded so that the FSO can keep abreast as effortlessly as possible of developments in the world. Particularly in his own fields.

"FSO's-8, in the future, will all have had enough solid work experience, in addition to graduate study, so that the conditioning of the Service need not result in rigidity. It will, of course, be much easier in the future to obtain young applicants who have language capabilities — in less than a decade this trend will be evident. The work of the FSI will become ever more intensive; its courses will be of greater depth for all levels, and a larger proportion of F.S. personnel will be receiving additional training on a regular basis.

"RAN INTO some ideas about what the shape of AFSA should be in years to come, too. Seems apparent that there are at least two specific ways it should grow to accommodate the interests and needs of an expanding membership. First, there will have to be some sort of Foreign Service Center—perhaps a diplomatic center such as the highly successful center at Rome, so that FSO's would have a chance to meet on an easy, informal basis with other diplomats stationed in Washington. Such a center would have the usual facilities for eating, sports, reading and entertaining—both on an intimate and on a larger scale.

"Furthermore, we might pool the assets of AFSA, and AFSPA, DACOR and the activities of JFSOC, so that such a center would have a vital interest for each section of the Service."

'Don't forget," we put in, "that there's a bill before Congress now for a Center for International Affairs, for people in Washington who have an interest in international affairs."

"It might go through," he granted, and went on: "There's another important area in which AFSA will probably find itself doing more than it is already: helping the FSO solve

the edueational needs and problems of his ehildren. With spiraling costs of education, eomplieated problems of credits and insufficient knowledge of other educational systems, these problems often become of greatest concern to the FSO when he is financially least able to handle it. AFSA's educational counselor has been doing good business since he began two years ago—but he'll be even busier.

"As for wives," he interrupted himself, "for too long they've heen expected to hold up their end without having had the advantage of proper training in most instanees. Wives should be as systematically taught as their husbands in languages and should have a solid background of F.S. training, which would be added to upon their return to Washington. With Washington housing allowances assured in the future, wives would not be so hamstrung for time and funds that they have to work full time, as many F. S. wives do now."

"The past deeade has eertainly included several progressive amendments," we admitted.

"The January News Letter spelled that out to good advantage."

"By the way, as to posts on other planets, which you mentioned earlier," E. B. went on, "most of our people think that won't happen during the next two deeades. Might have listening posts, of eourse. But robots could do the work, just as well. And with temperatures on the moon varying between 215° above zero and 200° below—." We heartily agreed.

"Discovered some very speeific ideas about how better eultural rclations might be implemented in the next generation:

"For instance, we might arrange to exchange ballet dancers with the Soviets: Russian musicians might be inclnded on American jazz bands; TV programs from other countries could be bouneed off the satellites so they could be readily pieked up here."

"Read a book, help stamp out TV," we reminded him.

"Speaking of books, eopies of history textbooks from all countries should be made readily available so that a country's background and eonditioning ean be better understood. Further, an international Peaee Corps might be set up in whieh eollege youth could serve during eonsecutive summer vacations. One other thing: the front pages of major overseas newspapers should be printed (in translation) in this country once a week."

"Perhaps you haven't seen the new Atlas magazine. It culls significant and interesting material from the world's press and literature each month. Though not a year old yet, its circulation is booming. It's right for the times. There's a growing body of readers in the USA who find the mass eireulation magazines somewhat less than satisfying."

"Of course, one of the things one could eount on is that New State would be made a much more attraetive place to work in. We would hope that the starkness of its eorridors, lounges, patios and offices (7th Floor only excepted) would have been relieved by art and flowers and statuary.

"You'll he interested also to hear how the East Asia and the Africa offices are planning their sites for the next twenty years."

"Lots more to report on," E. B. eontinued, "but guess you have to close up the shop now; the cleaning people are eoming in."

Eyes in the Dark

Opinions on the use of the eyes are changing greatly, if one can eredit the reports from the American Medieal Association held reeently in Denver. Ophthalmologist Morris Kaplan gave his eonelusions hased on twenty years as an eye doctor, the Publisher's Weekly reported, that reading in bad light, on the train, nnder the covers or anywhere else is not only harmless but beneficial. He said, in faet:

"I would much prefer that a child read upside down in the dark than not read at all. . . . The more he reads, the more he writes, the more he watches television and the more he goes to the movies, the better it will be for his eyes."

We should like to give him a whirl at the daily in-box of one of our busy deputies—just to be sure, of eoursc, that his conelusions are equally effcetive for grown-ups.

Just anywhere

Few F. S. personnel will be expected to recognize that the following was intended to be humorous, so far-flung have become the bounds of the Foreign Service and so changeable the developments they are daily confronting. But we have it on good authority (Comedian Dave Astor) that when Vice President Johnson gets into his plane he tells the pilot "Go anywhere—we've got troubles all over."

"LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE" *by* Robert W. Rinden

"Through his mastery of the native dances the Ambassador gets so much closer to key target groups than would otherwise be possible."

For people who
(and don't want to

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This year, Chrysler Corporation is offering something extra in every car—*a lot more action on a lot less gas.*

Take this Dodge Dart 440, for example. This automobile is probably unlike any you have ever driven. It's two feet shorter than America's longest car and two feet longer than America's shortest car. It's right in the middle. This makes for easier handling and parking. No excess bulk or overhang.

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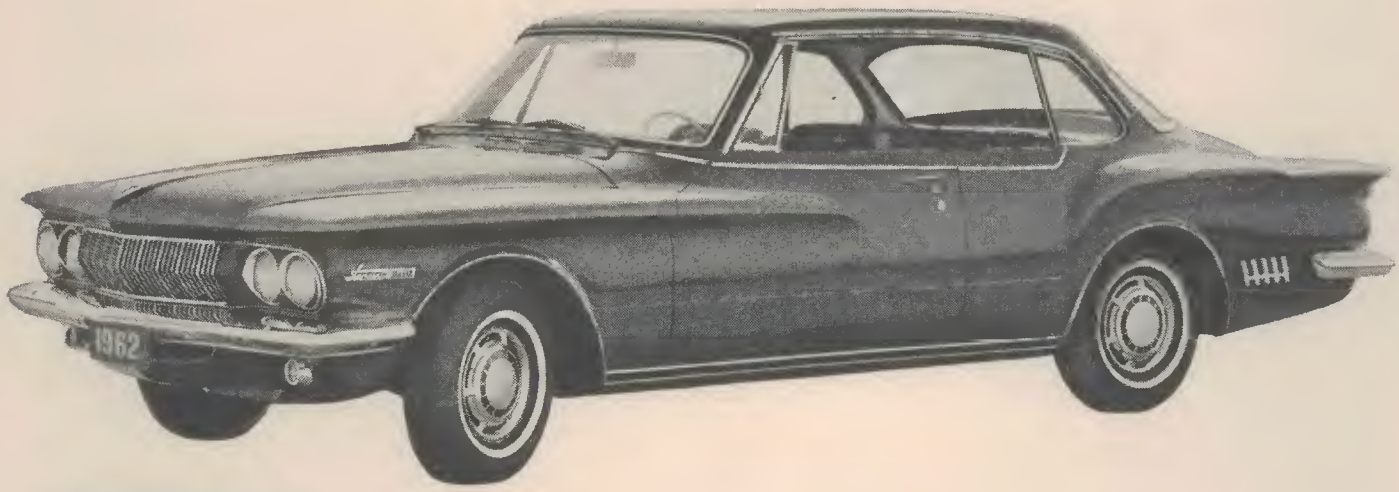
Like its hardtop and sedan brothers, this Dodge Dart 440 station wagon will accelerate 7% quicker from a stop and go farther between gas-ups than ever. Plenty of room for 6 (or 9 with optional rear-facing third seat). Kid-and-cargo area is sensibly sized—there's probably more than you'll ever fill up, yet not so much that you're paying for lots of waste space. There are seven Dodge Dart wagons to choose from, each with 4 doors, a tailgate with a roll-down window, and interiors built to "take it".

like lots of action

give up economy to get it)



LANCER GT

GT is our abbreviation of an Italian term—Gran Turismo. It means a smallish fast car for touring in a grand manner. And that's exactly what the 1962 Lancer GT 2-door Hardtop is. This compact goes all-out for performance. And does it with about the easiest handling you've ever experienced. Individual bucket seats are standard. So are a pleated leather-grained vinyl interior, sill-to-sill carpeting, wheel covers and padded instrument panel. Uses gas sparingly, too, as a compact should. Costs just a trifle more than other Lancers, but it's worth every cent in extra snazz and snap.

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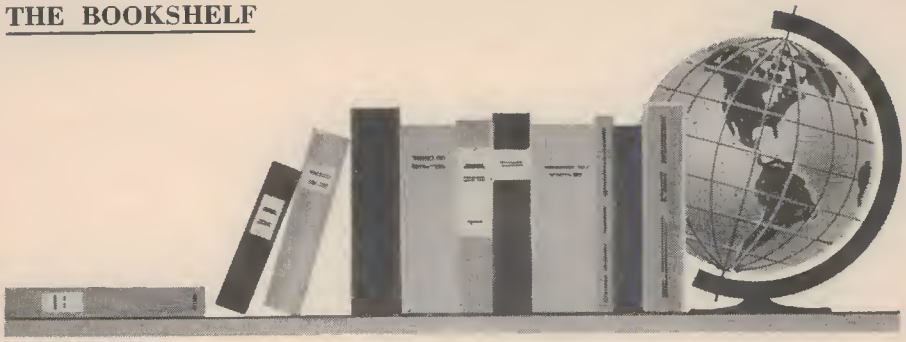


Two NYT Contributions to Kremlinology

HARRISON Salisbury's latest work, "Moscow Journal," is a collection of dated despatches and assorted miscellany written by the author during his last tour in the U.S.S.R. from March 1949 to October 1953. It is arranged in the form of a diary, a presentation which unfortunately disperses useful material on topical subjects and thereby emphasizes the book's lack of cohesiveness. In addition, clarity suffers from frequent changes in subject matter and inadequate explanations of some aspects of Moscow life generally unfamiliar to Westerners. "Moscow Journal," while imparting the flavor of Soviet life in Stalin's last years, could have been more effective if the author had presented his material in more organized form and had been more impersonal in his observations.

"The Red Phoenix" is a collection of articles by Harry Schwartz which many readers will recognize from their day-to-day perusal of the New York Times. The material, covering a period of some twelve years, is grouped under nine major headings and includes articles on economics, internal politics, scientific developments, and Soviet relations with China and the Eastern European satellites. Despite the incompleteness of the picture presented, the book is a useful record of reporting on history in the making and is worthwhile as a reference work containing much solid information on events in the Soviet field in the postwar period.

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

MOSCOW JOURNAL by Harrison E. Salisbury, University of Chicago Press, $6.95.

THE RED PHOENIX by Harry Schwartz, Praeger. $6.00.

Not for Freshmen

THIS BOOK is a definitive anthology of fifty-five separate articles and book excerpts dealing with the weird, wonderful and stimulating field of contemporary international relations theory. It is not, as the title might indicate, a freshman college textbook on world politics and American foreign policy. The articles range from a description of the use of computers in diplomatic games to definitions of theory; from a "content analysis" of 3,000 documents taken from European diplomatic archives in the summer of 1914 to a description of the role of the press in the formation of American foreign policy.

The editor has successfully resisted the temptation to include "policy-oriented" and topical materials and has tried to select only that which will still be useful and relevant twenty years from now.

The professional diplomatist will find amusement in some of the uselessly obscure "scientism" in this collection, but for every triple play around Robin Hood's barn there are three or four scintillating and original theoretical insights. It should have a place in the permanent library of every Foreign Service Officer interested in "IR" theory, and is also a perfect introduction to the subject for the officer who has never delved into this exasperating and fascinating body of political thought.

—JOHN W. BOWLING

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY, edited by James N. Rosenan. Free Press of Glencoe, $12.50.

"Peace Through Law"—When Nations Disagree

MR. ARTHUR LARSON, a former Director of USIA and author of "A Republican Looks At His Party," is now head of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University. A major target of the Center and of this book is the so-called Connally Amendment with which the United States virtually made meaningless its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

Mr. Larson believes that "peace through law" could be created in four ways: 1) international law should be developed, 2) law-applying machinery should be improved and diversified, 3) wider acceptance of the Court should be sought by persuading states that it is in their self-interest to use it; 4) enforcement of international law should be strengthened by gradual efforts to disarm states while at the same time building up an international force. The book concludes with recommended action for governments, the legal profession, research and universities, and "the education and public opinion front."

The book is very readable. It should be useful to anyone not familiar with the reasons for the International Court's lack of business. Some problems in this area are glossed over, however, perhaps to avoid a technical approach. The inadequate functioning of the system for nominating judges and the excessive politicking in their election by the U.N., for example, are largely ignored. Mr. Larson's statement that amendment of the International Court Statute would be necessary to enable individuals to be parties to cases is debatable. His contention that international law may be inadequate for settling disputes is even more so. Furthermore, his citation of the Suez episode as evidence that the use of force to protect national rights is now obsolete seems to this reviewer to support better the opposite conclusion.

One-fifth of the book is devoted to the Connally amendment. One wishes that opponents of repeal of the amendment would read the book. Unfortunately a book which talks about "world law" is likely to be anathema to these people. "World law" implies world government. Although not in the title, the phrase appears frequently in the text and will probably frighten off all but "the converted." In itself it is hence a weakness of the book if it is to achieve its author's objective of educating public opinion.

—BARBARA B. BURN

WHEN NATIONS DISAGREE, A HANDBOOK ON PEACE THROUGH LAW, by Arthur Larson, Louisiana State University Press, $3.95.

WASHINGTON POST photo *by Arthur Ellis*

Capital Baedeker

"WASHINGTON lies slightly south of Madrid and west of Maracaibo on a swamp littered with marble imitations of ancient Roman and Greek architecture."

This introductory sentence gives some notion of the flavor of Russell Baker's irreverent guide to the nation's capital, which he has come to know better than most in seven years as a New York TIMES correspondent. Much of the territory he explores is familiar: the cocktail party, the peeking order of protocol, the art of obfuscating, the Congressional investigatory procedure. But he examines these exotic phenomena with a sly and corrosive wit that should make even his victims chuckle wryly.

Nobody escapes. There are chapters on Washington hostesses, on the White House ("the satisfying misery," he calls the Presidency), on bureaucrats, diplomats, Congressmen, Senators, and on his own colleagues in the press corps. The State Department, he assures his readers, "is not so sinister as Americans think it is. At worst it may be foolish, dull and inert, but who will say that this distinguishes it from any other government agency?" And its greatest achievement, he concedes, is worth remembering: "After sixteen years of the nuclear age, we are still here."

—TED OLSON

AN AMERICAN IN WASHINGTON, by Russell Baker. Knopf, $3.95.

Peace Corps Dividends

OF ALL THE innovations of the Kennedy Administration, the Peace Corps was the quickest to capture public imagination and arouse enthusiasm among the young. Roy Hoopes, an experienced Washington writer and editor, has provided a definitive book on the Peace Corps. It is at once fascinating and scholarly, a difficult mixture but very potable once achieved,

The idea of a peace corps consisting of young people who will carry civilization to undeveloped regions is not new, Mr. Hoopes discloses. Its origins are not wholly American. But when it was enunciated by John F. Kennedy in the 1960 campaign it was eagerly seized upon by a great segment of our population. Here was something to do in addition to piling up armaments. Here was an answer to Cold War frustration. Here was a path to be taken by the idealistic young man, or woman, seeking a way to help make the world better.

Mr. Hoopes charts a way along that path. He does so dispassionately so that the starry-eyed will know what awaits them.

One of the dividends of the Peace Corps, it is certain, is a tougher and more experienced aspirant for Foreign Service in years to come.

One of the most amusing and interesting portions of the book deals with what the anthropologist calls "culture shock," and which I would label homesickness. All the symptoms are set down, from excessive washing of hands to compulsive desire for an ice cream soda.

—PAT FRANK

THE COMPLETE PEACE CORPS GUIDE, by Roy Hoopes, Dial, $3.50.

American Diplomacy

IT IS NOT often one can commend to his colleagues a textbook in our field of activity, but one can do this with Elmer Plischke's "Conduct of American Diplomacy." While designed for university students it is compact and solid enough to provide a useful survey of the far-ranging, often explosive fields through which the Foreign Service officer is obliged to thread his way. Moreover, Dr. Plishke's evaluation of the Service is perceptive as well as compact. A college textbook, of course, skirts or ignores many issues and this one is no exception. For example, Dr. Plishke observes that "Because the Foreign Service is on the foreign scene, it exerts a much greater indirect influence in the shaping of policy than is generally realized." True enough. But the questions, and the issues they raise, remain: How great is this influence, by what processes and techniques is it exercised, should it be increased and, if so, by what refinement of processes and techniques?

"American Diplomacy in a New Era," two chapters of which (by Messrs. William Gerber and Robert E. Elder) have appeared in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, is not so much a study of diplomacy, as its title would imply, as a compilation of essays on the "new era" with which our diplomacy is confronted. Here again, as in so many studies of our foreign relations, one encounters a disturbing abdication of analysis of diplomacy *per se*. The chapter by John C. Campbell on "American Policy towards the Satellites and National Communism," however, actually analyzes the types of diplomacy which our types of policy have induced towards Eastern Europe. Campbell really explores the hazy no-man's-land which shades off from policy to diplomacy and does so most enlighteningly. In his treatment of "Virtues and Short-Comings of American Diplomacy," J. B. Duroselle deals with symptoms rather than virtues and shortcomings. Notwithstanding this veering from the title, much of the book, including Campbell's chapter and Philip E. Mosely's concluding summarization of dangers and prospects, is searching and merits equally searching study.

—R. SMITH SIMPSON

CONDUCT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, by Elmer Plischke. Van Nostrand. $10.45.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN A NEW ERA, edited by Stephen D. Kertesz. University of Notre Dame. $10.

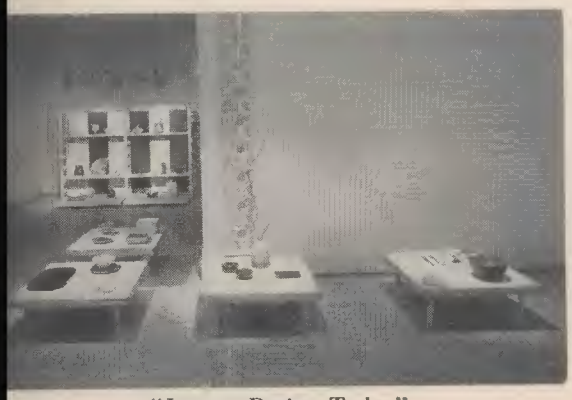
Japan Subdued

THIS IS THE fifth, final, and slimmest volume of the excellent diplomatic history of World War II which Dr. Feis has given us. As he states in his preface, it is the complement of "Between War and Peace." In fact it might have been combined with that volume. At least the exciting chapter in the previous volume on the New Mexico test of the first atom bomb should he read before reading that portion of the present book which deals with the use of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As usual, it is a pleasure to read Dr. Feis's prose. His logical organization of a complex and intertwined series of events adds much to the value of his book as a useful primary reference source. The complete bibliography and many footnotes will facilitate research by scholars seeking to probe further than this slim volume will permit. There will be dissent from some of the conclusions drawn by Dr. Feis in his last two chapters on whether the War could have been ended sooner and on the use of the bomb against Japan. For one thing, Dr. Feis flatly states that it was not essential for us to use the bomb in order to compel Japan to surrender on our terms within a few months. However, he also explains why that conclusion was not obvious to the decision makers at the time, though it should have heen. These conclusions, and many other aspects of the ending of the last World War, are especially thought-provoking and worthy of review in this year of atomic blackmail. Even in 1946 the scientists were discussing a third stage of development of a 100-megaton bomh. As Dr. Feis says, his preferred subtitle, "Eternity Imperiled," would not have been too sensational.

—ALBERT W. STOFFEL

JAPAN SUBDUED—The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War in the Pacific, by Herbert Feis. Princeton University Press. $4.00.



"Japan: Design Today"
Traveling Smithsonian Exhibit

"The Country Americans Don't Know"

MR. GREENE tells us that this book describes what he saw and what he learned during a visit to Communist China in the summer of 1960. Mr. Greene professes to be alarmed at the ignorance regarding Communist China prevalent in the United States and hopes that his book will remedy this situation.

Regrettably, Mr. Greene leans to the communist side in his reporting. He has sought to create an image of a benevolent and dynamic leadership successfully coping with China's problems. Facts contrary to this picture are glossed over, minimized or altogether ignored. He systematically discredits every source of information on Communist China other than Peiping's own releases or reports mirroring these releases. The credibility of reports from foreign businessmen, foreign diplomats, the majority of visiting journalists, and refugees (the latter are disposed of in a chapter entitled "The Misfits," for example) are all carefully, although not very convincingly, destroyed.

A risk which reporters such as Mr. Greenc must run is that subsequent admissions will unmask some of the claims advanced. Chinese Communist admissions or actions have overtaken Mr. Greene on a number of points he puts forward on their behalf. To cite but one example, after telling us that Chinese Communist statistics are becoming increasingly accurate and accepted, Mr. Greene reports that in 1959 agricultural production rose by 16.7 percent (presumably over 1958 which he says registered a 25 percent gain). Today the regime equates 1959 with 1960 and 1961 as the three years of disaster which have caused Communist China's present crisis. Mr. Greene's acceptance of the original 1959 claim is surprising because he quotes at length from a report by the Minister of Agriculture which states that serious droughts had hit vast areas in 1959, that it had been impossible rapidly to increase agricultural labor productivity, and that 1960's summer harvest was roughly at the level of the preceding year. These statements do not appear in Mr. Greene's quotation from the report, however.

These and similar internal inconsistencies are difficult to note because of Mr. Greene's kaleidoscopic method of reporting and because of the unfortunate absence of an index.

Mr. Greene's book is of interest in terms of propaganda techniques but not as a source of valid information on "the country Americans don't know."

—R. H. DONALD

AWAKENED CHINA: THE COUNTRY AMERICANS DON'T KNOW, by Felix Greene. Doubleday and Co., $5.95.

King Mongkut of Siam

AS MR. MOFFAT points out in the preface to his book, "Mongkut the King of Siam," his purpose was not to refute any other author's accounts of this great but complex personality, but rather to present as broad a picture as possible of Thailand's first modern ruler against the background of that ruler's own life and times. In this objective Mr. Moffat has succeeded very well indeed. Drawing upon some of King Mongkut's writings which have been in the possession of the King's descendants, Mr. Moffat presents a number of vignettes of palace scenes, diplomatic exchanges, Buddhist influences and other matters involving Mongkut and the Siamese Court which do much to reveal the King's personality. Students of U.S. diplomatic history will find especially rewarding the account of the ceremony in which Townsend Harris, then Consul General in Japan, presented his credentials to the King as President Pierce's special representative. If there is any criticism to be directed toward Mr. Moffat's book, it is on the grounds that more could have been said on the subject of what King Mongkut actually accomplished in the way of opening up his country to modern influences. Perhaps Mr. Moffat will take this up in an additional volume.

—JOHN H. HOLDRIDGE

MONGKUT THE KING OF SIAM, by Abbot Low Moffat. Cornell. $3.75.

"WRITING a [diplomatic] note may take a day or several months and it often entails the deliberation and abandon of a love letter."

—NEW YORK TIMES

THE PATRIOTIC TRAITOR AND THE BLACKMAILER

by SYDNEY S. BIRO

THE YEAR was 1795; the place, France. About a year had passed since the blood-inured idealist Robespierre was dispatched to join his victims, and the chastened French people were yearning for normalcy at home and peace abroad.

Peace abroad! That was the real problem. The heroic French citizen-troops, now seasoned veterans, had defeated the Austrian enemy again and again. It seemed a mere matter of logic for the Habsburg Emperor to admit his defeat and accede to the victor's terms—really quite stringent terms—of peace.

But at the helm of the Austrian ship of state stood a remarkably stubborn man, Thugut by name. "Thugut" of course means "Do-Good" in German, and it was in this light that the Emperor regarded his minister. But Thugut's family name originally bore the form "Thunitguth," meaning "Do-No-Good," and it was in this light that the French regarded him, for Thugut would not make peace—at least not the kind of peace France contemplated. Some way had to be found to render him more tractable.

Thugut seemed an easy target for a bribery or blackmail dart. Son of an Austrian army paymaster, his father's early death had left the Thugut family without means, and it was only the beneficent aid of Empress Maria Theresa that saved his mother and her brood of five from actual deprivation. The aid went further than mere charity demanded. The Empress selected the most talented of the children—the future minister—for education at the newly opened Oriental Academy in Vienna, and granted him a minor post in Turkey when he was yet in his teens. His rise thereafter was rapid. He soon became interpreter to the Austrian internuncio in Constantinople, and important negotiations were entrusted to him. In 1766 he was serving in Vienna as junior court secretary and court interpreter when suddenly an unheralded visitor presented himself.

At that time it was the custom of the French crown to dispatch abroad secret agents charged with inducing public officials to sell confidential information to France. It was one of these agents, a M. Barth, who was now closeted with Thugut. Thugut was a man of simple tastes, but he was young (thirty at this time), ambitious, and in very modest circumstances; he was fascinated by intrigue, for which he had a real talent; and he was comfortably devoid of scruples. What other factors may have influenced his decision we cannot know, but he presently did agree to sell Austria's secrets to France.

The then King of France, Louis XV, was delighted with Thugut's reports, and granted him honorary military rank, a stipend, an annual salary, and a promise of asylum in France in case his treason were ever discovered.

In 1769, the Austrian government sent Thugut back to

Sydney Seymour Biro, D. Phil. (Oxon.), J.S.D. (Chicago), a Phi Beta Kappa and Highest Honors graduate of Berkeley, is a historiographer, author of "The German Policy of Revolutionary France" (2 vols., Harvard U. Press, 1957), and a former law instructor (University of Miami).

Constantinople as chargé d'affaires (later, internuncio), and his secret reports continued from the Turkish capital, concealed beneath the pseudonym "M. Freund." The Austrian government's confidence in its envoy also continued, even increased; and Thugut was entrusted with several delicate missions, all of which he fulfilled with great credit to himself and his court. In gratitude, Maria Theresa, in 1774, created him a Baron of the Empire, following this honor not long after with the cross of a Commander of St. Stephen.

Louis XV died in 1774. His grandson and successor, Louis XVI, had no taste for corruption. Besides, the young king was married to a Habsburg princess, and this informing on his "in-laws" did not appeal to his sense of conjugal loyalty. He therefore stopped all payments to Thugut. Now, if Thugut were no longer to sell secrets to France, he was indeed no longer entitled to a salary, but his right to his stipend endured. The French ambassador to Constantinople, Saint-Priest, had to remind his court of its continued obligation in this respect. Six years later the mooted stipend was replaced by a life annuity.

Thugut was in Paris in 1777, and again from 1783 to 1787, when he was attached to the Austrian legation there. At this time, he made many close French friends, one of them a retired army major whom history knows as the Marquis de Poteratz.

Poteratz's title was not genuine, but neither was anything else about the man. From his early years he had been engaging in questionable transactions and more than once he had been an involuntary guest of the Bastille. But he was an affable scoundrel. Thugut liked him very much. So did most people.

Despite his criminal record, Poteratz possessed a burning ambition to play a grand role in public life. The storming of the Bastille afforded him a singular opportunity. The French public had taken to its heart the seven wretches rescued from the grim fortress, so Poteratz merely pretended to have been one of the seven. Indeed he had been in the Bastille again in 1789, but was out before July 14.

Equipped now with a becoming, if purloined, halo—and his usual suave manner—Poteratz managed to worm his way into the highest revolutionary circles. But his new friends offered him a job procuring supplies for the army, and suddenly his political ambitions were eclipsed by this chance for plunder. Then back to prison he went for speculating in army supplies, and he was not released until after Robespierre's fall. However, such is the influence of politics on morals that Poteratz emerged from prison not as a castigated malefactor, but as a heroic victim of Robespierre's tyranny.

With his new standing, Poteratz immediately began to look about for an opportunity to enter public life—or, alternatively, to engage once more in some devious transaction. He presently found both, neatly tied together in one package, so to speak.

When Louis XVI was a child, he had formed an unofficial friendship with the son of an employee in the royal palace, M. Gamain. This friend later became a locksmith. Years later, when Louis was king of a country in revolt, he called upon his boyhood friend to build him a hidden safe wherein to hide the royal secrets. Behind a panel in a dark passageway of the Tuileries palace, Gamain—and the King—constructed an iron safe. It was none too soon. Three months later the King was suspended from his functions and imprisoned in the Temple.

Meanwhile, Gamain had returned to his home, strangely indisposed. He had felt all right before. He assumed at first that it was a momentary indisposition stemming from the excitement of his visit to the Tuileries, but he did not seem to be getting well. Suddenly the idea struck him that he must have been poisoned, so as to carry with him to the grave the secret of the iron safe. Burning with lust for revenge, Gamain strode straight to the French minister of the interior. Together the two men repaired to the now-closed Tuileries, flung back the panel, and unlocked the safe. There lay before them the record of the bribes paid not only by Louis XVI but by his predecessor. And neatly tucked away among the secret correspondence rested Saint-Priest's telltale reminder to young Louis XVI that payment of Thugut's stipend must not be withheld.

The documents in the iron safe were soon inventoried, but no early move was made to capitalize on the startling revelation concerning Thugut's past. This was the state of affairs when Poteratz arrived upon the scene rummaging for some clue that could lead to office or profit. He immediately recognized the potentialities of the situation both for France and for himself—or, rather, for himself and for France.

Thugut was now (since mid-1794) Austria's minister of foreign affairs, soul of the armed coalition against the French Republic. He and Poteratz were personal friends. Would not he, Poteratz, therefore be the logical choice of his government to implement a possible diplomatic-blackmail plot to force Thugut to make a pro-French peace? If only he could induce the Committee of Public Safety, which then governed France, to father such a plot, his dream of public office would at last be realized. Poteratz somehow managed to fascinate Boissy d'Anglas, one of Revolutionary France's most honest and respected legislators. Boissy presented Poteratz and his plan to the Committee. The Committee was impressed, for Poteratz was not only charming but persuasive. The habitué of France's prisons was sent to Vienna as official envoy.

Poteratz arrived in Vienna about the start of autumn, 1795. Thugut did not dare refuse to see him for fear the Frenchman had somehow discovered his secret and would, in spite, blurt it out. The Austrian minister also was curious about the purpose of the visit. He soon learned. Poteratz queried whether Thugut would speak as the Baron of Thugut or as minister of the Emperor, for he had, he said, certain things to say to the Baron which the Minister could ill afford to hear. Thugut remained silent a long moment. Finally he smiled and said he would speak as Poteratz's old friend, the Baron of Thugut. "Good," replied Poteratz, and divulged the purpose of his visit: to secure favorable terms of peace for France by threatening to reveal Thugut's treason to the Emperor. Thugut could hardly contain himself for rage. He could not believe, he stormed, that "so contemptible a mission" was possible. Indeed it was quite an idea to blackmail one's own informer for informing in one's own behalf.

Thugut complained to Poteratz that his love of France had prompted him to invest all his money there, and now, owing to the Revolution, it was wholly gone. Of course he

could not have invested it in Austria without raising the interesting question how one can possibly invest more than one's entire salary. Poteratz promised Thugut complete restitution if he fell in line with the plot. "What would I do with your [worthless] paper?" was the reply. "In coin!" rejoined Poteratz. The Austrian minister answered with a great show of affection, "It is not yet the time."

People in Vienna were beginning to notice the presence of Poteratz, who was doing everything possible to arouse suspicion. Thugut realized that he had to get rid of Poteratz as soon as possible. Deciding upon a ruse, he told the French envoy that he, Thugut, had received a letter from the Committee of Public Safety that very morning of which Poteratz was obviously quite ignorant, and he pretended to fear that the Committee might disavow whatever the two of them agreed upon. He urged Poteratz to return to Paris to seek new powers and instructions. Poteratz left.

When the French envoy arrived in Paris, France was about to undergo a constitutional change. It was a few weeks, therefore, before the blackmail plot could be pursued further. The new government, the Directory, was of the opinion that bribery would suffice to sway Thugut, but it arranged that Poteratz should carry back with him, for use in case of need, ministerial authorization to proceed with the blackmail plan.

Poteratz returned to Austria under an assumed name, and stopped at Mölk, twenty-two leagues from Vienna, at Thugut's request. There he was asked to rent an apartment in a Vienna suburb where Thugut was wont to dine. Soon, however, this backdoor approach was abandoned and an apartment was rented for Poteratz in Vienna itself. There the conferences took place.

The conferences were a dismal failure. To Poteratz's amazement, this man who had accepted French gold for a generation could absolutely not be bribed. Nor would he be blackmailed, either. He would have none of France's peace terms, he said, and that was that. Poteratz came away a much disappointed man. Thugut did grant him a sop, however. He arranged for continuance of the secret negotiations through Degelmann, the Austrian minister at Basel. And then Degelmann was instructed to forward any communication of Poteratz's to Vienna, but not to grant this "sly and dangerous man" a passport under any circumstances.

Poteratz soon realized that Degelmann was empowered only to listen, and forthwith he wrote to Thugut, "you can easily understand that it is neither agreeable nor decent for a man such as I to play the sad role of an obscure agent." Thugut did not reply. Soon Poteratz was telling everyone he was about to make a new trip to Vienna. Thugut was perplexed. He genuinely feared that the resourceful negotiator would come without a passport since he could not come with one; but Poteratz never appeared.

The blackmail scheme slumbered until October 5, 1796. Then, a letter of Poteratz's was read before the Directory urging that Thugut be threatened with publication of the compromising correspondence unless he prepared with Poteratz a salutary peace. The Directory took no action at this time, but five weeks later decreed that another person, General Henri Clarke, should go to Austria to negotiate. One of the Directors suggested that Clarke carry the original of the Saint-Priest correspondence to Vienna and set it be-

Continued on page 42

Service Glimpses

1.

1. Athens. Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs cuts the tape at the opening of the new American Embassy, as Prime Minister Caramanlis, left, and the Archbishop of Athens look on. The building is located in an area donated by the Greek Government and is in classic Greek architectural style. Mr. Briggs has since been nominated ambassador to Spain.

2. Taipei. Mr. and Mrs. Dominic A. Broccoli leave St. Christopher's Church, Taipei, Taiwan, after their marriage November 4. Mrs. Broccoli is the former Winifred K. Jennings, Foreign Service secretary, and Mr. Broccoli is in the Communications Unit.

3. Garita. Ambassador Raymond L. Telles attends the ceremony inaugurating a school playground dedicated to him in rural Costa Rica. Ambassador Telles has been in Costa Rica seven months and has made it a point to visit even the most remote rural areas. Public Affairs Officer James M. Keys appears to the Ambassador's right.

4. Tripoli. Flying to Tobruk for an audience with the Crown Prince are Mrs. G. Mennen Williams, Secretary Williams, Mrs. John Dorman and Mr. Dorman, Charge d'Affaires. The photo was taken during the recent visit of Assistant Secretary Williams to Libya.

5. Munich. Ambassador Edward T. Wailes takes the oath of office at the Consulate General from Consul J. Owen Zurhellen, Jr. The Ambassador and the Consul are third and second from right, respectively. Others at the ceremony were, l. to r., Kermit S. Midthun, Miss Kline, Robert C. Huffman, Thomas P. Dillon, Miss Mead, Mrs. Wailes and Thomas E. Tait.

2.

6. Washington. A colorful addition to the tour of the State Department sponsored by the AAFSW was Miss Dinah Tacki from the Embassy of Ghana (center) in her native dress. With her are, left to right, Margaret Welch and Beatrice Carson, of State, Mrs. John Armitage, treasurer of the AAFSW, and Cybelas S. Magna, secretary at the Embassy of Brazil.

7. Washington. Dr. Jerome Wiesner, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, was the guest speaker at December's AFSA luncheon at the Shoreham Hotel. Dr. Wiesner talked on present and future problems of science and technology. At head table are Julian F. Harrington, General Manager of AFSA, Woodruff Wallner, Chairman of Journal Editorial Board, Tyler Thompson, Walter P. McConaughy, Charles E. Bohlen, Dr. Wiesner, William O. Boswell, U. Alexis Johnson, Phillips Talbot, Dr. Walter Whitman, John J. Muccio, William J. Sebald and Hugh G. Appling. In the foreground, Alfred V. Boerner, Journal Editorial Board member, Gwen Barrows and Henry J. Kellermann.

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Continued from p. 39

fore the very eyes of the Emperor to prove to him that his trusted minister was a traitor. Such procedure would, of course, have destroyed the possibility of ever blackmailing Thugut, so the suggestion was rejected. Indeed, no mention of the telltale correspondence entered Clarke's instructions at all—as yet.

Thugut would not allow Clarke to come to Vienna, and the French envoy had to content himself with "negotiating" with the Emperor's minister at Turin. Presently, supplementary instructions arrived for Clarke. He was to threaten to reveal the compromising correspondence and to offer to satisfy Thugut's "claims upon the public treasury of France" —with a million francs bonus—if the Austrian minister would agree to aid France in securing favorable terms of peace.

Then General Bonaparte, hero of the Italian campaign, entered the picture. He suggested that Clarke repair to Florence to confer with the Emperor's brother Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany. Clarke, after prolonged reflection, decided to go. He read excerpts from the incriminating correspondence to the Grand Duke, and secured from the latter a promise that the information contained therein would be transmitted to the Emperor.

Ferdinand kept his word. However, to assure that Thugut should not intercept his letter, Ferdinand addressed it to Archduke Charles, army-commander brother of the Emperor —and of himself. The Emperor, seeing the sealed letter, and fearing that it might contain some urgent message, opened it.

The results were unforeseen. The Emperor ordered Charles not to communicate with Ferdinand, and turned Ferdinand's letter over to Thugut for reply.

Poor France! The Austrian ruler apparently had not been ignorant at all of Thugut's extracurricular activities. Indeed, a year earlier, Thugut had solicited the Emperor's cooperation in keeping Poteratz's second visit to Vienna a secret.

Exactly when the ruling family of Austria learned of Thugut's French role, or if they knew of it from the beginning, we cannot say. It is not inconceivable that the original agreement between Thugut and Barth was entered into with Imperial concurrence—that Maria Theresa had been informed by Thugut of Barth's proposal and had urged, perhaps pleaded with, her protégé to undertake the hateful role in consideration of the advantages Austria might derive therefrom.

Indeed, of Thugut's two masters, he certainly served Austria the better. In Constantinople, for instance, hy plying Saint-Priest with a copious fare of essentially trivial confidences, he coaxed more meaningful policy decisions out of the Frenchman, and relayed them on to the Vienna court. Thugut never divulged any really important secrets at any time, in any place.

But if the Austrian rulers knew, either at the time of the Poteratz and Clarke attempts, or initially, of Thugut's French role, why all Thugut's elaborate precautions for secrecy? Was he seeking merely to hoodwink the French? Not at all. His purpose was simply to avoid arousing distrust respecting his own patriotism among Austria's allies and Austria's overtaxed nobles, the latter of whom were on the verge of rebellion.

If there is a moral to the foregoing story, it is this: Never base a blackmail plot on a threat to reveal to anyone his own secret. He knows it already.

Thoughts on an American Diplomatic Style

by Robert McClintock

Diplomacy has been the subject of more attempts at definition, both real and whimsical, than practically any art or profession. However, when one comes to the definition of "diplomatic style" there are fewer precepts to guide. The origin of the word "style" comes from the Latin *stilus*, a writing instrument; and it is useful to recall that precision in diplomacy involves the expression of thought in the clearest written form. For those who mistake propaganda for diplomacy, it might be noted that "style" also can mean a phonograph needle.

Perhaps the best dictionary definition of a style as reflected in a national diplomacy is that which defines "style" as "the quality which gives distinct character and excellence to artistic expression." This edges toward Professor Rostow's concept of a national American style as "the typically American way of dealing with the nation's environment." When one reflects that after all foreign policy is nothing less than the adaptation of a state and its people to their environment —in other words, the adjustment of relations between one state and its people to other states and their people—one next considers the manner of this adjustment: an American Diplomatic Style.

Diplomatic style could be the ethos of an entire country as well as the ethics and application of specific techniques through diplomacy. There is thus room for the popular notion that Americans are "Ambassadors of Goodwill" when they go abroad, and for the more precise concept that only certain appointed Americans are Ambassadors abroad.

American diplomatic style as considered in this paper may be defined as the typically American way of adapting foreign policy to the nation's environment.

In reflecting on an American diplomatic style it is necessary to avoid the popular confusion of thought which mixes up foreign policy with diplomacy. Foreign policy is the overall directive and guide while diplomacy is the central function in execution of foreign policy, both at home and overseas. Diplomacy likewise has tended to be discredited by popular cliches, which seem immortal despite the fact that there is little living truth in them.

From the time when Sir Henry Wotton in 1604 made his famous Latin line in an album in Augsburg that an "ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country" down to the present day wearicism on "striped pants and cookie-pushers," practitioners of the profession have been far down the scale of public esteem.* Perhaps they still suffer from the fact that in the days of the Greeks the patron god of diplomatists was Hermes, the pleasant but tricky deity who endowed Pandora, the first woman, with the gift of deception and flattery. Pandora's act with the box has, it must be admitted, kept diplomats in business ever since.

Probably the most exact definition of diplomacy is the standard one given by Sir Ernest Satow, in the first sentence of his book, "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice." He observed, "diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with vassal states." Sir Ernest doubtless had no thought when he penned that final clause in 1917 of its relevancy to current Curtain Country conditions.

The present paper's definition of diplomacy is, "Diplomacy is the expression of national strength in terms of gentlemanly discourse."

In the early days of the American diplomatic service the only instruction given a newly appointed Chief of Mission was, "Wear a clean shirt and sit with your back to the light." However, there have been other precepts for the guidance of diplomatists. Probably the best was set out almost two and a half centuries ago by François De Callières, the private secretary of Louis XIV and Ambassador in the French Diplomatic Service, who published a book entitled, "On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes." There have been more recent professional treatises on diplomacy of which the most authoritative is that of Sir Ernest Satow, and the most readable, Harold Nicolson's little book. In "Diplomacy" Sir Harold wrote that:

> "The basis of good negotiation is moral influence and that influence is founded on seven specific diplomatic virtues namely: (1) Truthfulness (2) Precision (3) Calm (4) Good temper (5) Patience (6) Modesty (7) Loyalty."

De Callières also made a catalog of the principal diplomatic virtues. Among them he noted courage and the need to be firm in debate. He further observed that genius is no substitute for good manners; the requirement to be a man of good faith and demonstrate personal probity ("loose livers make bad negotiators"); that the diplomat must be possessed

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Robert McClintock, most recently Ambassador to Lebanon, has been spending an interim few months in the Policy Planning Council before taking up his post as Ambassador to Argentina. His "Care and Feeding of Ambassadors" which appeared in the Journal more than a decade ago is still referred to in diplomatic circles.

**In the Sanskrit of the Hindu* Vedas *it is written that "Diplomacy is like rivers and women, because both reach their ends by devious means."*

of coolness; adaptability ("he must know how to suffer fools gladly"); wealth, birth and breeding, but of these wealth was of least importance; and finally, that he would have the need for knowledge: of the world, of foreign governments, of foreign languages and of great despatches.

De Callières likewise emphasized the need for character as the constant of diplomacy. He wrote:

> There is no permanence in a relationship begun by promises which can not be redeemed, and therefore, as I have said before, the use of deceit in diplomacy is of necessity restricted, for there is no curse which comes quicker to roost than a lie which has been found out. Beyond the fact that a lie is unworthy of a great minister, it actually does more harm than good to policy . . . In general it should be the highest goal of the diplomatist to gain such a reputation for good faith with his own government and also abroad that they will place reliance both upon his information and upon the advice which he gives.

Note here the duality of a diplomat's function. His diplomacy must convince not only one government but two or more, and perhaps most importantly his own. Thus when a great diplomatist by exercise of character and keen observation brings conviction not only in the foreign office to which he is accredited but also in the foreign office which instructs him and which relies upon him for advice and information, he is truly an essential element in the formulation and execution of foreign policy.

One further word, and then a final word, on the qualities which go into good diplomacy. One final quote from de Callières—"Most men in handling public affairs pay more attention to what they themselves say than to what is said to them;" and, therefore, that "One of the most necessary qualities in a good negotiator is to be an apt listener." The final word is that to win a "diplomatic victory" is undiplomatic.

If, as Rostow points out, there is an American style, a "typically American way of dealing with the nation's environment," and having in mind that foreign policy is the adaptation of a nation to its environment, it is clear that the United States already has a national style in diplomacy. This is made more clear when one considers the national styles of other diplomatic services such as the British, French and Soviet. Sir William Hayter has recently published a brief book entitled, "The Diplomacy of the Great Powers," which presents a refreshingly clear analysis of the contrasts in these different diplomatic styles.

Sir William notes, for example, that Soviet diplomacy is a total diplomacy operating at all levels, with slight regard for the truth, and having as its objective total victory. He says, "It never seems to occur to them that the proper objective of a negotiation is not to defeat your opposite number but to arrive at an agreement with him which will be mutually beneficial." However, the very fact that Soviet diplomacy feels no inhibition with regard to truth hampers this diplomacy because it cannot inspire confidence. Furthermore, Soviet Ambassadors tend to look at the world through Marxian spectacles and from the same set of facts they apparently report conclusions which would occur to no other ambassadors.

As for a more objective appreciation of national diplomatic style, it is correct to agree with Hayter that French

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diplomacy displays a high intellectual level and is exceedingly effective in utilizing France's two greatest diplomatic assets, her "geographical indispensibility" and her unrivaled culture. French ambassadors are urbane, polished and supremely good at the arts of entertaining, displaying good taste in conversation, environment and food and drink. French diplomacy, however, may be handicapped by its tendency to extreme formalism and by the national habit of criticizing not only others but one's own people. French diplomatic style also shows extreme hyper-sensitivity as witness walk-outs at the United Nations and nervous attitudes at the deathbed of colonialism.

British diplomacy operates with suavity and dignity; in fact it is due in large measure to the skill of British diplomatists that the imprint of great power influence has lingered in many parts of the world after great power had departed from the British diplomatic arsenal. Sir William Hayter in noting that practically all of the British diplomatic service come from Oxford and Cambridge, points out that unlike the provincial universities these two great institutions have developed graduates who embody the diplomatic virtues of integrity, brains, self confidence and social ease. Hayter makes the acute remark that "Countries, whatever their regime, are governed by politicians; it is with them that diplomats have to deal, and they must not be intimidated by them. For this purpose, the secondary, perhaps even second rate, qualities of self confidence and social ease are essential."

As for the American diplomatic style as seen through the eyes of a professional British diplomatist, it displays all the American national characteristics. He believes that "No great power, except perhaps the Soviet Union, suffers or has ever suffered so much as America does from self-imposed limitations on its diplomacy."*

There are historical factors which lead to this conclusion as well as constitutional considerations and causes rooted in the national psychology. For example, throughout American history there has been a deeply rooted suspicion of "entangling alliances." There has also been a consistent attitude against colonialism and the powers which practice it. Among the constitutional impediments to a unified diplomacy are the requirements of senatorial advice and consent and the overall constitutional division of powers between the three basic elements of government. Furthermore American diplomatic style to a greater extent than in other national diplomacy is affected by Congressional attitudes not only through the expression of individual Senators and Representatives but through policy directives incorporated in joint resolutions, in enabling legislation, and ultimately in the appropriation bills for the Foreign Service and the great foreign aid programs which have become a distinguishing feature of foreign policy and therefore of the American diplomatic style.

Among the psychological factors conditioning American diplomacy is the vulnerability of the Secretary of State to the American press with its insistent requirement of knowing all secrets instantly; despite the fact that, while foreign

**Hayter adds, "Generally speaking, the whole system of diplomatic appointments is a remarkable example of a habit the Americans have of imposing obstacles on themselves and then successfully overcoming them."*

policy should he at all times public and clearly known to the people, negotiation should be confidential. Furthermore in a democracy the fact that the diplomatic branch must deal in secrets tends to increase its unpopularity.

Another psychological factor conditioning American diplomatic style is the national mercurial temperament. As Hayter points out, "Americans are not good at the observation of subtle gradations, the long-term calculations, the patient endurance of irremediable inconveniences that are part of the diplomatic substance . . . Patience is not a typically American quality but it is one of the greatest diplomatic virtues."**

The national impatience to achieve quick and obvious results, to get-the-job-done, is ill-suited to a diplomacy of "protracted conflict," although all authorities agree that such is the situation confronting the US at least for the remainder of the 20th Century. Furthermore, there is in the American temperament a hankering after novelty: a desire to have a new model every year, whether it be a TV set, an automobile or a diplomatic style. There is accordingly a tendency toward disappointment when the State Department brings out nothing "new" on annual occasions. It is therefore against a trend in the national psychology that American diplomatic style, in attending to those adjustments to the environment which are the essence of diplomacy, must show itself as a continuum, and that the tortoise, while winning the race against the hare, must still make progress slowly.

In summing up his impressions of U.S. diplomacy, Sir William Hayter finds that "the huge American Embassies" do very good jobs. "The State Department is probably the most completely and intelligently briefed of all ministries of foreign affairs . . . There is something very professional and well organized about the American diplomatic service; its members are alert, active and well informed, and when they have the luck to have a good Head of Mission they form an impressive and powerful team."

Although we may flatter ourselves on being able to distinguish between differing national styles of diplomacy, all great powers come up against at times unflattering profiles of themselves projected by the incandescent magic lantern of nationalism against the screen of past history.

Thus in the Arab world the U.S. is regarded as the blindly subservient agent of "Zionism." Likewise in the Arab world there is the after-image of "Imperialism" which burns in the eyes of most true believers. For example, because of his early up-bringing and general formation it is impossible for Gamal Abdel Nasser to believe that Britain is anything else than "perfidious Albion." To him the fiasco at Suez was positive proof of French and British colonial revanchism and that Israel was a "lackey of Western Imperialism."

The U.S. in a sort of guilt-by-association relationship likewise comes up tarred with the brush of "Imperialism." With other Western powers we share the obloquy with which the West is regarded by the emerging new countries resentful of their former colonial status. This feeling is further etched in acid by the fact that most of these emergent countries are of non-white race: and the U.S. is portrayed in many parts of the world as a racist country.

So far do these caricatures of the national image and therefore the national diplomatic style go that in all serious-

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ness apparently the masters of the Kremlin have their own set of cliches describing the Western powers. Cyrus Sulzberger in his article in the New York TIMES of October 9, 1961, points out the degree of distortion with which Khrushchev views the outside world. He notes that Soviet policy makers, believe it or not, insist that, "the Rockefellers are the dynasty with an over-riding interest in foreign policy; actually speaking, their billions are almost entirely tied up with it." From the Kremlin point of view, says Sulzberger, "An American diplomat must be first and foremost an oil diplomat." To Khrushchev the proof of his syllogism is to be found in the fact that Dean Rusk, the former head of the Rockefeller Foundation, is now Secretary of State.

According to this expert the official Russian view is that the British Foreign Office is a tool of Britain's financial and landed aristocracies. The French Foreign Service was once controlled by the French steel industry but is now subordinate to the National Employers Federation, the Catholic Church and private banks. The West Germans in Soviet eyes are dominated by a latter-day Metternich in the person of Adenauer. In general the ambassadors of capitalistic nations are seeking to conduct a reactionary counter-revolution in the terms of Karl Marx. So much for national diplomatic styles as seen from the Kremlin.

Fortunately for our interests it is generally believed world-wide that Soviet embassies are centers of espionage as well as the financial bases for the support of indigenous Communist parties. Indian diplomacy on the other hand is widely regarded as being the archetype of non-alignment. The only diplomatic style which has no distorted silhouette is the Swiss—and the Swiss say nothing.

In consequence in considering diplomatic style it is important to take into account not only the reality of style and the reality of policy, but also our silhouette in popular imagination, erroneous though that may be. Such profiles become political facts; and it is part of an effective diplomatic style to correct the distortions and set the perspective straight. Not all "Ugly Americans" are reflected in the mirrors of Coney Island.

As indicated in the discussion on definitions of style, of foreign policy and of diplomacy, in essence diplomacy is the expression of national strength in terms of gentlemanly discourse. In fact there can be no effective foreign policy and in consequence no effective diplomacy without the element of power. Frequently in American history, Secretaries of State have resorted to the hortatory approach, setting forth long lists of noble principles and being surprised when other governments paid no attention to them. The solemn mumbo-jumbo of the Kellogg-Briand Pact "outlawing war" is a case in point. Real foreign policy, however, must always be based on a substratum of some sort of power, whether military, economic or moral.

It is not always necessary for the diplomat to use his own country's power; one of the most brilliant diplomatists—Benjamin Franklin—skilfully utilized the financial and military power of France against our then enemy, the British Crown.

***As a former American diplomat recently wrote to an adviser in the White House, "Our reach is exceeding our grasp—laudable in moral endeavor, usually fatal in trapeze and diplomatic performances."*

DIPLOMATIC STYLE

There was no weaker power in the world than Imperial China when Li Hung Chang negotiated the Treaty of Shimonoseki, off-setting various forms of Western imperial power against the nascent strength of Japan. Returning once more to American history, in the early days of the Republic the Monroe Doctrine was an effective foreign policy, placing the New World in quarantine against further encroachment from the Old. This was not the result of the superior moral virtue of the American people, but was largely due to the implicit military sanction of the British Fleet. Canning, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was unkind, but there was a good deal of truth in his boast that he had "called the New World into being to redress the balance of the Old."

The power which underlies effective policy and diplomacy can be military in character, both latent and actual. The diplomacy of Sir Nevile Henderson at Constantinople was probably not very diplomatic in the suaver sense of the word when he underscored his notes to the Sublime Porte by arranging visits of the British Fleet, but it was effective. Bismarck's use of military power in the successive brief and planned wars with Denmark, Austria and France was a classic example of the use of armed force to sustain foreign policy. In our own history, the fact that on the conclusion of the Civil War the largest body of trained military manpower in the world stood ready north of the Rio Grande was sufficient guarantee for the success of the American diplomacy which compelled Napoleon III to evacuate his troops from Mexico and leave Maximilian to the firing squad at Queretaro.

War itself—or at least international war—is an expression of foreign policy. Karl von Clausewitz's famous understatement, that "war is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with an admixture of other means" may be juxtaposed with the understatement of Louis XIV's Ambassador, de Callières, who said that "When a prince or a state is powerful enough to dictate to his neighbors the art of negotiation loses its value." He was courtly enough to add, however that "the more powerful the prince, the more suave should his diplomatist be, for since power of that kind is likely to awaken jealousy in the neighbor, the diplomat should let it speak for itself."

There are other forms of diplomatic power. Economic aid or economic sanctions frequently play as important a role as military strength as a source of diplomatic power. Whether the U.S. wishes it or not, its vast foreign aid programs have given it immense new leverage. A whole new aspect of the American diplomatic style has developed with the formalization of our aid programs and the sending overseas of numerous experts and technicians to administer the aid programs. The fact that other nations including the Communist bloc countries have followed the American example in granting foreign aid indicates the extent to which this aspect of economic power imbues foreign policy and in consequence diplomacy.

A fourth element of diplomatic power is political—in the Greek sense of the word—*politikos*, belonging to the citizens or to the state. In a democracy, unless most people sustain a given policy and the diplomacy which is its expression, there can be no true policy or diplomacy. There

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is, however, a duality in the relations of the statesman and the diplomatist to the people. The statesman must have the support of the people for his policy, but he must also devise a policy which merits and elicits the support of the people. Diplomacy begins at home, and it must be applied at home —which diplomats at times forget.

(To be continued in our March issue)

First of two articles on POLAD

POLAD — A Permanent Institution

by RICHARD B. FINN

MANY OF US middle-aged FSO's thought that our military careers were over at the end of World War II. Now a growing number of us find ourselves back in military life at a senior headquarters level. The same thing will doubtless happen to many of our younger colleagues who were on active duty during and after the Korean War.

Political advisers got into business during World War II. Robert Murphy, the Foreign Service's most distinguished practitioner of the art, has described in these pages some of the problems and achievements of the Departmental officers who served in the European Theater ("The Soldier and the Diplomat." FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, May 1952). Other FSO's served during the same period in the China Theater and in Burma and India.

It was after the war, however, that the political adviser (POLAD) became a permanent institution. As it became clear that substantial American forces would have to be stationed abroad for many years, a series of informal arrangements were worked out between the State and Defense Departments to ensure that the large United States military commands received the diplomatic advice and help they wanted. FSO's were attached to several NATO Commands including SHAPE and as political advisers to the European Command in Paris, and the Pacific Command in Honolulu, to the United States Army headquarters in Europe at Heidelberg as well as to the Ryukyus Command in Okinawa. These arrangements have recently been broadened to include political advisers for the Caribbean Command in Panama, and the Strategic Air Command in Omaha.

The political adviser is merely one species of the politico-military type that is now flourishing in the State and Defense Departments. Most of our larger Embassies have officers who work full time on military matters, as do a number of officers in the Department and some of the FSO's on the staff of the United States delegation to NATO in Paris. The various war colleges provide a growing source of manpower for all these operations.

All of us in the Service have been hearing a lot lately about the need for broadening the background and experience of the Foreign Service. We are being urged to know more about weapons systems, the techniques of decision-making, game theory, probability, and science generally. A Senate Subcommittee concluded in February 1961 that the armed services have done a far better job than other career services in giving senior officers the kind of training and job experience needed for a broad grasp of national security problems. The Subcommittee report stated that State's need for broadened staff competence is perhaps most acute in the area of military and scientific-technical problems. One might argue that the Department is not so deficient in these areas as some have claimed, but no one will argue that FSO's should not have a good grasp of military science and technology.

The political adviser will find himself in the middle of a large and complex operation. Under the United States European Command, for example, are about one-third of a million American military personnel and over a quarter of a million family members accompanying them. Over half of these are in Germany, but the rest are scattered from places like Rawalpindi and Adana to Sigonella and Sculthorpe. United States defense expenditures entering the international balance of payments in the area of the European Command have for a number of years averaged over one and one-half billion dollars.

THE EUROPEAN Command (EUCOM) headquartered in St. Germain-en-Laye, is one of eight unified and specified commands operating under the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is under the command of General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) as well as United States Commander-in-Chief Europe (USCINCEUR). Although EUCOM's combat forces are committed to NATO, it has functions not under NATO control, and General Norstad therefore delegates much of the supervision of purely American military activity to another four-star general. General Charles D. Palmer of the Army, who is Deputy CINCEUR. EUCOM has its own headquarters and staff to carry out two main tasks: to provide policy guidance to the three large and powerful component commands of the Army, Navy, and Air Force in Europe; and to oversee the administration of United States military assistance programs in some twenty countries.

The novitiate in a military headquarters requires some time to develop a picture of its activities and its command structure. He shortly discovers that in a huge organization like the military establishment, certain principles are important to efficient operation. One of these is the chain of command. On top of the military pyramid are the Defense agencies in Washington—the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the JCS, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ISA), and the headquarters of the three services. (One cannot help wondering if unification of the services has not induced a certain reaction toward proliferation.) Next come the unified and

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specified commands located in both the U.S. and overseas, and immediately under them are the tri-service components. And finally, there are the operating units such as the Seventh Army in Germany. The chain of command, by prescribing definite and limited channels for action messages, is designed to ensure that the position of responsibility is at all times clear.

The military like to process their action papers through only one echelon at a time, either the one immediately above or the one just below. The field units try to refer only the big problems to Washington for guidance. The State Department *modus operandi*, on the other hand, is essentially two-way—Department and Embassy, and the interplay is free. Where Embassies and Unified Commands get involved in the same problems, as is constantly happening in Berlin for example, the Department is often informed directly before the military command chain pushes the word back to the Pentagon in Washington. Of course the reverse sometimes happens too. Since each agency normally reads the other's mail freely, this difference in method does not usually create problems.

THE CHAIN of command is frequently far from the clear-cut principle one might have imagined. The military departments and agencies in Washington and the elements within each unified command possess considerable authority as well as budgetary resources in their own right. Other Unified Commands, particularly CINCLANT and the Strategic Air Command, have important interests in the area of the European Command, as do a number of specialized military agencies. And in the European Command virtually every problem also raises the relationship with NATO.

The POLAD soon discovers that he is expected to advise his command on political and economic issues in a large number of diverse and widely scattered countries, many of which he may never have been in. To do this he has to rely heavily on reporting from the various Embassies as well as on guidance from the Department. Wading through a large stack of telegrams, despatches, memoranda, and planning papers originating from both Department and military sources is standard for a day's work. Periodic visits to the Embassies in the Command's area of activity are also valuable and provide one of the more satisfying rewards in the POLAD experience. The EUCOM POLAD, for example, will probably visit the capitals and a number of outlying areas in 20 or more of the countries where the Command does business. The opportunity to see one or more times in a two-year tour of duty the Khyber Pass, Tabriz, Asmara, Casablanca, and Verona, not to mention Berlin, London, Athens and Madrid, is not without interest.

From the vantage point of a headquarters one learns why his military colleagues do a lot of travelling. Their operations are spread over a vast area. The various functions of the European command range some five thousand miles from Karachi in the east to Lisbon in the west, and about four thousand miles from Oslo in the north to Addis Ababa in the south. The Command has had a major role in executing on behalf of the United Nations the Congo air lift, whose distances and tonnages already dwarf the Berlin air lift. Furthermore, action responsibilities in a military headquarters are for the most part distributed on a func-

tional basis—for plans or for personnel or for logistics—rather than on a geographical basis. For officers with command or action responsibilities in the Pentagon or Paris to know in detail what is going on in Spain or Turkey or Iran, a visit is sometimes essential. Often there are millions of dollars of equipment involved, or major planning problems; Congressional interest is frequently a factor. And of course the military have their own transportation system which facilitates travel. The POLAD is one cog in the machine of planning and coordination which tries to ensure that all this travel is well timed and useful to those concerned.

The POLAD's education also involves learning how to read military telegrams and plans. Telegrams (called dispatches by the Navy to the confusion not only of a POLAD reared in the Department but of the other services) have their own abbreviations, system of references, and introductory gambits; once the first couple of inches are navigated, however, sailing is relatively smooth. Planning documents have a stylized format which must be mastered before one learns where to look for points of greatest political interest.

ON THE OTHER hand, military colleagues often find some difficulty in comprehending State Department documents. Not infrequently they will ask the POLAD, after reading a finely reasoned telegram, what does it mean. Military messages are supposed to be confined to terse statements of facts, actions, recommendations, and decisions, and to avoid opinions, trends, and what was said after dinner the night before. At the same time, there is genuine admiration for a neatly phrased message from the Department or an Embassy, and certain Embassies acquire a reputation for clear and positive exposition. Another feature that seems to impress the man in uniform, accustomed to telegraphic anonymity, is to read messages to which the name of the Secretary of State or an Ambassador is affixed.

The official-informal letter is a State Department device whose advantages the military appreciate, although it is puzzling (not only to the military) to figure out just how official some of these letters are. The military counterpart is the telephone, which they readily use to call Washington or some other point thousands of miles away. They must, of course, keep their modern and complex system of communications fully exercised.

The headquarters of a unified command is a military policy-making group. One of its main functions is to coordinate planning, but it also deals with a variety of operational matters where political and military aspects are mixed: military assistance, base rights, criminal jurisdiction, naval visits, journalist tours, community relations, military exercises and maneuvers, atomic cooperation with friendly nations, or measures to reduce the outflow of gold. The POLAD can rarely speak with authority on the political aspects of any of these; that is the job of the Embassies concerned or the Department. But he can see that the political guidance already on the record is taken into account and that the Embassies and the Department are consulted when necessary at the time decisions are being taken by the Command.

In his peregrinations the POLAD gets to see many of the instruments he reads about: Jupiter missiles, nuclear submarines, 280 mm guns, F-105's, and Honest Johns. This kind of education is standard for many officers in the Foreign Service today; for the officer serving in a military headquarters it is routine business. Here again, the POLAD is far from an expert, but to give helpful advice he must know something of the technical problems involved.

THE INSTITUTION of the political adviser is now well established. Like any vigorous bureaucratic species, it is increasing in numbers and, it is to be hoped, in effectiveness and influence. It is part of the massive expansion of traditional diplomacy: where formerly the Foreign Service devoted itself largely to representation, negotiating, and reporting, we are now obliged to know more about and participate in large and important military, economic, scientific, and information programs. The traditional skills remain invaluable, but the range of their application is now far broader. The political adviser finds that he is practicing the diplomatic trade in a largely American environment, and with a group of Americans whose competence and dedication are of a very high order. He returns to the Foreign Service fold with greater knowledge and appreciation of the role of military power in foreign relations.

Editor's Note: (In an early issue, the JOURNAL will publish an article on the role of the POLAD in CINCPAC.)

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Letters to the Editor

Diplomacy, Policy Development and a Foreign Service

THERE ARE few areas which appear so hazy as the diplomatic. Notwithstanding its origin in antiquity and man's long-continued association with it, diplomacy seems to generate more questions than answers.

The November issue of the JOURNAL carried material illustrative of this unsatisfactory characteristic of our calling. The views of Ambassador Mathews, in the form of an article contesting a charge of traditionalism, conventionality and conformity in our Foreign Service, and of Richard Law, in the form of a speech in the House of Commons, during which the role of the British Foreign Service in development of policy was dealt with, raised many puzzling questions. I hasten to add these questions are not new, but they are not the less puzzling for the attribute of age.

While Ambassador Mathews was discussing our own Foreign Service and Mr. Law, the British, both foreign services are of civilized countries, both are foreign services of leading powers, and both are being viewed by the two observers in the same part of the twentieth century. Thus, while Mr. Law's remarks were made some eighteen years ago, they are by no means outdated. In fact, his ideas are endlessly repeated in current discussions.

As Ambassador Mathews pointed out, Mrs. Zara Steiner criticizes our Foreign Service for not contributing more to the content of our foreign policy. Mr. Law says specifically that foreign policy is not the responsibility of the British Foreign Service. It has been pointed out that since the Foreign Service is so much on the foreign scene, it exerts a much greater indirect influence in the shaping of policy than is generally realized. This sounds like good sense. What is there about it which is not applicable to the British Service? Robert Bowie emphasizes that "the foreign policy of a State is what it does" (and, if I may add, what it does not do). Does not this mean that diplomacy in fact determines policy?

To say with Mr. Law that the "Foreign Service man is not a principal; he is only the agency of His Majesty's Government" is to say what? That an agent is an automaton? But in practice an agent is always accorded discretion and the law not only confirms this element of discretion but insists upon a very high degree of it. So where are we? Is a diplomatic agent in the twentieth century a species of agent with no significant discretion? Is he, as many gentlemen of the academic world contend, only an ear at the other end of a telephone wire? If so, what does Henry M. Wriston mean when he calls attention to the danger of "over-dependence upon settled policy statements?" Continuing (in his chapter on "The Secretary and the Management of the Department" in the American Assembly's "Secretary of State"), Dr. Wriston says:

"They (policy statements) are altogether too neat and tidy; they assume a distinction between policy making and execution which is deceptive. The timing, the deftness, the mode of execution are integral parts of policy. Clever execution can make a defective policy suffice; ineptitude can destroy the utility of a sound basic decision."

Developments and requirements of the twentieth century suggest we take a good hard look at our Foreign Service—which is to say at ourselves—and the needs of our country. I find myself abysmally ignorant about a lot of things concerning a Service of which I have been a part for some years. Ambassador Mathews' point, for example, that "only non-conformists stay in the Service," I do not know to be correct or not. I can think of many factors which would produce exactly the opposite result.

The Ambassador's point that the Foreign Service officer is, at least at the outset of his career, a non-conformist by virtue of the fact that, in seeking Foreign Service, he is departing from the "accepted norms of behavior," is an interesting one. We in the Foreign Service have always felt this. We have always considered that foreign service requires a venturesome mind. The ordinary person wants to live in the United States, in a familiar environment, with his family intact, secure, comfortable, relatively undisturbed, life unsubjected to unexpected and incalculable circumstance. But not so the Foreign Service officer.

There is something to this point. But is adventure the only motive that plays a part in the adoption of the Foreign Service as a career? Is there not also the motive of status-seeking, the motive of desiring prestige? These motives may be so dominant as to deny very much strength to adventurousness. In any case, adventurousness is not necessarily an exclusive motive. To what extent do the motives of status and prestige exist; how strong are they? Vital questions, these. For a person entering the Service for status or prestige may place these so high on his totem pole of values he will strike any compromise to retain his status, to preserve his role in a calling of prestige. This is when conformity takes over, oftentimes insensibly.

There are other pressures to conform. The very fact an officer is far from home base, unable easily and orally to explain or defend his views, indeed generally unaware of reactions "at home" to his views and acts, exerts a powerful pressure to conform. What other pressures to conform play within and upon the Foreign Service? Some systematic consideration of these might be helpful in determining the kind of a Foreign Service we have, how serious is its problem in this respect, and what can be done in orientation, training and other programs and procedures to reduce it. I think no one would deny that today a diplomatic service requires a high degree of unconventionality and originality if it is to cope adequately with the crucial situations which confront it and that one of the major problems of the free countries is to retain and encourage the adventuresome spirit which leads a high proportion of their diplomatic officers to consider foreign service as a career in the first place.

Another of Ambassador Mathews' points which interested me was the following: "To summarize, the Foreign Service is recruited from the human race and has its share of human failings. As most men are normally 'cautious traditionalists,' so are the majority of FSO's—but there is always a dissenting majority."

If the majority of the Foreign Service is tradition-wed, is it the élite corps which we like to view it and which the

◄ Dwarf birch trees at timber-line, Norway, *by Paul Child*

Letters to the Editor

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Continued

Diplomacy and Policy Development

nation needs? But this question searches out another even more profound: what kind of a Foreign Service are we shooting for? One which is "representative" or one which is élite?

Are we correct in thinking that the attribution of "timidity" to the Foreign Service dates from the McCarthy era? Or is there something more basic than this involved? What did Roger Hilsman mean when he wrote in the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS in March 1960: "Our true failures probably lie more often in failing to recognize emerging problems in time to evolve effective policies or in meeting big, bold, demanding problems with half measures, timorous and cramped?" Was he right? If so, where does the fault lie for "half measures, timorous and cramped" in our foreign relationships? Does the Foreign Service have any part in this weakness? If not, how does it happen to be immune? If so, how can its share be reduced?

I find a distressingly prevalent view among my colleagues that the primary task of the Foreign Service officer is reporting. Am I correct in finding it "prevalent"? Has this any connection with Mrs. Zara Steiner's view that the "Foreign Service has only a few men who can assist the Secretary of State in developing and revising the broad strategy of our foreign policy?" Or with Dean Acheson's view that the training and life of a Foreign Service officer are not apt to produce men well fitted for the task of recognizing, adequately analyzing, focusing attention and suggesting action on emerging problems?

Are we considering, in fact, one facet of our criteria for admission to the Foreign Service when we raise such questions? Are we wise to admit young men and women, without political experience at home, and indeed without any experience of any kind required? Is it as true today as it may have been at one time that vice-consuls and third secretaries can safely be young people in their early twenties? Is this related to the question of conformity?

Ambassador Mathews' view is that "unpalatable facts and heretical views" continue to flow into the Department and no doubt he is responsible for his share of them. How many principal officers share his tolerance of preliminary dissent so that the flow is to the extent required by the challenge which confronts us all over the world? Are our contacts abroad deep enough to make possible an adequate flow?

Finally, let me suggest a few questions, some of which are implicit in the foregoing and the roots of which, in my judgment, are in need of some systematic searching. Let me present them in three sets:

Why do the Service and the Department have a reputation for opposing change if in fact they do not? What are the sources of this reputation?

Are we obtaining the best talent of this country for the Foreign Service? If so, how does one explain this attraction of the Service in the light of the criticism to which Ambassador Mathews and others draw attention? If we are not attracting the cream, why not and how can we correct this situation? What did a university professor, the head of a political science department mean when he told me that he no longer advises his best students to try for the Foreign Service? Why did a colleague tell me the other day that at a college at which he has two sons the reaction to a Department-Service recruiter was distinctly unfavorable? This representative was regarded as evasive and timid and out of a dozen or more students who had evinced an interest in the Service before the visit not more than two or three were interested after the visit. Where are the best students going? This is another vital question. If we are not getting our share what will become of "our first line of defense" in another ten or fifteen years?

And what of our calling? We like to think of it as a profession. It would certainly seem that its very considerable responsibilities should entitle it to be so considered. Are we sound, then, in not requiring professional standards of those who apply for admission?

These are among the questions we ponder these days in the diplomatic area, as we find our nation confronted by the greatest challenge of its existence. They will no doubt be among those weighed by the committee recently created to suggest means of improving our diplomatic performance. We can only hope that their inquiry will be more thorough than that of their predecessors which have left untouched so many of these basic questions. For we may find ourselves continuing to seek change without ultimate improvement. After all, it is not change alone that is needed.

R. SMITH SIMPSON

Washington

"I understand you gentlemen are going out as Press Officers."

Robert McKinnon Fund

FRIENDS AND colleagues of the late Robert A. McKinnon, former DCM at Ougadougou, have, after consultation with Mrs. McKinnon, established a McKinnon Memorial Fund to be used in support of African studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Proceeds from the Fund will be used in connection with a Robert McKinnon Alumni Fellowship which has been established at Fletcher School. The fund will be used by the School to assist in the development of a program for African Affairs as an appropriate memorial to Bob McKinnon's great interest in and contribution to United States activities in this area.

In order to centralize the collection of funds for transmission to Fletcher School, friends and former colleagues who wish to participate in this memorial to Bob may send contributions to Mrs. Jeanne W. Davis, Executive Secretariat, Room 7241D, Department of State, Washington 25. Checks should be made payable to the McKinnon Memorial Fund. Application has been made for exemption from Federal income tax for contributions to the Fund.

T. J. DUNNIGAN

Washington

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

Letters to the Editor

Catachresis and True Wordmanship

I WAS THOROUGHLY enjoying Mr. Olson's admirable article, "God Save the Queen's English," in your November issue until all of a sudden I found myself accused of catachresis. Shades of McCarthy, I thought, here we go again: but after a quick look at Webster's, and a hasty check of the relevant documents, I am happy to plead not guilty.

Mr. Olson's accusation of catachresis —I hope I can remember to use that word casually sometime, it would be true wordmanship—rested upon a quotation in which I was charged with confusing "flaunt" with "flout" and with having said at the Nuclear Test Ban Conference: "The peoples of the world do indeed demand the cessation of tests, but it is the Soviet Union which is flaunting their will and dashing their hopes for a test ban."

My check of documents, in justice to Mr. Olson, did disclose that there was indeed a press handout, compiled in a great hurry from a draft of that speech by able and energetic press officers and their loyal and harried secretaries, which did include the obnoxious catachresis—the effect of the word grows hypnotic, I wonder if I'm turning into one—"flaunting their will."

The statement actually delivered, however, as attested by the version taken down by the stenographers of the United Nations Secretariat (GEN/DNT/PV. 339, September 4, 1961, Provisional)—a somewhat weaker piece of evidence since we have a crack at doctoring this) after referring to the demand of the peoples of the world for the cessation of tests accused the Soviet Union, correctly both in fact and in English, saying: "it is the Soviet Union which is flouting their will and dashing their hopes for a test ban."

Fully sympathizing with his praiseworthy crusade to defend the Queen's English, may I in all friendliness suggest to Mr. Olson that he be a little more cautious in relying on secondary sources, lest in flaunting misquotations he again flout historical fact.

CHARLES C. STELLE
Acting U.S. Representative
United States Mission
Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests

Geneva

"Schooling for Foreign Economic Policy Makers"

I WELCOME Mr. Eliot's article on "Schooling for Foreign Economic Policy Makers" in the December JOURNAL since this subject has been under active consideration in the Institute.

When President Kennedy received the members of the Senior Seminar last April, he approved of this type of training and expressed the hope that it could be made available to more officers of the Government. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Charles P. O'Donnell who was at that time in charge of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, submitted a recommendation that a Senior Seminar in Economics be added to the Institute's program of senior training. His proposal has been discussed with the Deputy Under Secretary, Mr. Roger W. Jones, and it has been on the agenda of several of the monthly PER/FSI meetings. Further consideration has been suspended in view of the decision that the present budget situation of the Department will not permit the Institute to undertake any new projects either this fiscal year or next.

It also appeared that the proposal for a senior Seminar in Economics could not be discussed without considering the total number of senior officers who can be released for training. There seems to be general agreement that the present number of forty-five is about the maximum.

While this discussion was going on, the Department entered into a contract with the Carnegie Endowment for a survey of the selection, education and training, and career development of American foreign affairs personnel. Mr. Herter will head this study which will inevitably include the subject of senior training.

CARL W. STROM
Director, Foreign Service Institute

Washington

God Save the Queen's English

I YIELD to none in my high regard for Ted Olson ("God Save the Queen's English," Foreign Service Journal, November, 1961) as a drafter, grammarian, poet, artist and civilized gentleman. But the rot, as he so pertinently notes, has indeed penetrated far. I refer to Ted's inability to decide which of two things depresses him most, and I am sure that I am not the first to do so.

JOHN H. BURNS

Bangui

"Coup and Recoup"

I HAVE JUST read "Coup & Recoup" by Ronald H. Nessen in the December issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. It gave me a shock, when, in the middle of this interesting and amusing article, I came upon the spoof of the Washington Merry-Go-Round. The last four "quotes" of Khrushchev and Gromyko would amuse many of my segregationist friends but I did not find them amusing. Attributing them to Soviet officials does not soften the effect of publishing in a semi-official magazine two clichés familiar to most Americans, nor will it make them more palatable to many of the JOURNAL'S readers. It is unfortunate that they were not deleted in the interest of good taste if nothing more.

DAVID PERSINGER, FSO

Washington

"Status in State"

WE ARE PLEASED to note that the Department of State has finally recognized the importance of status, as first pointed out in the pages of the JOURNAL in October, 1959. With the introduction of the new Airgram form, some clerk in the Department will automatically rate each incoming airgram prepared in the Foreign Service as either "IN" or "OUT." No more end user reports will be required, and efficiency reports may be eliminated for all reporting officers in the field, since selection boards in the future can base their recommendations on a simple statistical tabulation. Any Foreign Service officer in the field who has produced 100% "IN" airgrams during the year automatically deserves promotion, not only to the next higher class but to be Chief of Mission at an appropriately "IN" post, such as Timbuktu. Need one specify the fate which awaits an officer whose airgrams have been uniformly classified as "OUT?"

STEPHEN WINSHIP

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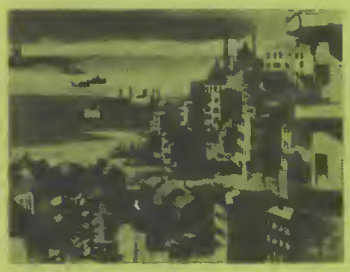

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