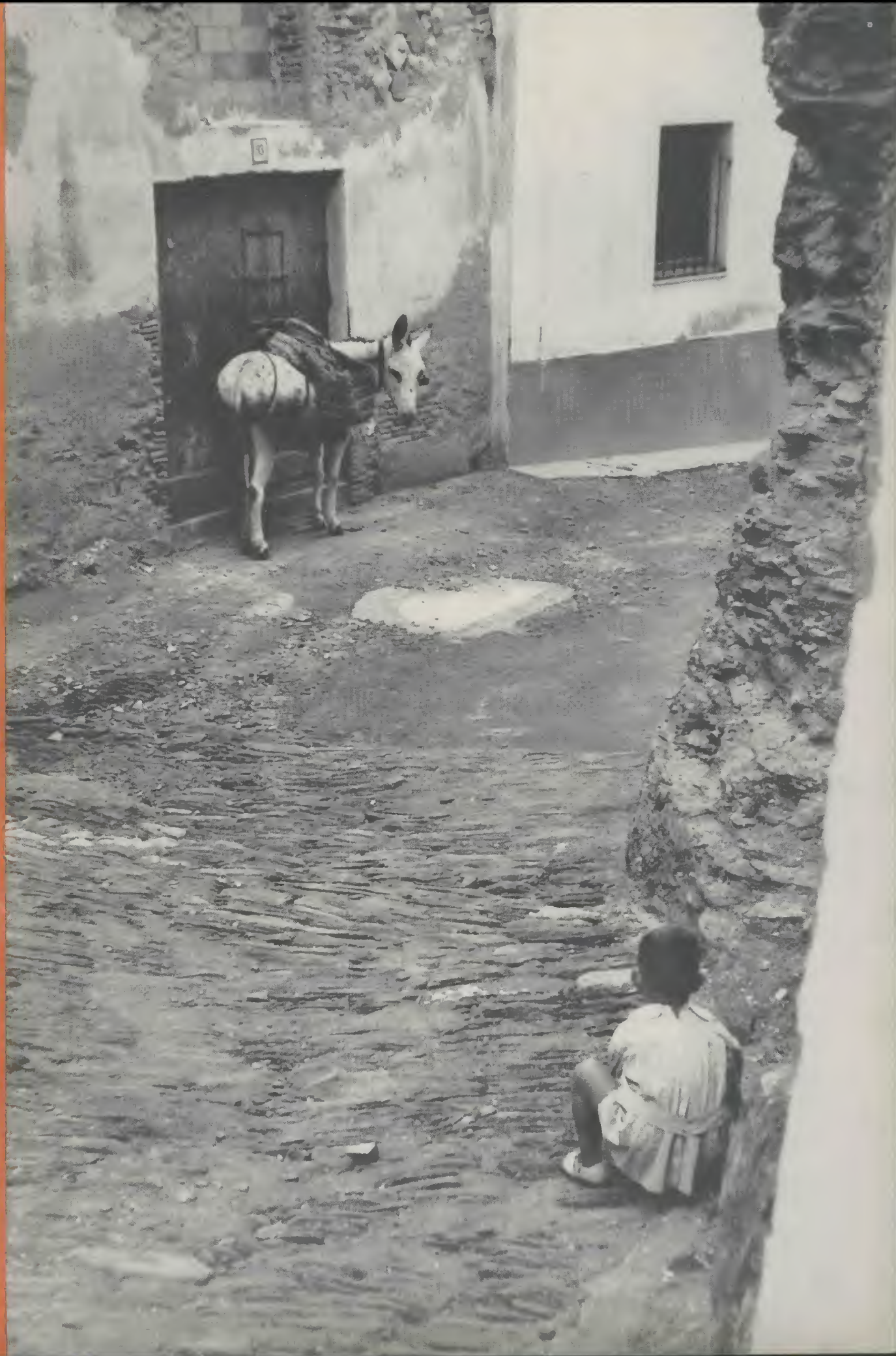


# Foreign Service Journal

April 1962 / Price 50¢





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"Friends?"

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## Career Ambassadors

THE BOARD of Foreign Service has announced the following nominations for promotion to the rank of Career Ambassador: W. Walton Butterworth, U. S. Representative to the European Communities with the rank of Ambassador; Walter C. Dowling, Ambassador to Germany; and Frances E. Willis, Ambassador to Ceylon.

## BIRTHS

- BAUGH. A son, David Everington, born to Mr. and Mrs. Jerry P. Baugh, on January 24, in Bogotá, Colombia. Mr. Baugh is Vice Consul in Bogotá.  
 BLOCH. A daughter, Kathleen Jenny, born to Mr. and Mrs. Felix Stephen Bloch, in Duesseldorf, on December 18, 1961.  
 JONES. A son, Zachary Chaffin, born to Mr. and Mrs. Marshall P. Jones, on February 21, in Seoul. Mr. Jones is Counselor of Embassy for Administration in Seoul.  
 MCCUSKER. A son, Paul Alexander, born to Mr. and Mrs. Paul D. McCusker, in Hamburg, on January 14.  
 OLSON. A daughter, Kirsten Anne, born to Mr. and Mrs. Oscar J. Olson, Jr., on February 14, in Winter Park, Florida. Mr. Olson is assigned to Barcelona.  
 WENZEL. A daughter, Karla Jean, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Wenzel, on November 29, 1961, in Freetown.

## MARRIAGES

- CURTIS-KAMMAN. Mary Glasgow Curtis, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Glion Curtis, and Curtis Warren Kamman were married on February 10 in Webster Groves, Missouri. Mr. and Mrs. Kamman were classmates in the October, 1960, FSO-8 class.  
 MCNAB-SEARLES. Nancy Jane McNab, daughter of Mr. Joseph J. McNab and the late Mrs. McNab, and Charles D. Searles, USIA, were married on March 3, at Asbury Church, Crestwood, New York. Mr. Searles has served at Vienna and Vientiane and is now assigned to the American Embassy, Tananarive.  
 HEGLE-WARREN. Lila Hegle, daughter of Mr. William Edward Hegle, and George Lewis Warren, Jr., were married on February 24, at the Church of the Annunciation, Washington, D. C. Mr. Warren is currently assigned to the Department of State.

## DEATHS

- ARMSTRONG. Jane P. Armstrong died February 5, in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Armstrong served in the Foreign Service for 28 years, in Habana, Mombasa, Auckland and Manila, and in the Department. She retired last November.  
 HAY. Mrs. Minnie Lee Cooper Hay, wife of FSO John Hay, died on March 2, 1962 at Washington, D. C. Mrs. Hay was in the first group of women to be commissioned in the U. S. Armed Forces shortly after Pearl Harbor. She retired as a Major of the U. S. Air Force in 1961.  
 WALLER. George Platt Waller, Jr., FSO-retired, died on February 26, at Montgomery, Alabama. Mr. Waller entered the Foreign Service in 1913 and retired in 1950. He served at Yarmouth, Carlsbad, Athens, Kobe, Bizerta, Ceiba, Dresden, Brussels, Chihuahua, Luxembourg and Florence.

## AWARD

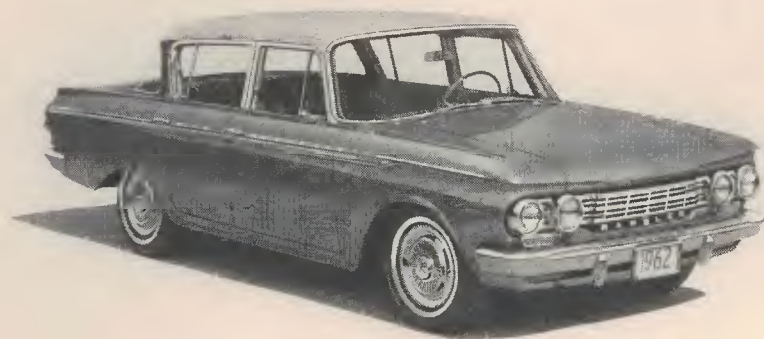
GEORGE F. KENNAN, Ambassador to Yugoslavia, was recently elected to The National Institute of Arts and Letters. Earlier Mr. Kennan had received the Pulitzer prize for work in the field of diplomatic history.



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April, 1937

by JAMES B. STEWART

### Silent Cal Loquacious in Praise of State (From the Department's archives)

**I**N 1924 the Division of Publications discovered in a little-frequented vault, two old maps which antedated the Revolution. On the back of each was inscribed: "This map is the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society and is loaned to the United States on the express condition of being safely returned."—*Boston, November 11, 1828.*

The letter of December 18, 1924, from the Chief of the Division of Publications, returning the maps to the Historical Society, reads in part: "The United States cannot but regret that the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have for ninety-six years been deprived of the study of these interesting and valuable specimens of the cartographer's art. Yet scarcely can the humble servant of the United States who now pens these lines find it in him to regret that it should remain for the day of Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, to honor the terms of a loan made in that of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. I therefore hasten—if a word be not denied me which to the ear of the zealous curator might have perhaps a ring of irony—I hasten, Sir, to return to you under separate cover, with the compliments, with the apologies, and with the hearty thanks of the Department of State, these two somewhat time-worn testimonials of a faith which after all has not been betrayed."

Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, in transmitting the letter to President Coolidge, wrote in part: "We have all learned to have faith in Massachusetts but it is important that Massachusetts should have faith in the United States." The President replied:

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Your note of December 20th and accompanying papers bring me a reminder of that splendid fidelity for which our Department of State has always been so distinguished. It is, however, even more impressive in its suggestion of the promptness and despatch with which the official duties of your eminent branch of the Government are so uniformly discharged.

In view of the record achieved by the State Department in returning these maps, after a lapse of only ninety-six years, I am moved to make a special appeal to you, as one obviously expert in the facilitation of public business, for suggestions in regard to another matter. You will recall that in the Annual Message to Congress, I ventured the suggestion that the French Spoliation Claims might properly receive the attention of the Congress. These claims have been awaiting final settlement for now considerably more than a century, and the recent acceleration of performance which your Department has so impressively achieved, leads me to the hope that you may be able to suggest some procedure by which, within say the next two or

*Continued on p. 6*

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## 25 Years Ago

three centuries, it might be possible to secure a final adjustment of them.

Awaiting with the utmost interest any constructive proposals which you may wish to advance, I am,

*Most sincerely yours,*  
 CALVIN COOLIDGE

Mr. Hughes replied that the Department of State is deeply interested in the Claims but is compelled to await the cooperation of Congress and so, as the President suggests, it may be necessary to allow two or three centuries for their final adjustment.

### Briefs from the 1937 Journal

- James E. Brown, Jr., Third Secretary, Stockholm, received from King Gustav V, the Nobel Prize for literature which was awarded to Eugene O'Neill, American dramatist. Mr. O'Neill was unable to be present.

- On behalf of the Garden Club of America, Mrs. Joseph C. Grew, wife of the American Ambassador to Japan, presented 4,650 American trees to the Japanese nation. The Mayor of Tokyo participated in the Ceremonies.

**Comment, 1962:** Thanks to His Honor, the Mayor, thousands of school children visit the Capital at Easter to view the cherry blossoms. Reporters each year try to find out what interests these youngsters the most during the visit and invariably report, "The boys in the girls and the girls in the boys."

- Ambassador Joseph E. Davies is making tours in Russia through the industrial sections of the country in order to study Soviet industry at first hand. He has visited tractor and locomotive factories, hydroelectric stations, and the Donetz coal basin.

**Comment, 1962:** Mr. Davies later wrote "Mission to Moscow."



A daughter, Lilla Cabot, was born to 3d Secretary and Mrs. Cecil B. Lyon, at Peiping, on January 18, 1937.

**Comment, 1962:** Since graduating from Radcliffe in 1958, Lilla has been leading an active and interesting life. She worked in New York for three years during one of which she was with the New York **WORLD TELEGRAM AND SUN** as a copy-girl and reporter. Last January she started working for Time, Inc. as a researcher in the Book Division for their American History series.

Lilla spent most of last year with her parents in Paris where her father is American Minister at the Embassy.

### And More Recently

**Personal Notes:** There is another Dowling in the Service—Michael, with Jack Jernegan in Baghdad. The Dowlings in Bonn (Red and Alice) must feel as though they were starting out all over again.

- Anne Penfield, wife of our Ambassador to Iceland, is all aglow over the Icelanders. Says they are lots of fun—cheerful, volatile, spendthrift, argumentative, and politically eager. Anne surmises that all this may come from the predilection their Viking ancestors had for capturing pretty Irish colleens as they passed by Ireland.

- The Orme Wilsons and the Jack Whites expect to visit Athens in April to see their respective families. Margaret White married Tapley Bennett, Deputy Chief of Mission at



by James B. Stewart

our Embassy. Orme Wilson, Jr., is Second Secretary. His wife and children are in Athens with him.

- Ambassador Fulton (Tony) Freeman and Phyllis, reported to us on the excitement occasioned by the President's highly successful visit to Bogota.

- Former Ambassador Nathaniel (Pen) Davis and Louise, had two school teachers from Africa in their home for several days last year. When the visitors were shown Lake George, one of them asked: "Are there any crocodiles in there?"

- Don't discount our Senior Citizens! Bartley Yost, retired FSO, at 85, hopped across the Pacific to Cebu, Philippines, where he spent the Christmas holidays with our Consul, his son Robert.

### Geographically Speaking:

► **Bay Area**—Foreign Service-retirees in the Bay Area, California, attended a luncheon on January 6, in San Carlos. These gatherings occur twice yearly and, as in the past, retired FSO David Maynard was the moving spirit. Because of his enthusiasm, fifty-two were present, more than at any previous luncheon. As one retired officer put it, "These affairs fill a worthy niche in post-Service life." Attending were: the David Bergers, Bland Calderes, Samuel Days, Albert Doyles, John Ehrhardts, Arthur Frosts, Walter Hoffmans, Joel Hudsons, Frederick Jandreys, Paul Josselyns, Gerald Keiths, J. Kemptons, John Ketchams, Kenneth Krentzes, David Maynards, John Madonnes, Myrl Myers, John Raymonds, John Sawyers, Orray Tafts, Henry Wattermans, Rollin Winslows, Mrs. Dorr, Mr. Ellis, Mrs. Hinke, Mr. Eric Kocher, Mrs. Linnell, Miss Lee, Mrs. Horatio Mooers, and Mr. Samuel Sokobin.

► **Cordele**—Former FSO James B. Pilcher and wife retired in Cordele, Georgia. They live by a lake and, unfortunately, Jim broke his right hand last summer in a boating accident. At the typewriter he has been a southpaw for some time.

► **Denver**—William D. Moreland, FSO-retired, was in Denver recently. The Department assigned Bill to escort a group of seventeen journalists on their visits to a number of cities from coast to coast.

After his recent retirement, Bill opened an office in Washington and is handling business and development affairs in the French-speaking new nations of Africa. He was stationed at Dakar from 1949 to 1951 during which time he traveled throughout West Africa 18,000 miles, mostly by surface means, including camel. Following that he worked on African matters in the Department, ICA and USIA.

► **Princeton**—Paul (Zeke) Paddock bought a house in Princeton, N. J. at 9 Ober Road. Oddly enough, another retired FSO and his wife live next door, the Eugene Hinkles. Zeke attended the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City last summer. His cousin, Jane Lee McBurney, a sophomore at the University of Colorado, is Miss Colorado.



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# Censorship, Executive Privilege and the Service

## Executive Privilege vs. Individual Accountability

February 9, 1962

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am attaching a copy of my letter to Secretary McNamara of February eighth in which I have directed him, and all personnel under the jurisdiction of the Department of Defense, not to give any testimony or produce any documents which would enable the Senate's Special Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee to identify and hold accountable any individual with respect to any particular speech that he has reviewed.

That letter states that I am issuing parallel instructions to the Secretary of State. I therefore direct you, and all personnel under the jurisdiction of your department, not to give any such testimony or produce any such documents.

As I noted in my letter to Secretary McNamara the principle of executive privilege cannot be automatically applied to every request for information. Each case must be judged on its own merits. But the principle as applied to these facts governs the personnel of

your department equally with that of the Department of Defense. In neither case do I intend to permit subordinate officials of the career services to bear the brunt of Congressional inquiry into policies which are the responsibilities of their superiors.

JOHN F. KENNEDY  
President

February 10, 1962

Dear Mr. President:

This acknowledges your instructions to me of February 9 with respect to testimony or documents to be furnished to the Senate's Special Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee which might identify or hold accountable any individual with respect to any particular speech that he has reviewed.

I am glad to be so instructed because of the fundamental importance of this matter to the proper administration of the Department of State and the maintenance of its morale and integrity.

DEAN RUSK  
Secretary of State

## Censorship and the Cold War

WE ARE SATISFIED that the State Department has performed its duties in connection with the review of speeches in a creditable and responsible manner. We are concerned, therefore, about attempts to use isolated changes or deletions to create the impression that officers of the Department of State do not fully comprehend the fateful forces working in the world today or the malignant nature of the international Communist conspiracy. It has been suggested that certain of these alterations or deletions disclose the existence of a "no win" philosophy.

I am not sure that I understand just what is intended by this particular slogan. To the extent that I do understand it, I should like to reply by a personal comment. I came to the Department of State just over a year ago from a long career as a private lawyer in an environment of private enterprise. During the course of my relatively brief service it has been my privilege to work closely with officers drawn from all over the Department. I have been impressed again and again with their dedication to the interests of the United States and their determination to advance those interests so that a world of freedom may

prevail against a world of Communist tyranny.

I have been impressed, moreover, with the knowledge that these professionals possess and with their alert awareness of the nature and magnitude of the forces arrayed against us. They recognize—and display that recognition in their whole approach to the business of the Department—that we must bring to bear a profound and detailed understanding of those forces in order to design and administer policies that will mean victory for the values that we Americans hold most important.

Nothing can be gained by oversimplifying the problems before us. The characterization of a policy as a "win" or "no win" policy does not reflect the realities of today's world. The Cold War is not an adult game of cops and robbers. . .

The solemn nature of the times calls for the United States to develop maximum strength but to utilize that strength with wisdom and restraint.

—George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, before the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, February 27, 1962.

## "A Vigorous Foreign Service"

I MIGHT COMMENT quite informally on some discussions which have occurred with respect to the Foreign Service, and the effect of a law which makes certain additional retirement benefits available up to May 31st of this year, a law which was passed, I think, in 1960. We have not had a rush of applications for retirement to take advantage of this law from among our senior and competent Foreign Service Officers, although there will be some who will undoubtedly take this particular provision of law into account when they consider their own personal situation. . . .

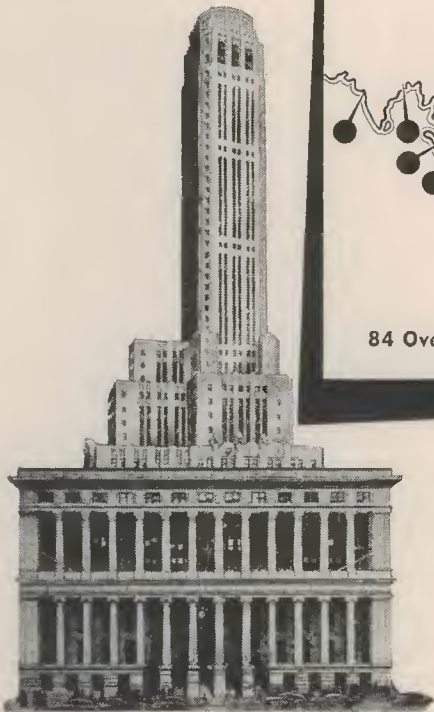
But on the other hand we do not have the impression that this is impelling Foreign Service officers to change drastically their own personal approach to this problem. Indeed we have a number of Foreign Service Officers who are working free, in the sense that if they were to retire today their retirement would be somewhat larger than the present salary of their present posts. We have a great sense of dedication in the Foreign Service, and I do not believe that this is going to be a major element in that situation.

Also, I think it is fair to point out that we have in this Administration made great use of our professional service. I think the percentage of our posts abroad held by Career Officers is something over 70 percent. It is true that we have sent a number of younger men to new posts. I think that I have had the privilege of bidding Godspeed to almost 25 Foreign Service Officers who have gone out to their first Chief of Mission post. But let me add that some of the posts to which they are going require young men under the circumstances of the situation.

Finally, I should like to say that I do not have the impression, sitting where I sit, that members of the Foreign Service are acting like scared rabbits with respect to policy matters. It is the duty of a professional service to support the Administration which is in power at the time and to give it its best judgment and advice. We are very pleased to see the vigor, the intelligence and the capacity which is brought to bear by our professional service, including sticking their necks out on proposing policy, analyzing situations, estimating, and predicting. We have, I am glad to say, a vigorous Foreign Service to which I am extremely grateful.

—Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, at his news conference on March 11.

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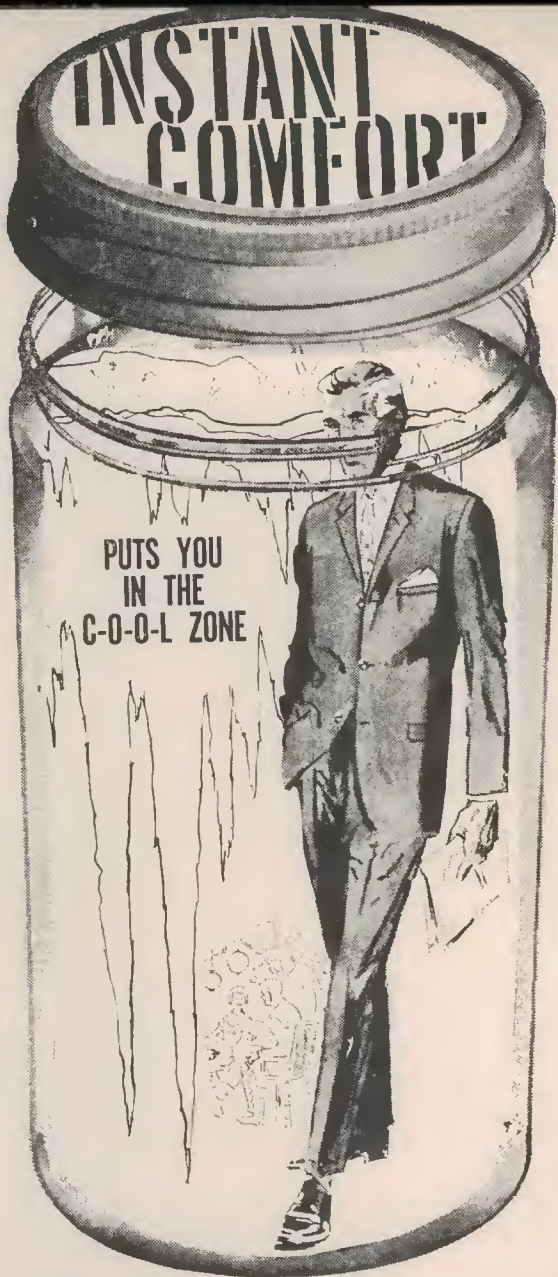


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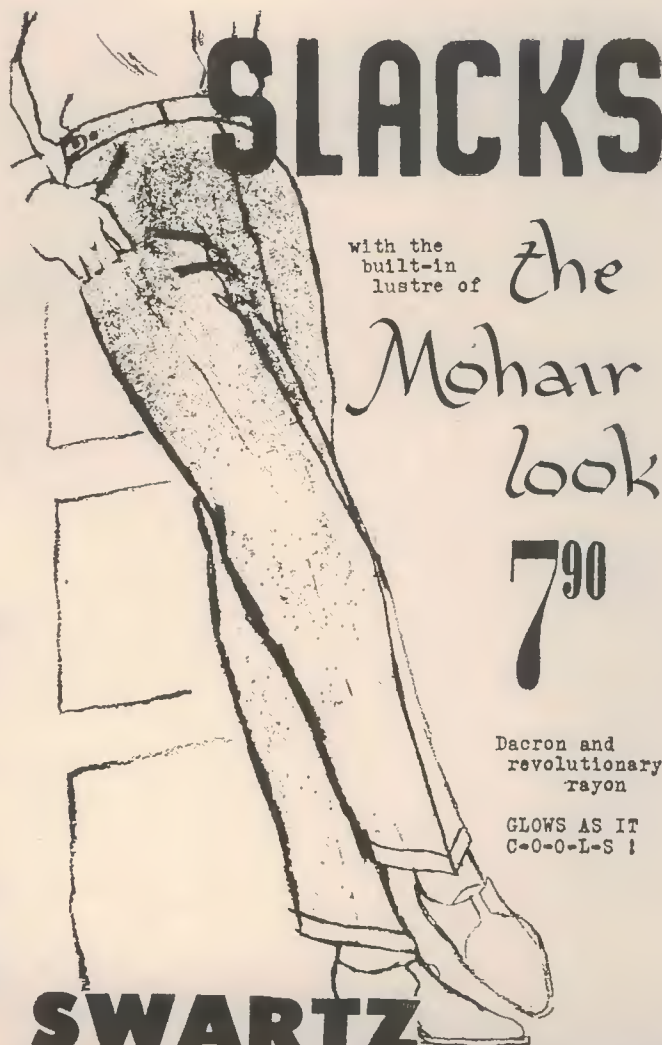
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DEAR TO THE hearts of all assembled was Mrs. G. Mennen Williams's conviction that more Foreign Service wives should accompany their husbands on business trips abroad. So certain is she of the good will generated when the wife goes along that Mrs. Williams travels at her own expense to join her husband on his African tours, and she expressed hope that the Department will some day set aside funds to include wives on business trips.

Speaking on Africa to AAFSW members at the February luncheon at Fort McNair, Mrs. Williams expressed admiration for the Foreign Service women she has met on her travels. She found them to be an amazing group, she said, accomplished linguists, deeply involved in social and charitable work, and completely devoted to their assignments in the new, emerging countries.

A complete summary of each discussion is available at the AAFSW Desk in the Foreign Service Lounge.

#### Another Scholarship

To further express their interest in education, Foreign Service women re-

cently presented \$500 to the AFSA for one AAFSW scholarship, funds for which were raised by the sale of 1962 Engagement Calendars, both at home and in the field. Much credit goes to the Junior Wives Committee, headed by Mrs. Thomas Barthelmey, who conducted the fund raising campaign, as well as to the London Embassy Wives organization for its spectacular sale of 202 calendars.

#### AAFSW Educational Roundtable

HOW BEST to educate their children was the primary concern of Foreign Service women recently assembled at the Guy Mason Recreation Center in the District. The occasion was AAFSW's Educational Roundtable under the direction of Mrs. George Morgan, Educational Committee Chairman. Before dividing into five simultaneous roundtables the group heard Dr. Nils W. Olson of the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Clarke Slade, Educational Consultant for AFSA, and Elsa A. Miller, Director of the Episcopal Home for Children.

*In touching briefly on the Educa-*

*tion Committee's "Operation Text Books" last year, Mrs. Morgan offered the 3,000 text book library reposing in her basement to any American school abroad in need of books.*

Some gleanings from the round tables include suggestions to:

"Utilize art and music as your child's entree into an unfamiliar culture. Particularly in the very young, they help provide a firm base for emotional orientation.

"Plan early for college entrance . . . find out early what your preferred college requires . . . let your child take as many College Board type examinations as possible, to develop facility with American style testing.

"Be prepared for adjustment problems in your children when you come home as well as when you go abroad . . . try to keep them abreast of what their contemporaries in the United States are doing, saying, wearing . . . when you return to the United States, let your trophies from foreign parts include some homely, everyday articles that can be handled and shown at school without fear of loss or damage."



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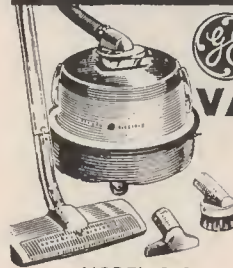
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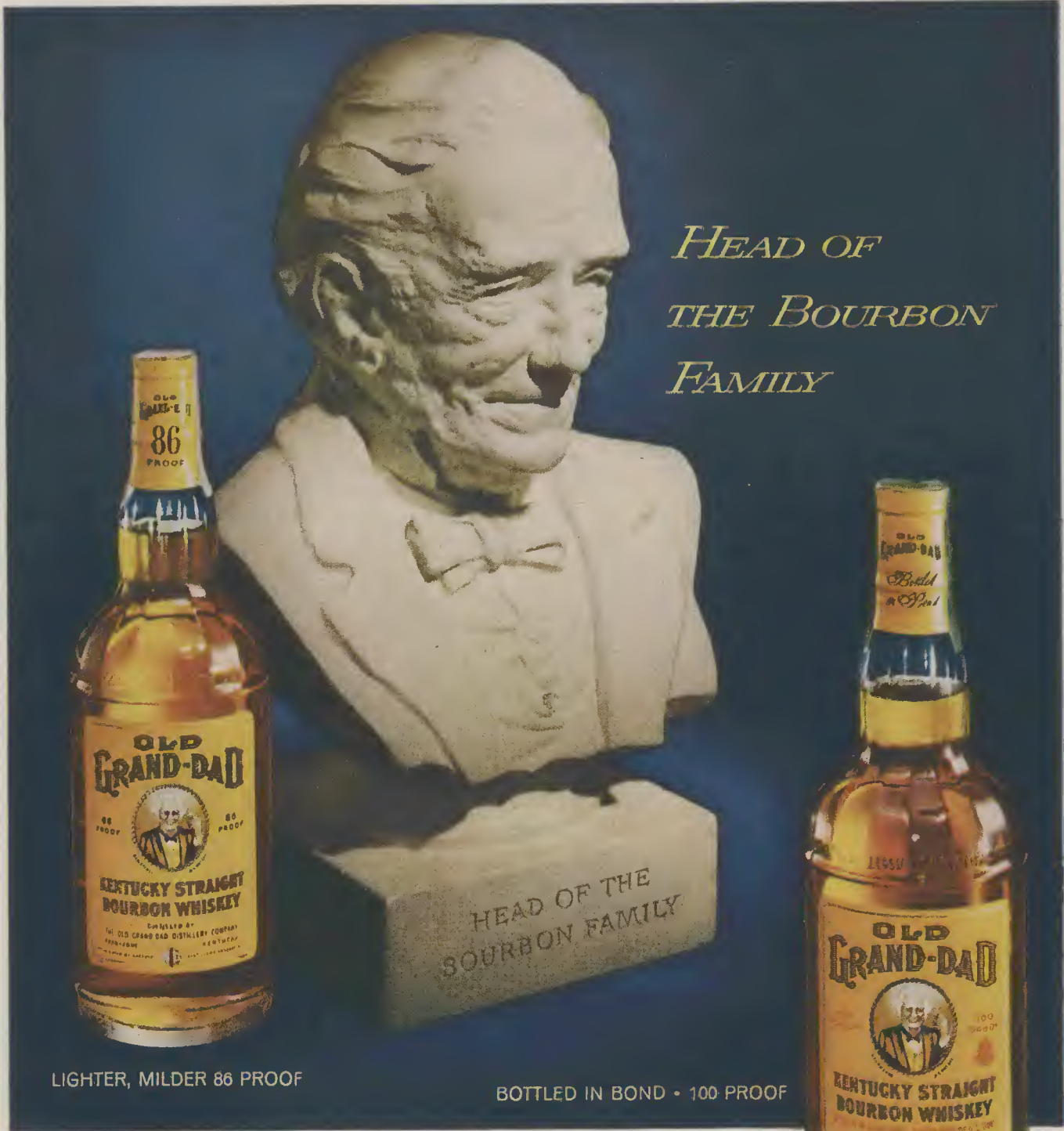
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*by Lynn Moffly*

## Craftsmanship and Responsibility

by NORMAN B. HANNAH

ONE CAN LOOK at the personnel structure of the Foreign Service from the perspective of recruitment, training and promotion, that is, from the bottom upwards, or from the top downwards, that is, from the point of view of those who personally bear the responsibility of protecting and advancing the interest of the United States: the President, the Secretary, and the Under-Secretaries. A valid understanding must include both perspectives; neither one alone is enough. The role and importance of specialization emerge most clearly from an analysis of the training and recruitment required to fill in the Service from the bottom (or from the side). The word generalist is often used to describe the view from the upper end of the personnel structure. The terms are often used to distinguish specialists, usually not in authoritative positions, from those in positions of broad responsibility, usually having wide experience and high rank—the so-called generalists.

By focusing attention on the wide scope of their purview rather than on their key function of assuming responsibility, these men in high position are made to appear as generalists, that is, the opposite of specialists. Once this false dichotomy is accepted, we become involved in this singularly sterile debate over the specialist *vs.* the generalist.

In actual fact, the specialist and generalist are not two distinct and antithetical quantities. The difference between them is not sharp, but subtly graduated. The specialist and generalist are parts of the same system and must blend into each other. Indeed, specialization itself is a graduated continuum running from increasingly intensified mastery of a narrowly defined craft, at one extreme, to a kind of structural specialization at the other extreme, the latter being defined in terms of organizational control and responsibility. The first type may be called craftsmanship. The second is specialization in responsibility within the chain of command, requiring not only the ability to control and direct all the various activities within a broad managerial area but special qualities of breadth, flexibility and imagination, enabling the incumbent to see his job in the context of overriding policies and considerations broader than his own

NORMAN B. HANNAH entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served in the Middle and Far East until 1957. He was then appointed Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration and is currently Counselor at Kabul.

job. Substitution of "craftsmanship and responsibility" for "specialist and generalist" has the advantage of focusing attention on functional interdependence rather than on a superficial personnel competition. Stating the problem in these terms also obviates the necessity of pigeonholing each employee arbitrarily as a specialist or a generalist. No employee is purely a craftsman or a responsible decision-maker. All participate in varying degrees in both functions. The emphasis should be placed on defining the requirements of particular positions, finding people to fill them and taking full advantage of the fact that some people develop talents for assuming responsibility while others flourish on intense concentration in a craft.

Mrs. Zara S. Steiner in "Present Problems of the Foreign Service"\* aptly quotes Mr. Loy Henderson as saying that it is no longer possible for any one officer to be qualified to hold any position in the Service. However, this is not to say that there is no longer a need for men who, during their careers, have had wide and varied experience in both function and area and have thereby acquired broad comprehension, and who are willing to bend their talents to whatever task may be at hand. This suggests a key distinction between the so-called specialist and the so-called generalist. The pure specialist wants to concentrate his efforts in one narrow field and he should not be asked to assume responsibilities which force him out of his field or compel him to compete with officers in other fields. He is a craftsman. There is another type of man who sees himself as directly involved and primarily interested in the purposive and decisive processes of his organization and seeks positions which give him the responsibility and power to make decisions which need to be made. There is no relevant field which he considers to be outside his purview but he seeks the assistance of specialists in obtaining the necessary information and advice on which to make decisions.

The confusion arising from the specialist-generalist argument emerges most clearly in Mrs. Steiner's discussion of the political officer, the diplomatic officer and the generalist, three categories which seem to float freely in space, usually in overlapping combinations. Mrs. Steiner considers that the old-time generalist should now be called a political offi-

\*Published by Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University.

cer. She also considers it unfortunate that the Foreign Service continues to use the term generalist to designate men who have done political work, but she has not entirely broken with that tradition in her monograph.

The term political can be used in at least two different senses. In the narrow sense, political work consists of analysis and reporting on the processes of the state carried on through the constitutional and legal framework, and on elemental political forces challenged through the electoral and party structure. This is what a young political officer does when he analyzes the French parliamentary spectrum or the German federal system, or follows movements in the British political party structure. It is possible to develop a high degree of craftsmanship in this work.

THE WORD political can also be used in a broad sense to refer to the manipulation of the nexus of the total complex of factors affecting the power of the state (*polis*), the nation or a group of states. In this sense political work is the focus of the highest objective of the Department and Foreign Service which must encompass everything which affects the total power and position of the United States in relation to the rest of the world. This is generalism in the highest sense of the word, but it is far more accurate to describe it in terms of purposive decision-making, or better still—responsibility. There is no reason why a man cannot approach this category of work via many different channels in addition to the channel of political craftsmanship as narrowly defined above. The key question is not whether he starts out as an economic, intelligence, commercial, cultural, political or area specialist. The key question is whether, during the course of his career, he is given and seizes opportunities to demonstrate that he has qualities fitting him for the exercise of broad responsibility.

This should help to eliminate some confusion about the "political officer," supposedly the beneficiary of a traditional patrician inheritance (probably dating from Grotius), the prerequisites of which he shoulders heavily and the duties lightly. As an analyst of political institutions and processes, he is a craftsman like any other, whatever the field. It may be true that the officer with considerable early experience in political work (as narrowly defined) has some advantage, but this advantage does not stem from favoritism in the promotion system or from outmoded traditional Foreign Service attachments. Rather, it stems from the fact that the man who is thrown into the study of the political institutions of any country has an excellent vantage point from which to observe and report on the convergence of the factors of power at the points where decisions are made. This emphasizes the importance of giving promising craftsmen opportunities to work in fields outside their specialty in order to acquire the broad perspective they need if they are gradually to move into positions of broader responsibility. Of course, it is possible and often desirable for a craftsman to remain in his special field throughout his career. However, such a life-time craftsman should be placed in a kind of staff relationship where he will not be forced to compete on the ladder which leads to broader responsibility.

The personnel system of the Department and Foreign

Service has a dual responsibility to recruit and train craftsmen, simultaneously rearing holders of responsibility and makers of decisions. These are no two different classes in the Foreign Service but parts of the same continuum. In addition to producing voluminous specialized work designed to service other agencies and provide a basis for decisions, the Department and Foreign Service have the job of producing a fair number of the decision-makers themselves. The Foreign Service and the Department must provide enough men of broad vision, varied experience and acute judgment to give the President a wide choice in filling a hundred ambassadorships and numerous high positions in the Department and other agencies. The President is not required to appoint from the Foreign Service, historically has not done so, and only in recent years has the practice become fairly common. If the Foreign Service fails in this the President will surely turn elsewhere to fill these positions. To a large extent the shape and content of any personnel pyramid must be determined by the height and weight of its pinnacle which, in the case of the Foreign Service, today includes sub-cabinet positions, agency heads and Presidential personal representatives around the world. This fact, plus the normal quality of ambition naturally influences heavily the whole personnel structure and promotion system. If it should some day be desired to make the FSO Corps primarily a reservoir of highly qualified specialists in specific crafts, this result could be accomplished by placing Presidential appointments beyond the reach of the Foreign Service. Very soon, the Service would become a collection of craftsmen, capable of rising, in exceptional cases, to the rank of Counselor or Office Director, but not aspiring to become an Ambassador, Assistant Secretary or Under Secretary.

MRS. STEINER questions whether the career man "trained only in the political aspect of foreign affairs" can fill the role of a modern Ambassador, one of those positions for which the President needs men "who can bridge fields." But, if the politically trained career specialist cannot qualify, can any other specialist, be he economic, cultural or administrative? It is all very well to say, as Mrs. Steiner does, that "it is no contradiction . . . to develop first rate specialists and then to select, from all . . . branches (top-level generalists)." But how do these specialists suddenly become top-level generalists and how are the necessary qualities to be recognized if the officer is kept within the narrow confines of his specialty until he reaches senior rank? As it is, Mrs. Steiner says, most FSO's today don't get the kind of experience which would equip them to deal with the many factors involved in foreign-policy-making. But how is an officer to get this experience if it is only "when the officer has reached relatively senior levels within his own field that he should be assigned to work which will broaden his range and competence?"

It may be questioned whether unrelieved concentration on a specialized field from recruitment to senior level, say fifteen to twenty years, is really the best preparation for sudden assignment to a key position, the basic qualification for which is "the ability to bridge fields." On the contrary,



it may tend to encourage the idea that each field of specialization is somehow autonomous, sufficient unto itself as the basis for high-level decision making. We all are familiar with the results of making major decisions affecting the national interest on the basis of purely economic or purely military rationale. There may even be a tendency among some specialists, economic, military or other, to regard all factors not comprised within their own disciplines as somehow unclean or dishonest, to consign them to the political dumpheap for use by the less fastidious generalist, and to regard participation in decisions involving these political factors as a professional fall from grace. A man able to bridge fields should not even think about fields, but about the national interest, choosing his ideas and tools and making his decisions pragmatically and purposively. His outlook should be macrocosmic as differentiated from (but not opposed to) the intensive microscopic expertise of the craftsman.

Where does this leave the specialist? In the light of what has gone before, the question might be better rephrased: "What is the role of craftsmanship?" Just as the term generalist distracts attention from the true role of responsibility, so does the term specialist obscure the role of craftsmanship. Instead of concentrating on ways to adjust and repeatedly readjust the personnel structure of the Department and Foreign Service in order to accommodate the changing requirements of a constantly changing series of particular groups of persons, we might better focus on the function of craftsmanship itself, which is to provide expert knowledge, analysis, judgment and advice, tailored to meet the needs of the decision-making process.

Providing such craftsmanship requires the construction of a systematic, though flexible, pattern of skills, experience and qualities needed at each point throughout the whole structure of the Foreign Service and Department of State. Recruitment, training and assignment policies must be cut to fit these requirements. The important thing is that the whole structure be regarded as an organic process, moved by changing human forces, rather than an immovable pyramid composed of bricks rigidly placed and mortared, never to move during the next millennium. The systematic framework, like an organic body, should be stable; but the contents, that is, the officers themselves, must flow and not remain static. Somehow, it has become customary to apply a double standard to generalists and specialists. It is accepted that non-specialists, being driven by ambition for power and responsibility as well as financial reward, will compete with all comers at all levels. On the other hand, it is widely assumed that specialists must be insulated from this process by being placed in rigid slots and limited-exit grooves.

**N**OW, THIS IS a watershed between generalists and specialists. Those who cannot, will not or should not compete with all comers in the promotional system of the Foreign Service—which is and should be oriented toward the need of the President and Secretary for people capable of assuming responsibility in the pursuit of the broad undifferentiated interest of the United States—should not be in the

Foreign Service. Their functions should be provided for through a separate recruiting and promotional system. The Department surely needs highly trained people in many areas to perform necessary functions which may be difficult to accommodate or provide within the Foreign Service framework. There are also many highly qualified people, able to perform these functions, but who neither seek nor are suited for the rewards offered in the Foreign Service pyramid. There are those whose *forte* lies in a lifetime of intense concentration in a single craft. To meet these needs, therefore, consideration might be given to the establishment of a separate pyramid where the lifetime craftsman can be paid and promoted commensurately with his performance, without forcing him to compete with others who seek goals he does not covet, and without forcing the constant remolding of the Foreign Service structure.

This should not mean halving the Foreign Service or reducing it to the *status quo ante* Wristonization. On the contrary, it may be that the numbers of lifetime craftsmen are not as large as might have been expected. It should not be assumed that all those entering the Department or Foreign Service as highly qualified craftsmen necessarily have no interests or aspirations outside their special fields. There is a considerable number of good officers who started out as specialists, but given the scope and stimulus afforded in the Service, broadened their interests and rose in directions not previously expected. Those officers who show signs of both ability and inclination to assume broad responsibility should be given every opportunity to develop this capacity, even if it means assignments outside their craft. The world is short of such people and needs all it can find. Furthermore, there is the danger that if such a man is confined to his slotted craft, he will resign from frustration or will be warped and stunted by the time he reaches senior grade.

**W**E SHOULD NOT bemoan this movement of some of our best young craftsmen into broader areas of responsibility. This is the healthiest possible movement and should not be regarded as the temptation of renegade specialists by the "generalist goals and attitudes" of the Foreign Service. By encouraging this kind of movement, the Foreign Service can better attract the craftsman into its ranks. And if he broadens out into wider fields and assumes higher responsibilities, the United States should not consider that it has lost a specialist. On the contrary, it will have gained a real craftsman. This is a key difference between the two concepts. The specialist, by definition, is a man who confines his efforts to one special field. Thus, specialization is a restrictive or exclusive concept, unlike craftsmanship. Whatever his operational specialty may be at any given time, a man can be a craftsman in many different fields at once. The fact that he is an economist does not prevent him from also being a craftsman in political or cultural or commercial or other fields. When he became President, Dwight D. Eisenhower gave up being an operational specialist (if he ever was one) but he did not give up his military craftsmanship, from which the United States continued to benefit even during his Presidency. The same could be said of Secretary of State George Marshall. An experienced labor

## SPECIALIST PROBLEM

attaché or economist or academician may have to give up his operational specialization on becoming an ambassador, but he does not lose his craftsmanship which is an asset he carries with him and will always be of use. And, if this is true at the higher level, why should it not be true as a principle at all levels?

The Foreign Service needs competent craftsmen and should bend every effort to recruit them at the bottom as well as from the side. But it must not be assumed that once a specialist always a specialist. Once in the Foreign Service, an officer must compete and be judged and assigned according to some kind of unified scale.

It is inevitable that the pattern of that scale will be heavily influenced by the fact that it leads to a pinnacle where the rewards go to the man who is able to assume broad responsibility on a scope and level commensurate with the needs of the President of the United States who appoints him.

Mrs. Steiner feels there are not enough top positions for specialists. Yet, logically, one would have thought that the numbers, ranks and qualifications of the top positions would depend on the need for such positions to accomplish certain objectives, rather than on the need to provide spaces into which to promote people—whether specialists or generalists. By all means, let the true craftsman rise in the Service and rise as high as his talents will carry him. But let him compete in the same pyramid for the same jobs, according to the same standards which apply to everyone else. If, in certain cases, this will not meet the needs of the Service, then let the position be placed in a different non-competitive pyramid.

The rank of Career Minister is open to all, but it is unrealistic to appoint more people to that rank than there are positions calling for it. To do so would only generate pressures from all quarters and further accelerate the demoralizing depreciation of responsibility and inflation of rank

which are already apparent throughout our society, including the Foreign Service. It may be that under the pressure of expanding worldwide responsibilities, new specialized positions of Counselor or Ministerial rank will be needed abroad, but even so, all will still be under the Ambassador who will be chosen by the President, not for his performance in a craft hut for his "ability to bridge fields."

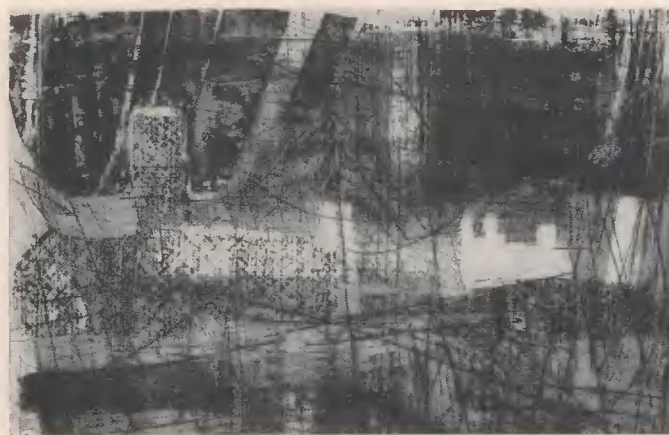
Does the specialist tend to become a generalist in order to meet the competition? Rather, the proposition should be reformulated to say that the best craftsman regards his craft not as a limited-exit groove or rut but as a stepping stone to better and higher understanding of real problems.

Therefore, he seeks to learn more in many fields and, if he is good, he becomes capable of assuming broader responsibilities and soon finds he is assigned to positions having a wider purview.

It is not enough to say that there is room for both specialist and generalist. Surely there is a need for both, but are the qualifications, requirements and goals of the two so different as to be basically incompatible within the same personnel structure? If so, then they should be separated or they will wreck each other. However, since in truth there are clearly two dovetailing functions of craftsmanship and responsibility, it is rather to be hoped that both roles can be staffed within one continuous personnel process. The United States will certainly be the gainer from the wider competition and broader cross-fertilization which will result.

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\*The Precepts for the Fifteenth Selection Board state that: "Since the President or the Secretary of State are (sic) seeking a group of Career Ministers capable of carrying out any assignment, anywhere in the world, involving U. S. Foreign Affairs, promotion to the rank of Career Minister will not be used as a reward for past performance. It will be used as recognition of promise to accept challenges to come and perform well in meeting them."



Suspended City

Sheila Isham

# THE SOVIET DIPLOMATIC GAME

by GORDON A. CRAIG

SOME YEARS AGO, when Sir Harold Nicolson delivered his Chichele Lectures on the evolution of diplomatic method, he said: "I have not observed that . . . the Soviet diplomatists and commissars have evolved any system of negotiation that might be called a diplomatic system. Their activity in foreign countries or at international conferences is formidable, disturbing, compulsive. But it is not diplomacy; it is something else."

There are doubtless many who would agree with Sir Harold in lamenting the decline of the older diplomacy and in refusing to consider the Soviet Union's way of conducting its international relations as diplomacy at all. What is clear, and disturbing, is that the Soviet approach to diplomacy has proved highly effective in promoting Soviet state interest, often to the disadvantage and even humiliation of the West. Because this is so, Soviet diplomatic methods deserve more serious study in our own country. . .

The Communist regime in Russia began its career by making its fundamental opposition to Western values perfectly clear and, at the same time, by announcing that it would not play the diplomatic game according to any rules recognized in the West. Its first formal appearance on the diplomatic scene was, indeed, a kind of preview of the unorthodox diplomatic methods to which we have become accustomed in the last few years. This was at the Brest-Litovsk conference of 1918 which was convened for the purpose of arranging a peace between Germany and Russia in consequence of Russia's military collapse in 1917. At this conference the Soviets demonstrated for the first time a tactic much used by them later: the use of diplomacy, not to seek agreement, but to save time. The chief Bolshevik delegate, Leon Trotsky, wrote later that their expectation was that, if they held on long enough, there would be a revolution inside Germany that would make a peace treaty between their countries unnecessary, and that therefore they used every delaying tactic they could think of. At the same time, the Soviet delegation showed by their every action at the conference that they were contemptuous of traditional standards of diplomatic behavior. . .

This early defiance of the West and its values was ineffective, as the issue of the Brest negotiations showed. The disil-

lusionment caused by this and the unexpectedly rapid recovery and consolidation of bourgeois regimes in the years after 1918 forced the Bolsheviks to reconsider their earlier repudiation of traditional diplomacy and their withdrawal from the Western diplomatic community. To maintain contact with the bourgeois states seemed the best way of detecting and even influencing their intentions; and, as long as Russia was an isolated power encircled by potential enemies, it seemed necessary for the Soviet diplomats to become versed in the methods of their adversaries. In making this adjustment, however, the Soviets never committed themselves to Western values; and their negotiating tactics in the interwar period were marked by suspicion, rigidity, and legalism. . .

In the late 1930's, when some Western statesmen saw the desirability of a Soviet-Western *modus vivendi* in order to facilitate defense against Hitler, East-West relations were improved; and during the second World War the old incompatibility seemed to be modified. The war-time collaboration between the Soviet Union and the West aroused some false expectations in the West of continued friendship, amelioration of differences between communism and capitalism, and reconciliation of values; but these faded quickly. . .

SINCE THEN the Western Powers have gone on with their efforts to negotiate with the Russians, but they have done so, in my opinion, without the kind of illusions entertained by the West when it was treating with the Nazis in the '30's. Their persistence in seeking agreement even when it has seemed extremely unlikely that agreement is possible has not been guided by wishful thinking or refusal to face unpleasant reality, but rather by the knowledge that the failure to agree on some of the issues that divide East and West may lead to a war which we would not survive.

It cannot be denied that the Soviets have made it extremely difficult for us to persist. Since 1948 they seem to have been inspired by a revival of confidence that the victory of communism on a world scale cannot be long delayed and that, therefore, every meeting with the West must be used as an occasion to encourage the forces of revolution. To come to agreement by mutual concession—which is the Western conception of negotiation—is no longer as tolerable to the Soviets as it was in their period of weakness. Premier Khrushchev virtually admitted this on the eve of the Foreign Ministers

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Conference of 1959 when, commenting on the Western proposals, he said, in a public speech in Albania, that they

"do not contain a single element for negotiation. These proposals are not based on a desire to find a correct solution with a view to achieving that relaxation in international tension which all peoples so anxiously wait . . .

"The USSR sincerely wishes to come to an agreement. But we reject the principle that one party should force its conditions on the other party. (The Western Powers) try to force such a principle on the foreign ministers. They say: 'With the USSR one must negotiate as follows: concession for concession!' But that is a huckster's approach . . . We do not have to make any concessions because our proposals have not been made for bartering. . .

Here, in short, is a complete rejection of the whole idea of genuine negotiation. . .

The Soviet government seems to have resolved to use negotiation, for the most part, in two different ways, both negative in character and result.

In the first place, they have frequently encouraged negotiation as a means of diverting attention from their real intentions, and they have not scrupled on these occasions to make concessions that turned out in the end to be completely illusory. At the time of the Berlin blockade in 1948, Premier Stalin offered generous bases for a settlement of the issues at stake in Berlin, stipulating that they should be worked out in detail in negotiation between the Allied military governors in Berlin. In the ensuing protracted negotiations in that city, the Soviet negotiator, Marshal Sokolovsky, freely abandoned Stalin's proposals, adopted an inflexible position on all issues, and was so clearly indifferent to whether or not the negotiations progressed that Under Secretary Lovett told Secretary Forrestal that the "sheer duplicity" of the Soviets in these negotiations was beyond the experience of the State Department experts. It was clear that Stalin's offer was nothing but a delaying tactic, designed to tie the Western allies to the conference table until Soviet pressure on Berlin broke the resistance of the people of that city. . .

**I**N THE SECOND place, on frequent occasions, the Soviets have exploited negotiations on serious subjects like arms control in order to put on a kind of dramatic show; and in this style of negotiation they have shown a diversity of effective tactics. Not the least important of these has been the practice of universalizing their own position in the hope that the peoples of colonial areas, the uncommitted world, and significant parts of the populations of Western nations will identify themselves with it. In pursuing this tactic, Soviet negotiators keep the conversations on the level of general principles just as long as possible, knowing that this makes for endless debate and gives frequent opportunities for rhetorical fireworks. They try, at the same time, to place the West on the defensive by questioning its good faith. . .

Western attempts to counter these tactics by requests for recess or intimations of severance of talks are answered by the Soviet charge that they are seeking to "break off negotiations," an accusation that is automatically repeated with alarm or indignation in portions of the press of Western countries, where the desire for agreement with the Soviet Union is, as the Soviets themselves know, very great. This does not pre-

vent the Soviets themselves from using the skillfully timed walk-out as a tactic of their own, usually accompanying it with a barrage of accusations of bad faith and unwillingness to treat and other crimes which enables them to leave the stage, as they entered it, as the heroes of the peace. . .

**I**F IT COULD BE PREDICTED that all negotiations with the Soviets would be of this nature and would reach this barren result, the Western countries might be justified in refusing to agree to future talks. But it is impossible to make such predictions.

The first reason for this is that not all negotiations with the Soviet Union have been fruitless. In May 1958 an official of the U. S. Department of State said in a public speech: "More than once in recent years we have engaged in lengthy, laborious, acrimonious, and seemingly hopeless negotiations with the Soviet Government on particular issues, have talked for months and years without any sign of progress, and then have suddenly found the Soviet Union ready to come to terms within a matter of hours." The classic example of this was, of course, the Austrian State Treaty of 1955 which was concluded successfully after eight years of negotiation involving four hundred separate meetings. . .

In the second place, the harsh realities of military power may compel them to become more accommodating in matters on which they appear absolutely obdurate at the present time. They are not any more immune to the world's troubles than we are ourselves; and the general threat posed by such things as a continuation of the present stalemate on the arms control question, the prospects of ever-widening nuclear-sharing, and the possibility of China's becoming a real nuclear power must be a matter of concern to Soviet statesmen. There is, of course, no way of knowing if and when that concern will become great enough to make them less intractable on the big issues than they have been, but it is always possible that such a change will come. . .

Finally, the Soviets may find themselves compelled to adjust their attitude toward negotiation simply because the world audience before which the Soviet Union has played its negotiating dramas will become more sophisticated and critical of its performance. The weakness of the Soviet negotiating technique lies in its repetitive quality, and a world genuinely anxious for peace may sooner or later recognize the fact that Soviet claims of Western obstructionism and bad faith are really screens for Soviet opposition to genuine negotiation on the issues that divide East and West. Commenting on Premier Khrushchev's behavior at the UN meeting of October 1960, when he divested himself of his shoe and used it as a noisemaker, a German newspaperman wrote that it had probably been planned in advance to impress the Afro-Asian bloc by portraying Khrushchev as a fighter and a tribune of the people, but that it had definitely misfired and would probably lead the very people whom it sought to impress to be more critical of Soviet diplomatic behavior in general. To the extent that such criticism grows, it will influence future Soviet diplomacy. . .

Even if the Soviet Union became convinced that it was urgent for it to negotiate settlements of outstanding issues, the West would have a long hard job to do before they had won viable and acceptable agreements. Nevertheless, it is essential that agreements be reached, because we can no longer safely turn to what in an easier age was the ac-

cepted ally and support of diplomacy. In the old days, bad diplomacy could sometimes be rectified by war; a gunboat could do much to repair the results of diplomatic *gaucheries*. This is hardly true today. The twentieth century seems to have lost the secret of controlling and limiting wars. Every conflict now betrays what Clausewitz called the thrust to the utmost. Every border foray trembles on the verge of absolute war; and the ingenuity of science has made absolute war a fearful thing to contemplate. Today Western diplomats must

defend the interests of their countries without the old freedom to fall back on the use of force as a last resort: and their very reluctance to avail themselves of force now often serves as an incitement to lawlessness in others. This situation will call for the full exploitation of all of the resources of diplomacy, including those honored by the age preceding our own, if we are going to be able to cope with the problems of our day, and it will also require the most rigorous study of the revolutionary diplomatic methods of our adversaries.



## FOGGYBOTTOMOLOGY

by MEG GREENBERG

*The following appraisal of the recent reorganization of the State Department fell into our hands quite by accident. It was apparently prepared by one of those specialists in modern political machinations known as Kremlinologists. We are happy to publish it as our contribution to cultural exchange and international understanding.*

*Editor, The Reporter*

A STUDY of the recent power shift in Washington leads to the inescapable conclusion that the hand of Foreign Minister D. Rusk has either been strengthened or weakened. It is not without significance that three of those who were elevated to full membership in the State Department—W. W. Rostow, W. A. Harriman, and R. N. Goodwin—all have been identified with the Northeast section of the country, while G. McGhee, whose influence appears to have risen, comes from the South.

The emphasis on these two regions where party members are known to have remained loyal to Mr. Kennedy in the 1960 power struggle may well mean that the party has finally seized control of the State Department. Viewed in this light, the communiqué's ominous silence on the whereabouts of McG. Bundy becomes understandable. McG. Bundy is still remembered in certain circles as a former member of the anti-party group that was crushed by the present leadership in its 1960 White House take-over.

Another clue may be found in the government's reluctance to admit that any members of the discredited Middle Western section of the party are represented in the new ruling setup. It is significant that G. W. Ball, who had

previously been listed in such officially approved manuals as "Who's Who in America" as having been born in Des Moines, Iowa, and educated at Northwestern University, was described in the official government newspaper, the New York TIMES, as having been "born in New Hartford, Conn.," and "graduated from Cornell." Observers noted that this was the first time G. W. Ball, who was in fact born in Des Moines, had been referred to as a native of New Hartford, and could only explain the move as an attempt to associate him with the stunning 1960 party victories in Connecticut and New York.

Two facts connected with G. W. Ball's emergence must be considered of extreme importance: the failure of the official press to mention his year of service with the Farm Credit Agency, and the decision to abolish the post of Under Secretary for Economic Affairs which he formerly held. While the abolition of the economic post has been interpreted in some quarters as a downgrading of the party's concern with economic problems, the fact that G. W. Ball himself has been elevated could indicate an upgrading of the party's concern with economic problems. The latter interpretation may be nearer the truth, since it takes into account what only now is beginning to come to light—that the real issue at stake in the dramatic ten-month struggle was the future direction of the party's agricultural policy. At the center of the strife, it has now become clear, was C. Bowles, supported by the Army, whose power appears to have been greatly reduced by his ouster.

The meaning of the State Department reorganization can

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be understood only against the background of certain production figures. While U.S. milk production rose from 122,920,000 pounds in 1960 to 124,000,000 pounds in 1961, Soviet milk production for the comparable period rose only from 112,500,000 pounds to 113,000,000 pounds. The first calendar year of the party's farm program thus saw the gap widen from 10,420,000 pounds more milk produced in the U.S. to 11,400,000 pounds more. Wheat has been reduced by a mere 150,000,000 bushels, and corn has dropped slightly, from 3,891,000,000 bushels to 3,549,000,000 bushels, an insignificant decrease in view of the fact that last year's total Soviet corn output (excluding corn harvested in the milk stage for silage) was only 300,000,000 bushels.

**I**T IS NO SECRET that there has been growing unrest within the party over these disappointing results of the plan to overtake the Soviet Union in the production of less grain per acre by 1964. The spectacular gains in crop failure announced by N. S. Khrushchev in Kazakhstan and Tashkent in mid-November are known to have heightened demands for a policy reversal along lines already strongly hinted at by Agriculture Minister O. Freeman two months before. "We can learn to live with abundance," the Minister had warned in a speech whose significance was widely missed by students of the State Department. "We propose to end . . . the policies of managed scarcity." His declaration that each citizen could consume three-quarters of a pound of plain processed wheat per day in the event of atomic attack carried the unmistakable implication that if they could do so in wartime they could do so in peacetime.

Even more significant was O. Freeman's slap at the anti-affluence faction of the party. While the diminution of the pro-sacrifice line had been apparent for some time in the President's speeches, the suspicion that the line was to be dropped altogether was confirmed by O. Freeman, who went out of his way to congratulate the farmers for their "contribution to our high standard of living" and stressed his own desire to improve "levels of consumption." His remarks served notice that in addition to reversing its line on agricultural policy, the party was on the verge of repudiating a public pledge to lower the nation's standard of living by 1964.

The speech of the Agriculture Minister could only be read as a direct attack on C. Bowles, who has long been identified as a leader of both the anti-wheat-production and anti-affluence wings of the party. As early as March it was clear that a behind-the-scenes struggle was developing over these issues when Bowles, in a defiant appearance before the National Farmers Union, spoke disparagingly of Americans "whose lives are so comfortable, so normal," mentioned the President by name only once, and in a dramatic bid for Army support declared we "cannot survive without arms."

The willingness of the Army to back Bowles can be explained only as a result of rising resentment over attempts to bring their leaders under firm party control by censoring their speeches and prohibiting their attendance at certain anti-party gatherings. Army dissatisfaction with the handling of the Cuban affair, which Bowles is rumored to have shared, is thought to have thrown them firmly into his camp.

Tight secrecy continues to veil events surrounding the Cuban adventure, but it is clear that by late spring, leadership of the anti-Bowles faction had been assumed by Interior Minister S. Udall. On April 27, only a few days after

the setback in Cuba, Udall revealed that he had directed his subordinates to remove the capital's only statute of William Jennings Bryan from Washington. There was no mistaking the meaning of this move to downgrade Bryan, who was known at one time as a sort of idea man for Woodrow Wilson. The Army quickly moved to install General M. D. Taylor in the White House, and observers now agree that only this naked show of strength saved Bowles from the first ouster attempt in July.

Greatly overconfident, it now turns out, C. Bowles left for India. While he was gone, developments suggest, his party critics gained new strength. On August 28, the statue of Bryan, which as recently as August 5 had been reported to have been in Washington, was announced to have reached the discredited Middle West. Foreign Minister Rusk was "accompanied" on a Japanese trade mission by Udall, who was noticed to be never far from his side. . . .

The sudden replacement in the Immigration Bureau on November 21 of career Army officer J. M. Swing by former FBI agent R. Farrel was a clear sign that the anti-Bowles group had gained strength enough to show its hand. Although confusion surrounds the events that took place on the twenty-sixth, when the State Department shift was announced, Bowles was reported as late as the twenty-seventh not to have decided on a course of action. A speech delivered that evening by S. Udall is thought to have forced his hand. "Those who attempt to find in our memorials some sort of waypost on the road of American history," Udall threatened, "must indeed be puzzled" by the absence from Washington of a statue of Nathan Hale. The rehabilitation of Hale, who is remembered chiefly for espionage activities, was an unmistakable reference to the CIA. . . .

**A**S FAR AS can be determined, it continued to rage through the twenty-eighth, when the President made an unheralded visit to ceremonies taking place at the CIA. Although the UPI ticker dispatch at 11:09 a.m. reported "Kennedy was accompanied by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and General Maxwell D. Taylor," by 5:51 p.m. the same dispatch omitted all mention of General Taylor. A revised paragraph read: "At the ceremony were Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover." Though Bowles, in a last-minute attempt to turn the tide, told a labor union audience that night that the people must not be "fat, comfortable, and privileged," it was already plain that the Udall-Hale-Hoover-Freeman-CIA-pro-surplus, anti-sacrifice elements had triumphed. As a measure of their confidence, the new ruling group took a step toward de-Bryanization that they had not dared risk before. On the morning of November 29, it was officially announced that the party intended to break its historic tie to silver.

Whether the confidence of the new party leadership is warranted depends on many factors. A shift in the course of Soviet agricultural policy could have serious repercussions on the present setup, and the naming of F. G. Dutton to the post previously held by B. Hays of Arkansas might well give rise to unrest in the South. All this will depend, however, on whether the hand of Foreign Minister Rusk has actually been strengthened or weakened, which cannot be determined until many more facts come to light.

# Mission-Type Orders

by GENERAL BRUCE C. CLARKE

**I**N WORLD WAR II, those who served in armored divisions—and probably in other units as well—learned that mission-type orders were a requirement if the most was to be obtained from a command. Since then, we have had to consider the control of operations in the fluidity and unpredictability of nuclear battle. As battle becomes more complex and unpredictable, responsibilities must be more and more decentralized. Thus mission-type orders will be used at all echelons of command and probably will be the rule at the division and higher levels. This will require all commanders to exercise initiative, resourcefulness, and imagination—operating with relative freedom of action.

In our tactical forces we have built-in organizational flexibility. We must recognize this and capitalize on it in our orders. To get maximum combat power, we must have plans flexible enough to meet rapidly changing situations, but careful planning is not enough. This must be coupled with the readiness to change and adapt to situations as they are, not as they were expected to be.

To train commanders and staff officers for operations in war, where mission-type orders will be widely used, it is necessary that tactical courses in our schools teach the use of such orders, and that we widely employ mission-type orders in our peacetime operations.

Basically, a mission-type order needs to cover only three important things:

It should clearly state what the commander issuing the order wants to have accomplished.

It should point out the limiting or control factors that must be observed for coordinating purposes.

It should delineate the resources made available to the subordinate commander and the support which he can expect or count on from sources outside of his command.

There is a strong reluctance at every headquarters to relinquish the authority to direct the details of an operation. This reluctance is clearly seen in the embellishments added to an order as it threads its way down to company level. Careful judgment must be used at every echelon of command in stating the limiting and control factors in a mission-type order. Confidence must be placed in the judgment and ability of the subordinate commander. Too often, what starts out as a broad mission-type order at a high echelon ends up with voluminous,

minute, detailed, and restricting instructions specifying "how to get the job done" when it finally gets down to company level.

Many officers hearing this may think they would like to have a command functioning under such a system. Others who may say they would like to work under such a system really are disturbed by the thoughts of it. There are some officers who require something "in writing" before they will take significant action.

A mission-type order requires the subordinate commander and his staff to make basic decisions and plans based upon a careful analysis of the situation. If the basic decisions or plans are not successful, there is no paper foxhole into which they can crawl. Mission-type orders require initiative, promptness, and resourcefulness which are not always forthcoming. Problems in service schools based upon such orders bring forth a variety of solutions which are difficult for the faculty to grade. This sometimes looms as a very important problem.

I have said many times that a commander has two channels within which to operate. He has the "channel of command" and the "channel of suggestion." I believe that a good commander who has subordinates who are trained and have the confidence to use mission-type orders can operate almost exclusively using the "channel of suggestion," reserving the "channel of command" for use only when he wants to give special emphasis to an order, to relieve someone, to take disciplinary action, or like cases.

I went to Leavenworth over twenty years ago, so it is difficult for me to remember all the things which I must have learned then at the Command and General Staff School. The one thing that I have never forgotten and which has stood me in good stead was the teaching of General McNair, then Commandant, when he stated:

When you receive an order or a directive from your next higher commander do everything you can and in the best way you can to further the mission which he wants to accomplish.

An officer who follows this advice will find that he can act promptly and aggressively with confidence. He will have no problem in operating in an environment of mission-type orders.



Korea

*by Wallace A. Marley*



## Lying in the Sun

WHEN OUR doctor looked us over recently he shook his head, "If you keep on at that pace and with those hours you're heading for trouble—heart, ulcers, something like that." "But we're taking it easier than our superiors," we protested. We did not mention that dizzy feeling when we turned our head quickly. "Notwithstanding the work to be done," he countered, "any organization that obliges or permits its executives to work 11-12 hours a day for 5-7 days a week is shortsighted. No one, no matter what his stamina, can perform effectively with that schedule."

We will leave any further evaluation of that medical opinion to the Medical Division. We hope they will consider the subject. Whatever their finding, it is unlikely that finely drawn men, fully occupied with unending daily problems, will have much opportunity for reflection or the formulation of new ideas. As Walter Bagehot wrote:

To act rightly in modern society requires a great deal of previous study, a great deal of sharpened imagination; and those prerequisites of sound action require much time, as I was going to say, 'much lying in the sun,' a long period of 'mere passiveness.'

To some extent, constant overworking of some executives is unavoidable. The nature of some problems, the responsibilities of office and the constitutional disposition of some men are constant factors. Nevertheless, some things can be done to help them. Perhaps it is time for the once-a-decade

effort for better staff work. The amount and quality of paper flowing upward can be scrutinized, to eliminate what is not germane and what does not need a higher decision. Conversely, instructions to subordinates preparing material must be clear as to what is desired. And if the time of executives is to be conserved, drafting must be left to their subordinates. The administrators might be able to shift personnel to equalize burdens somewhat. The list of possible remedies could be expanded and refined. It must include, however, scrupulous compliance with the rule: "Don't take yourself too seriously."

Some larger questions are also pertinent. Are we trying to over-control events from Washington? Should more latitude be given to the man in charge abroad to cope with changing circumstances, basing his actions on commonly-understood objectives? Are we creating paper crises for ourselves by over-reacting to events abroad, by trying to get out instructions or replies to too many episodes?

Maybe there is no way to break the chain, but one way to try would be for some superiors to put on their hats and walk out early on Friday, to lie in the sun over the weekend. They might not be able to use the company plane for a weekend trip to the Bahamas, but a modest change of pace and locale might prove worthwhile. The practice might even be catching.

## Paper Foxholes

THE RELATIONSHIP of armored-force doctrine to the conduct of foreign affairs becomes readily apparent in General Clarke's article on "Mission-Type Orders," reprinted on page 29. The General believes that when operations become complex and unpredictable they cannot be run from headquarters. The man on the spot has to be responsible. The objective must be made clear to him, he must know the resources he can use and the bounds to be observed. He is then on his own to take advantage and to take account of prevailing local factors. He is told what is to be done, not how to do it. A premium is placed on resourcefulness, initiative and imagination—qualities which are recommended for Foreign Service officers, but not always commended. If the local commander then fails in his mission there is "no paper foxhole" in which to crawl: it is his responsibility.

There may be a few instances where the stakes are so high and the circumstances so controllable that every detail must and can be arranged at headquarters, or in our case, in the Department. Often, however, events are occurring so fast that pertinent instructions cannot be formulated and transmitted before the situation for which they were designed has

changed. We then are in danger of papering ourselves into a too-little and too-late situation: incapable of adequate response to a deteriorating situation.

General Clarke's approach should help in such a circumstance. If it is to be successful, Washington must know what it wants to accomplish and it must have confidence in the man at the other end. And if it hasn't, why put him there in the first place? The implications of this approach are fascinating, amounting to no less than the prospect of reversing Parkinson's Law—which surely is due for a reversal. Fewer communications would then emanate from Washington, fewer and shorter blow-by-blow reports would be sent in. Cable costs would decrease, as would requirements for communications and drafting personnel. The workload would be lower and so the cycle would spiral downward.

Not only has General Clarke suggested a useful principle for the conduct of foreign affairs but a way to bring many of the Department's activities back to a more modest personnel level, an achievement which had seemed possible otherwise only through reversion to the era of the goose quill and the sailing ship.

# WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS



"Rockets Here, Rockets There, Kids Will Forget How To Use Their Arms"\*

## "For lo! the Winter is Past"

SEVERAL weeks had passed since E.B. (the Exhausted Bureaucrat, some have called him) stopped round to see us, so we welcomed the interruption when he came knocking on the door one of those early spring days in March.

"The rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land," we heard him muttering as he shed his coat and hat.

"Turtles," he went on, "I mean turtle doves, have been noticeably quiet but flight and flying trips have certainly been an important part of the picture this month with the First Lady's first trip to Asia, unscheduled flights in the Berlin corridor, the Secretary's trip to Geneva, and backgrounding the whole, of course, the celebrations and cerebations following the thrice around-the-world five-hour astral flight of John H. Glenn, Jr."

We said we had just a few days earlier seen a flock of geese flying north in V-formation, but E.B. wasn't to be put off. "For the first time it isn't only the very young, or long-

visioned scientists, who are talking of moon trips," he stated. "Glenn's flight and his appearances before Congress have put an air of respectability on the subject. A trip to the moon is scheduled for just six years away. Three astronauts will be making the trip."

We asked if a Russian and a woman astronaut might not be along in that first trip, but he brushed off the query.

"Of even more immediate interest in many ways is the forecast that with the aid of satellites we will have worldwide communications within five years. It's hard to visualize what this will mean to life in the 60's and 70's for members of the Foreign Service. It will, of course, speed things up. Some situations will certainly be made much more complex. Other problems, it is hoped, may never have a chance to develop.

## Communication

"SPEAKING of communication, last month we had an hour-long briefing of tourists in State's East Auditorium, on 21st Street. The subject was Berlin. Unmistakably, there's a new interest at the grass roots, as reported by Dave Brinkley at AFSA's recent luncheon, in the everyday problems of the State Department. Take just for an example, the several articles in the past few weeks including Stewart Alsop's piece on the workings of State in the SATEVEPOST and Holmes Welch's in HARPER'S MAGAZINE. To say nothing of the fact that one can count on a story or two daily in the well-read Woman's Section of the Washington Post. The Department runs the risk of being thoroughly romanticized during the next few years," he said gloomily.

More queries from youngsters, we assured him, had been coming to the JOURNAL than ever before. Most of them asked how students could prepare themselves for entry into a Foreign Service career.

"That brings up our recruiting and

examining methods," E.B. interjected, "which need to be brought up if we are to succeed in getting into the Service the type of young officers who will grow and mature with the needs of the times. It seems to me we need to send more of our Senior officers to work directly with the universities to assure our getting the most highly qualified candidates. We need to keep our examining standards more absolute, too. Why not reach back a year or two if the new crop doesn't measure up to the records of the previous years?"

## Fitness

"FOREIGN Service wives," E.B. mused, "are used to being rated along with their husbands but it's new for the Navy, as witness the fitness question which has caused the shattering of more than one tea cup and the cracking of more than one martini glass since the Navy included it in its new form last month:

Considering the requirements for social and diplomatic contact with the officials and people of our own and foreign countries, indicate your opinion of this officer-wife team as representative of their service and their country. Do you consider them to be particularly suitable? Suitable? Not observed or not applicable.

"You must have read the explanatory statement from Navy's Bureau of Personnel, too:

When assigning an officer to a diplomatic mission it's important to know whether or not we're sending over a couple or two individuals who happen to be locked up together. We want to present the best picture of an American family.

"But here's a curious thing—even in the Foreign Service where the importance of the wife's contribution has long been recognized and evaluated in the inspector's reports—even these days we don't pass on the fitness of the wife of the entering FSO or on the American wife he may marry later on. Of course, should he want to marry a foreign national, he

\* Herblock in the Washington POST.

must tender his resignation and she is carefully interviewed before he is reinstated. USIA has insisted that the wife, as well as the officer himself, pass a psychiatric-psychological examination to determine fitness before being posted overseas."

We were getting on shaky grounds so I asked E.B. how he had weathered the Great Storm early in the month.

"Felt as though I were back in strike-bound Paris," he replied. "No lights, no gas, no telephone. Had over a foot and a half of snow, and something that one rarely has to contend with in Paris even when the strike is fairly inclusive: no telephone. Liked it for a change but my wife found it difficult. It was two days before we could get out to walk four miles down the road to a phone that was working. Meantime ours was the only home in the neighborhood which had heat. Martha had installed an old Franklin stove last summer in the glassed-in porch. She held court. But what the storm did to Rehoboth and Ocean City was really devastating. We've been spending part of the summer there for years, and our place along with thousands of others was ruined completely. Fifty million dollars of damage at Rehoboth alone. Now is when Mr. Udall should step in and turn that whole coastal area into a public park." He sighed.

"Any recent news from Africa?" we tried to divert him.

"Yes, just had a fine letter from one of our Chiefs of Mission there who said he found it a great change of pace from the ten-hour day, seven-day week of the political section but he'd made the transition without a stripping of the mental gears. The greatest disadvantage he found is what he called the 'essential dullness of work and life' and the absence of congenial companions."

**W**E URGED E.B. to get his friend—and others like him, busy writing for us. We're always in need of good copy. The usual difficulty is that our writers are so busy that months go by before they are able to get material to us. "The Foreign Service in the 60's" we'd particularly like to have discussed for our current series. Critical letters to the Editor and literary material are highly prized. Henry Villard has just done us a

vignette of his days in hospital with Hemingway during World War I. Others, many others, in the Service should have memoirs of Hemingway and other literary figures that would greatly enhance our pages.

### Names in the News

Perhaps it was to be expected: the rush to name children and places after the Nation's number-one hero of the month. And perhaps it was to be expected that Maine should lead the nation with a street in Auburn named Glenn Street.

But it was less easy to forecast, perhaps, that the hero of the Punta del Este Conference should be found to have a namesake among the wild men of Borneo.

It happened like this: our Labor Attaché at Singapore on a recent trip into the British Borneo territories was traveling on a boat when a Dyak paddled up to him and said he would like to introduce his family. Among the members of his family he singled out for particular attention a two-year-old whom he proudly presented as his son, Dean Rusk.

(The Labor Attaché says that while the government of the Dyaks in Borneo has suppressed actual head hunting, the fear of it remains strong.)

### Paraphrase

"Department appreciates handicaps arising from lack secretarial staff, but in view post's specialized needs, consider it essential that candidate complete training . . ."

*(Learning to read?)*

"In accordance instructions. Embassy officer called on deputy chief of Political Section yesterday and conveyed substance of circular to him . . ."

*(Who dreamed that up?)*

"Prime Minister summoned me to office this morning and indicated deep concern over delay promised wheat shipment . . ."

*(Misses breakfast toast.)*

"Department has carefully considered your qualifications and preferences in selecting suitable assignment . . ."

*(We're still laughing.)*

"USG interests dictate we take every precaution avoid involvement. You should, however, make discreet inquiries as to attitudes . . ."

*(Wear cloak—hide face.)*

### "LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE"

by ROBERT W. RINDEN



"I don't understand the inspector's remark about 'going native.' I thought they wanted us to fit into the foreign post."



## The Wife

THERE WAS once a Foreign Service wife who knew the name of every Chief of State in Africa. She could (and frequently would) discourse upon such matters as *revanchist* tendencies in the Balkans or nationalist cross-currents in South Asia. She had highly vocal views about domestic politics, "The Ugly American," De Gaulle, the Wriston Program, the inadequacy of Foreign Service pay AND the promotion list.

One day her husband was advised that he was being considered for assignment to a certain post abroad. When he reached home that night his wife said, as she always did, "What's new down at the Department, dear?"

When he mentioned the impending transfer, she immediately recalled an article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS on the country. Prognosis of unrest. She remembered that a friend, whose husband was in INR, had known a man in P/HO who had once served there. Dreadful housing. Furthermore, the wife of the DCM was notoriously lax on protocol, according to a bachelor acquaintance in S/S-RO.

The wife strongly advised against going to the new post, although she wanted to have a final check with the girls at the Foreign Service Wives' luncheon. They confirmed her worst fears and so the offer was turned down.

The Office of Personnel reacted to this refusal in its normal fashion. It flew into a state of DUDGEON. The couple were forthwith ordered to the central Dasht-i-Lut, a post from where all other places look divine.

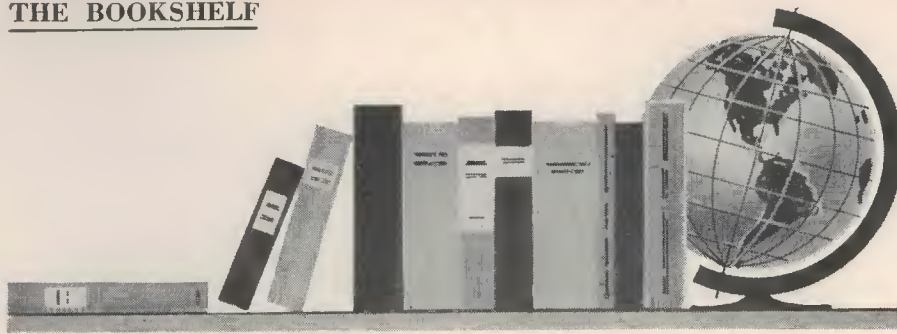
The job was then offered to another Foreign Service officer who rushed home to tell his wife. She couldn't tell the difference between G/PM and GPU, but she was VERY pretty and wore wonderful hats.

When he came hurrying up the walk, bursting with his news, she met him at the door and gave a rapid report of her day's domestic disasters, an account of their childrens' experiences at school, an inquiry into the state of the family finances, a clinical description of the maid's condition, ending with a frantic plea to look through all those magazines piling up in the front room.

When finally he managed to blurt out his news, she said, "That's fine, dear. Where is it? Now, tell me what you had for lunch; I must go and fix dinner."

They proceeded without further comment to their new post and he rose rapidly to the heights in the Career.

MORAL: She who looks before he leaps is lost.



"For to my mind, the end of a good government is to ensure the welfare of a people, and not merely to establish order in the midst of its misery."—deTocqueville.

## Two on Latin America—"Fast-Moving and Readable"

WILLIAM BENTON'S "The Voice of Latin America" describes with sensitivity and perception and in eloquently caustic terms the results of "four centuries of conquest, colonization and caudillos." This is a brief and timely study resulting in part from a mission undertaken with Adlai Stevenson in the spring of 1960. It is a must for all those who are just now entering the fascinating and vital field of Latin American affairs or for those who would welcome an opportunity to withdraw somewhat from particulars and take a broad look at the problems of our good neighbors. For the neophyte, for the less-than-expert, or for the jaded, Benton's report is an excellent précis of the problems the Alianza Para el Progreso is designed to answer. The problems he portrays are myriad—illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, underinvestment, misuse of resources, feudalism. The answers are hardly easy but they are even more difficult to apply.

"Chronic anti-Americanism" and "Fidelism" are endemic diseases much harder to eradicate than the malaria and yaws we have helped stamp out in many areas. Benton's fast moving and readable report provides a useful exercise in analyzing the failure of the "ruling classes," both foreign and domestic,

to provide an answer to the aspirations of the people.

The facts provided are grim, the statistics damning and the prospects anything but comforting. Read it and you cannot help but appreciate the need for the spirit and concept of the Alianza Para el Progreso.

After reviewing the broad picture in Benton's "The Voice of Latin America" the reader should then turn to Robert J. Alexander's "Prophets of the Revolution" for an appreciation of the personalities who have changed or are changing the traditional existence of the Latin Americans. The author has chosen well: Romulo Betancourt, Haya de la Torre, "Pepe" Figueres, Luis Muñoz Marin, Fidel. One can say with justice that we in the United States would be easier in mind today if we had had a greater appreciation of these men and their purposes, as well as of those of another generation such as José Batlle y Ordoñez and Arturo Alessandri. They set a standard that few were able to follow.

Alexander's study of Lázaro Cárdenas and what he terms "the fulfillment of the Mexican Revolution" gives us a brief but vivid picture of the first and perhaps most successfully consummated revolution in Latin America. One could have wished for a bit more background to the extensive expropriations of the mid-1930's under Cárdenas, and one leaves the account of the excesses of nationalism of that day with the uneasy feeling that they are not as far away from the realities of today as one could wish.

This very interesting series of profiles suffers in one respect. Why are there no photographs of these famous men?

The reader will finish his few hours with Benton and Alexander convinced of the truth of the latter's statement:

"The security of Latin America against the penetration of totalitarianism, particularly against communism, lies in the success of indigenous social

revolutionaries such as those we have discussed in these pages. If they and others like them can succeed in bringing about the long overdue changes which Latin America needs, they can insulate their nations against the siren songs coming from Moscow, Peiping, Habana, or any other communist center."

—TAYLOR G. BELCHER

*PROPHETS OF THE REVOLUTION*, by Robert J. Alexander. Macmillan Company, \$4.95.

*THE VOICE OF LATIN AMERICA*, by William Benton. Harper & Brothers, \$3.95.

## African Culture

FOR THE first time in the English language we now have a one-volume summary of the major cultural developments and movements of people on the continent of Africa over the last 7,000 years. Utilizing a cultural-historical approach, with emphasis on processes of change rather than mechanical diffusion, Professor Murdock of Yale provides an invaluable background for the momentous changes in economy, religion and government which characterize Africa in the twentieth century.

The emphasis placed by the author on the forms of social and political organization will be found particularly useful by FSO's seeking to thread their ways through the labyrinth of African culture, psychology and politics. They will be assisted by a complete tribal map at the end of the book and selective bibliographies at the end of each chapter. While they will be initially handicapped by the lack of an index in the book itself, if they patiently construct one of their own they will find the task not only informative but will wind up with a guide peculiarly suited to their needs.

—R. SMITH SIMPSON

*AFRICA: ITS PEOPLES AND THEIR CULTURE HISTORY*, by George Peter Murdock. McGraw-Hill, New York. \$8.75.



"I was with Time fifteen years. How long were you with Life?"

### Mission for his Country

THIS BOOK is not easily classifiable. It is actually four books in one, although the four elements are mixed and sometimes confused within the entire volume.

First, there is a general and elementary survey of Iran's history, geography, peoples, government and economics. This survey element could be recommended for the ordinary American, but not for the serious student. It is somewhat haphazard and at times is over-popularized and romanticized.

Second, the volume contains much of what His Majesty might some day include in a personal autobiography. Most of this element of the book is extremely interesting, revealing a complex personality and a brilliant intellect. It is incomplete, however, like a spotlight playing fitfully over a complicated scene, and leaves the reader vaguely dissatisfied, with the feeling that he has somehow been tantalized by only a partial acquaintance with one of the most significant personalities of our generation. The tricky aspect of His Majesty's family life and his three marriages has been handled with dignity, and will provide no new titillation for readers of women's magazines. One would hope that at some future date the Shah will be able to de-

vote himself to a more complete personal autobiography.

Throughout the book are elements of a political memoir of the type we have learned to expect from prominent British and American statesmen. Essentially, this element is a record of historic decisions and the Shah's role in those decisions. As such, it is fascinating but spotty. Perhaps this is inevitable in a political memoir published before the retirement of a political leader, or at least before he feels that he has completed his political tasks. But one still wants to ask dozens of questions as to the unspecified detailed background of many of the decisions mentioned in the book.

Last, but perhaps of greatest moment and interest, the Shah sets forth his expectations and his analysis of Iran's relationship with the West in general and with the United States in particular. No official and no ordinary citizen who has opinions on the nature and the future of American relationships with Iran should neglect reading and re-reading this portion of the book.

—JOHN W. BOWLING

*MISSION FOR MY COUNTRY* by H. I. M. Mohamad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran. McGraw-Hill, \$5.95.

### A Small, Nostalgic Sigh

THE TREATY ports of pre-war China are gone forever, along with the way of life which was enjoyed by the Westerners who lived in them. As believers in progress and reform, we should shed no tears. However, perhaps we can still permit ourselves a small, nostalgic sigh over the passing of a colorful—albeit artificial—epoch in history when Western ways and interests were carefully preserved in the treaty ports under the guardianship of troops from many lands, while warlordism and banditry plagued the countryside just over the city walls. One of these guardians was Charles G. Finney, who as a private in the United States Army's 15th Infantry Regiment (the "Old China Hands"), spent three years in Tientsin in the late '20's. Mr. Finney's entertaining account of his life and times in Tientsin illumines some rather obscure corners of U.S. activities in the Far East, not the least

of which is the fact that U.S. Army privates in those days could maintain a high enough standard of living to pass themselves off as officers before recently-arrived and unsophisticated U.S. Marines. It is regrettable that the American compound in Tientsin was about as isolated from the Chinese population around it as the city itself was from the mainstream of China (for example, Chiang Kai-shek's Northern expedition left hardly a ripple in the minds of the soldiers), but who ever said that infantry privates have to be sociologists or political scientists, anyway? Like the late Colonel John W. Thompson's account of life in the "Horse Marines" in Peking, this hook provides a welcome relief for those whose readings on China are usually forced into more topical subjects, such as the "Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung."

—J. H. H.

*THE OLD CHINA HANDS* by Charles G. Finney. Doubleday & Co., \$3.95.

### Master Diplomatist

PAUL CAMBON became the French Ambassador at London when he was fifty-five and stayed twenty-two years in the job. Professor Eubank has written an episodic case history of the career of Cambon who played a significant role in the international politics of Europe and the Mediterranean during the forty years after 1882. He became the dean of European ambassadors as well as the leading French diplomat of the period. Although his entire career was spent at Tunis, Madrid, Constantinople and London, he managed to exert considerable influence on the general course of French foreign policy. Cambon was strongly marked by the defeat of 1870, and conceived the agreement that became known as the *Entente Cordiale*, which he nurtured into something much more important than simply a settlement of colonial problems. This fascinating volume provides an account not only of French diplomacy but of developments among all the Great Powers during these years, and particularly the curious course of Anglo-French relations in the decade prior to World War I.

—E. J. BEIGEL

*PAUL CAMBON: MASTER DIPLOMATIST*, by Keith Eubank, University of Oklahoma Press, \$4.00.

### Consular Law and Practice

THIS BOOK is a useful contribution to a field in which relatively little has been written. It presents a broad although not comprehensive study of aspects of consular functions and immunities, quoting from the legislation, regulations and practice of a number of States. Its presentation is primarily expository rather than analytical. Although generously documented and foot-noted, one has a feeling that coverage is spotty, and was determined more by the documents to which the author had access rather than by a really thoughtful analysis of what consular practice is today and how it got that way.

—B. B. B.

*CONSULAR LAW AND PRACTICE*, by Luke T. Lee. London Institute of World Affairs, Praeger. \$17.50.

*CONDUCT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY* by Elmer Plischke, (Van Nostrand), reviewed in the February "Bookshelf" should have been listed as priced at \$8.50.

*INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY*, edited by James N. Rose-nau (Free Press of Glencoe), in the same issue, should have been listed as priced at \$8.50.



"Bare Knuckles"

Smithsonian Institution

### "We Are Not Impressed"

IF ONE WANTS to have a striking example of the difference between the cautious British and the punch-loving American approach to international politics one should compare Sir Charles Webster's book reviewed above ("The Art and Practice of Diplomacy") with "A Nation of Sheep" by William J. Lederer. One represents careful, unbiased, restrained treatment of the subject under study. The other aims at the sensational and astonishing. It endeavors to stun the reader. In this book the co-author of the best seller, "The Ugly American," endeavors to make another smash hit. As the publisher's outside band states: "a devastating attack on the incredible blunders of America's intelligence service and of U.S. officials abroad, which have led to appalling ineptitude in the dangerous field of world politics." Oh boy! How can one resist reading such a tremendous onslaught on American officialdom.

Simply terrific? Certainly not in our opinion. The revelations which the author indulges in so profusely are no revelations to the British readers. Many so-called revelation would need much more than Mr. Lederer's assertions (or his sources) to be really convincing. In our view the suggestion that this book will astonish its American readership is a slur on that readership. Surely the average American reader cannot be impressed by these so-called disclosures. Western European and, for that matter, Eastern Europeans cannot but consider Mr. Lederer's whole effort as rather unimpressive and of little consequence. Much of what he writes has been said time and time again over here.

No, we are not impressed. We do not think that the "nation of sheep" is really what Mr. Lederer makes it out to be. Is it not the case that some "sheep" sometimes think that they are less of a sheep than the others? It may well be that they alone think so. Our opinion of U.S. citizenry is that it is of far above the average intelligence and that it is being wrongly indicted by people who very often do not fully know its backbone.—*From the Embassy Bookshelf, THE DIPLOMATIST, London, December, 1961.*

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Needed—to Reverse the Fatalities of History:

## Patience, Perspective, and Parliamentary Diplomacy

by ADLAI STEVENSON

♦♦♦ **F**RUSTRATION, as we know, has become a sort of a national news. Mr. Lippmann spoke of frustration between a war that can't be fought and a peace that can't be achieved. Another manifestation that is apparent out in my part of the country, the Middle West, where people still preach the evil-eye theory, is the assumption that we must have either total victory or total defeat in this long conflict. It sets what is unattainable, namely total victory, against what is intolerable, which is total defeat, and precludes all rational and all feasible middle courses. This is a most unhappy mood in which I think we find ourselves. I wonder sometimes why it is that we are so anxious, so irritable, so angry and so frustrated. Nothing seems to be more difficult for us to practice than patience, and nothing more difficult for us to attain than perspective. We who practice diplomacy know something about the helpful properties of patience. Even we who practice this new black art of parliamentary diplomacy. So it is not about patience, but about perspective that I wanted to say a word to you today.

I think it is important that we get our perspective about this aggravating period straight. I don't doubt that yours is, but I am afraid that many of your fellow-countrymen's is not.

In the second part of this Twentieth Century all of the annals of man are proved desperately different. This experience is the disintegration of one pattern of imperial power and the

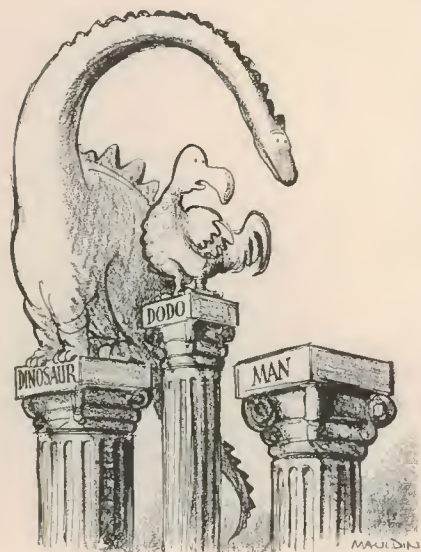
establishment of new political facts and relationships and power centers in its place. Whenever such changes have occurred, the really big changes which resemble some vast seismic disturbance in the earth's political crust, the inevitable outcome is disorder, catastrophe, civil conflict and war.

Europe lapsed into barbarism after the fall of Rome. Britain's advance into India followed

the crumbling and collapse of the Mongol Empire. In China, where man's longest documented record covers the fortunes of its oldest continuous body politic, the rise and fall of imperial dynasties has a rhythm of almost majestic fatality, each new empire rising on the anarchy and the ruins of the last, and then, in its own turn, falling away.

Times of imperial collapse are always times of trouble, and we are living through the greatest of such disintegrations today. In fifteen short years the dominion which Western Europe exercised over most of Asia and Africa until the morrow of the Second World War has all but vanished. All Asia has emerged from colonial or semi-colonial control, and now Africa is in the violent throes of the same ordeal, the same process. Empire on such a scale has probably never ended at such breakneck speed before. If history is our guide, so rapid and so vast a disintegration must bring the risk of confusion thrice compounded. And history leaves us in little doubt about the kind of disorder we are likely to endure. We may expect to see new powers jostling to take over the influence and control of the outgoing imperial government. We may expect to see such efforts sparking local violence, and driving it in an outward spiral toward general war. And we may expect behind local crises and dangers a general deterioration in international good will, a general increase in distrust and hostility. And we are familiar with that, too, as settlements and solutions become ever more difficult.

Such dangers, then, have marked the complete collapse of empire before; they mark it now. So the turbulence that we see day by day in the world at large reflected back at us, nowhere more than in the United Nations, is neither surprising nor new. We should, and we must, expect it. And we must get used to it. We who suffer from having had things our own way for so long that we are shocked and hurt when other people don't share our views, or question our motives. We judge ourselves by our motives, and we judge others by their actions. What is both surprising and new is what the UN is trying to do about these risks. And now we come to a wholly new chapter in human history, the chapter that gives us at least a marginal hope of escaping the dread fatalities of earlier days. To me, I confess, it is a matter of exhilaration that here in America, in the newest of continents, and in the midst of perhaps the most far-reaching experiment in free unimperial government a new start should be under way in the management of human affairs, a new experiment to defeat and annihilate the set historical pattern and deadlocks of the



"He's Due Any Day"  
Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Excerpts from the Ambassador's talk to members of the Foreign Service, at AFSA's luncheon in January.



past. In the UN the effort is being made to confront the old fatalitics of collapsing empires and put in their place a wholly new approach to the dilemmas of our time.

It is only when we realize how new they are, how radical, how revolutionary, that we can have any idea of the potential value, the profound historical significance of what is being attempted there in New York at the UN. What we are attempting to do today at the UN is to roll back every one of these great historical fatalitics which in the past have made the ending of empires the most perilous condition for the survival of society. We are trying to end the dreary cycle of imperialism by which the outgoing masters are quickly replaced by new ones who come quickly in to fill the vacuum of power. The principle which President Wilson declared has since become one of mankind's greatest aspirations, the self-determination of peoples. In the Western World, in this century, the attempt has been made for the first time in history to outlaw imperialism. This is new. Like all new things it is difficult. But at least in the last decade, as we have seen the UN grow from fifty to more than one hundred nations, we must admit that for millions of God's children a first step toward freedom has been taken, the step which recognizes their right, their inalienable right, to be free.

But then the dangers and dilemmas begin to press in. We have done something new in proclaiming the right of small peoples not to be run by other more powerful states. We have decreed and welcomed the end of colonialism. Indeed, it was in the United States, it was here that the first practical steps were taken to raise the principle of anti-colonialism from a hope to a fact. And the shot echoed 'round the world from Lexington—echoes to this day. But have we ensured that this new faith can be fully and irrevocably expressed in words? Hitherto, as I have suggested, the ending of one imperialism has usually spelled for the small and the weak, the beginning of a new one. Are we any hetter today? The principle may be new. Is the practice equally so? This, to me, is the most urgent issue at stake, in Africa today. Do the new nations, sometimes irresolute, sometimes wobbly, know how much they need us in their period of transition to genuine independence, or are they blinded by racial considerations, by their new nationalism, by their hatred of colonialism, both of which are so skillfully exploited by the propaganda of others who are not trying to help them achieve independence and stability? I think it was Alexander Hamilton who said that even to be neutral required a stable government. In the wrong hands, in hands unpracticed, undisciplined, it is incompatible with government. So the old colonial system is crumbling. Britain has largely withdrawn leaving new viable societies behind. The French have helped to bring a large new family of states into the UN. In the Congo the transfer of power has thrown the area into that kind of civil commotion which in the past has been the more usual end of imperial control. Here then the great question is, can we, having seen one form of imperialism end, prevent another from being established? When we in America give our support to the ending of all outside intervention, we mean

*Continued on p. 42*

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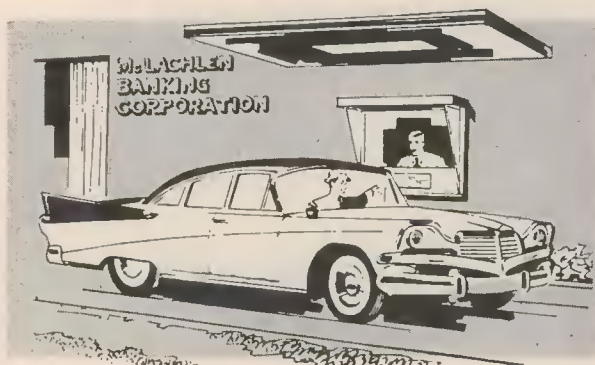
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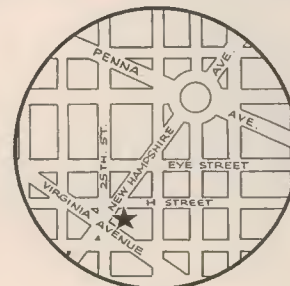
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# Service Glimpses

**1. Ankara.** At the recent farewell costume party for Minister Counselor and Mrs. Leon L. Cowles, Mr. Cowles, dressed as a Turkish villager, poses with the former Minister of Communications, Mr. Cubukgil, who is dressed as an American cowboy. The Cowles are being assigned to Mexico City.

**2. Freetown.** On a trip to the diamond fields in eastern Sierra Leone, Deputy Chief of Mission Halvor O. Ekern (right) and Vice Consul Larry Williamson (center) are welcomed by Paramount Chief Kama Kendi (seated) and Mr. Tobouku-Metzger, a local businessman. The latter has two children studying in the United States.

**3 and 4. Copenhagen.** Mrs. William A. Root and FSO Root call the turns for square dancing in the auditorium of the American Embassy. At right, some of the seventy dancers demonstrate "Birdie in the Cage." Approximately twenty Danes attended and ten other non-Americans, representing Sweden, Switzerland and Brazil.

**5. Chutung.** FSO Wesley C. Haraldson, director of U.S. AID Mission to China, and C. T. Chien, vice chairman of the Foreign Exchange and Trade Control Commission of the Republic of China, break ground for the new Hsinchu Window Glass Works plant in Chutung, Taiwan.

**6. Hamburg.** Entering the doors of the U. S. Food Fair 1961 in Hamburg, Germany, just after officially opening the Fair at ceremonies in the storied German city-state are U. S. Ambassador to Germany Walter Dowling and Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

**7. Chiangmai.** FSO's John Reed and J. Marsh Thomson of Embassy Bangkok narrate a TV program in Thai on the subject of the United States. Mrs. Somchit Siddhichai, program director, Thai TV, is shown in the center.



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## PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

something definite and practical in the Congo. We believe that Belgium should complete its withdrawal. We believe that no other foreign power should come rushing in, especially the new imperialism of the Eastern bloc. In the Congo, we seek a solution which brings together and reconciles the Congo's own civil leaders and forestalls the threat of civil war in which outside intervention would be inevitable. And we do this not because we have any designs on Central Africa, but because we don't—because we oppose with all of our conviction and experience the risk that after seeing Western colonialism go, Africa will see Communist imperialism come. Clearly, only one body can prevent this ancient fatality of simply swapping one control for another. And that is the United Nations, consulting closely with its Afro-Asian members and barring outside intervention from whatever side. This, then, is our first aim to put a genuine end to outside imperial control. Our second stems from that: to prevent local disputes from spiraling into general war. Here again we do not have to look very far back into history to see the kind of tragedy that we must at all costs avert.

At the turn of the last century Turkish imperial power crumbled in the Balkans. Czarist Russia on the one hand, Austria-Hungary on the other, pressed in to take its place. In the small emergent Balkan states local factions looked to Moscow or Vienna, as in Africa today, they may look to Moscow, or Paris, or Brussels, or Washington. The defeat of local Balkan leaders began to take on the aspect of a defeat for the powers which backed them. Two small local wars, as you will recall, were contained. And then in 1914 a bullet killed an archduke and men stood hopelessly by and watched until all of the world was engulfed in the horrors of that war. This must not happen now, of course. Africa is the Balkans of today. Any outside power seeking to manipulate its griefs and searchings, and first fumbling efforts to stand alone, risks bringing down on Africa and on the world the dread possibility of nuclear destruction. Is this really, then, what Mr. Khrushchev has in mind when he demands that the Congo should become, as the Balkans once were, the cockpit first of rival factions, then of rival interventions and finally of a spreading, consuming, horrifying, general conflict? I cannot believe that any statesman, conscious of the dread brink upon which all humanity stands, can seek to widen the circle, to enlarge the crisis. The UN must instead damp down the fires of civil war and reconcile rival leaders, and in this task the other African states have a role of immense significance, it seem to me, to play. For if they can bring their great influence to bear on the various centers of power, we may yet see reconstituted a Congo state which, with full UN backing, can withdraw itself from the terrifying risk of outside intervention.

I know it is not easy to reverse the fatalities of history. We are on a melancholy road, I must confess, which again and again mankind has travelled with legions of men marching to their destruction. In many of these sore spots today in the Congo, in Laos and Viet-Nam, potentially in any area of conflict and civil disturbance, almost nothing is new. The conflicts are old, the rival suspicions and jockeying for positions are old, the brute struggle for power is as old as man itself, and we know where they have

always led. To war and to death. But today one thing is new. It is the effort of the UN to attempt to apply peaceful procedures and rational solutions even to the most aggravated and envenomed of political crises. by the new process of parliamentary diplomacy. On a dark scene in a dark time of trouble, the UN is proclaiming by deed as well as word that men can live not by violence and brute strength, but at last by reason and by law. And also I would say to our own people in this country, support this organization with your approbation, your sympathetic attention and your prayers.

To the small powers, especially the emergent states of Africa, I would repeat that the UN is of first interest above all to weaker states since without it they have no ultimate protection against the forces of more powerful and predatory governments.

And to the Soviet Union, I would say that there are laws of history more profound and inescapable than the laws dreamed up by Marx and Lenin, laws which belong not to class relationships or stages of economic development but to the nature and the destiny of man himself. Among these laws is the certainty that war follows when new empires thrust into the collapsing ruins of the old. So stay your ambitions. Think twice about your intervention. Allow the new principles of international order, the right of peoples to determine their own destiny to operate without your pressure from without. Don't sabotage the only institution which offers an alternative to imperialism, and don't look backward to mankind's evil inheritance of violence. Look forward to a world where the UN can be the forum and guardian of peace.

This, I believe, is the hope of the vast majority of mankind. It is above all the hope of the small powers whose only protection lies in the international organization of their security. For let there be no doubt about the alternatives. They are written in words of flame and blood on the halls of the world.



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## A New Breeze Blowing Through the Grass Roots

by DAVID BRINKLEY

I BELIEVE in short speeches. In fact, I believe in no speeches . . . I started in the newspaper business almost twenty-five years ago, and one of my first jobs was to cover the meetings each day, Monday through Friday, of five men's service clubs, the Rotary, the Kiwanis, the Lions, Exchange and the Civitans. They met in the same hotel room, Monday through Friday, ate the same breaded veal outlet, green peas, mashed potatoes, and very often Monday through Friday, heard the same speech. So I've heard a speech, including one on the romance of cast-iron pipe—and it was a beauty. I liked it so much I have a copy of it which I am going to deliver here today.

I've had some difficulty in thinking of anything to talk about here, because everyone here knows everything I know, and if you don't you should try to conceal it.

There is one thing, however, which I have been able to observe at some closer range and in some greater detail than perhaps almost anyone. Perhaps you are aware of this. But a great many people are not. The basic premise of what few words I have to say is not new, but I think lately it has reached a depth, a scope and an intensity that again is not generally understood. That is—the reactions and the attitudes of the American people to being asked to assume, to carry, to pay for, and to worry about the leadership of the free world.

The fact of leadership obviously is not new. The spending of money in other countries without any expectation of goods and services in return is not new. We spent money

rather freely after the war—for a time without any complaint. And it made us feel good. And we could afford it. And it allowed us to congratulate ourselves on charity and good works. And in return some foreign government occasionally would send us a statue, or a bell tower, or word of thanks or some symbol of appreciation, and we felt fine—even a little self-satisfied. Since those early days when it was simply a matter of spending a little money, I believe there has been a deep, even a profound change. I think it was brought about by a complex of big and little events, incidents, some connected, some isolated; but it seems to me that some of the most important separate causes of this change have been three rather simple ones:

First, Vice-President Nixon's being kicked and spat upon in South America. Second, the anti-American riots in Tokyo that forced President Eisenhower to cancel his visit. And a third factor which I believe is more important than it may appear—the publication of one poor, badly-written book called "The Ugly American." I think, and will try to show that these three things have affected the American people profoundly, and before going into what I believe these effects have been, I'll tell you the basis on which I draw these conclusions.

For something more than twenty years I have been disseminating, in one way or another, news in newspapers, magazines, radio, wire services and television, and for most of this time I have been reading mail from people from coast to coast—I would guess on the order of one half million letters of one kind or other. And, over the twenty years there has been a gradual change, but it has been vastly accelerated in just the last five years, perhaps in even the last two, three or four. The general tone of what people write and say now is this: "The future of the free world depends on us. We have many enemies, not too many friends, a great many people hate us, very often with cause. We have often been smug and arrogant. We have too often lacked tolerance and understanding of people and customs in other countries." So these letters go on. I am summarizing a basic theme that appears in the mail nowadays nearly all the time. It is necessary, therefore, for Americans to be forbearing and patient, to display kindness and all of the wisdom we can, and to get rid of the idea that everything American is automatically superior to everything foreign. Over the last five years, and increasingly in the last two or three years, I have received, and we ran a little check the other day to see—I have received approximately 100,000



"There seems to be some confusion regarding our commissary order."

Excerpts from Mr. Brinkley's talk to AFSA at the February 15 luncheon meeting held at the Shoreham Hotel.

letters saying just that. It very often is crudely stated. Very often the writers of the letters don't really know what their point is. But the message gets through nevertheless. And the message is, as I read it, that the American people, after some chastening experiences, have developed a deep and profound commitment, moral and spiritual, as well as financial, to the responsibility that has been given to us.

Again, it is not new, and you have heard this before, but I do think it now has reached a higher degree of commitment than many of us are aware of. An earlier picture, also very familiar, was that of a people who felt foreigners were obligated to turn themselves into Americans. That after taking our money, that was the least they could do. The earlier picture was of an American who thought our country had all the answers and that if everyone, everywhere, would simply do things our way, it would all turn out fine. Well, the picture now, I believe, is as I have described it. And while it is impossible to date the change precisely, we have again gone back through the records, and it appears to me that it really began to change in a serious way at about the time of the Nixon incident in Venezuela, and about the time of Mr. Eisenhower's cancellation of his visit to Tokyo, and about the time of the publication of the book "The Ugly American."

In the mail today and in the last two years that phrase has occurred more frequently than any other one. And it has come to me, because I have from time to time done little pictorial essays, films, reports of various kinds around most of the world, and, being the kind of person I am, I have occasionally offered the opinion that some institution, or feature, or custom in some foreign country was perhaps not perfect, and in fact may even be absurd. Ten years ago, or even five years ago, a comment like that wouldn't offend anybody, and would not excite any criticism whatsoever, and it would even produce a fair amount of reaction from Americans saying, "Ain't that the truth!" We never welcomed that kind of reaction, but it always came. But it doesn't come any more. What happens now is this. If you say on the air anything even mildly critical, obliquely critical, of some other country, it produces a whirlwind of abuse. The tone of the reaction now in general, as best I can summarize it, is this: "You are an Ugly American. You do not understand these people. They have had a hard time of it. They deserve sympathy, tolerance and kindness. You are an Ugly American. Unless you say something nice, why don't you stay the hell home." Well, that's how it goes now. And again, that phrase and that idea has lodged in the American people's minds to an extent greater than I realized until lately, and perhaps to a greater extent than some of you have. And I believe that this change in the American attitude is not yet generally understood, not yet generally appreciated.

There are, of course, still some fragments of isolationism and xenophobia. We still see ads in the New York TIMES, signed generally by mid-Western industrialists and embittered former liberals and professional reactionaries saying that we must stop all kinds of foreign aid. But I am convinced that while it is a very noisy crowd, it is a small one. And it should not get all the attention it gets. The overwhelming majority of the American people, in my opinion,

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have reached a maturity of understanding in this area of foreign relations, are committed to it, believe in it. They believe in it even more deeply, in many cases, than they understand themselves and are willing and even anxious to support it. As I say again, I do not think it is entirely and thoroughly understood by a great many people in Congress, among others. But I have always thought Congress was about four miles behind the rest of the American people anyway.

So my point, laboriously arrived at, is that when you represent this country abroad, you have the support of a people who have achieved a higher degree of maturity, sophistication, who have come to understand and who have acquired a deep moral and spiritual commitment to the job we have been given to do. And before I wind up this performance of "Old Uncle Dave Opens His Mail Bag," I would like seriously to make one more point that may be of interest to you.

We have a very large and very active correspondence with young people, college age. Sometimes they want me to write their theses for them, but I politely decline. The others ask questions such as, "What is this Goldwater all about?," and other goodies like that. But hundreds of them over the years have asked for help and guidance in their careers. "Where do I go in the Government to get some information about going into medical research?" (NIH) "How can I get into the Coast and Geodetic Survey (or some other place)?" Sometimes even, "How can I get into television?" But now, with an almost monotonous regularity, the question is, "How can I get into the Foreign Service?"

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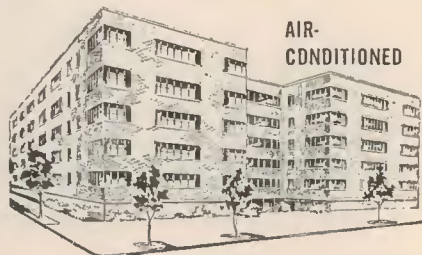
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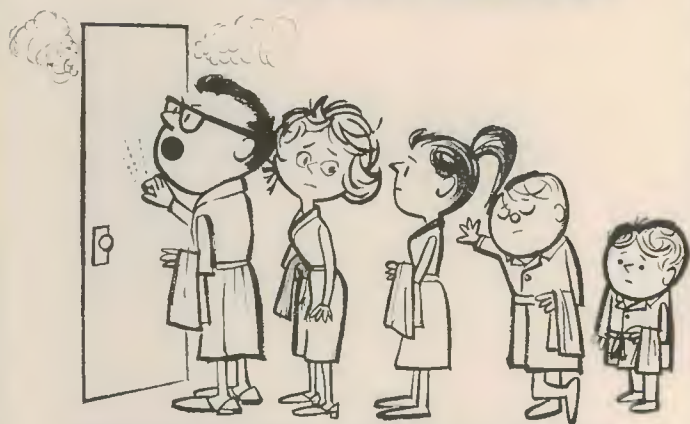


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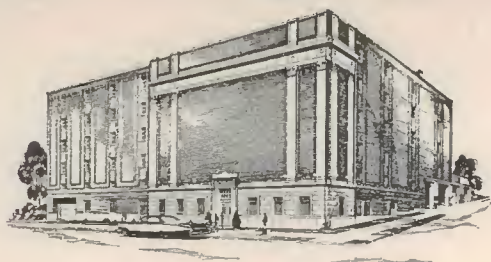
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## FSO Recruiting Trip

by SAMUEL R. GAMMON

*"Does the Foreign Service take graduates of non-Ivy League universities?"*

*"What sort of work does a Foreign Service officer do?"*

*"Why don't our ambassadors know the language of the country?"*

*"What do you think of 'The Ugly American'?"*

*"Is the Foreign Service part of the Civil Service?"*

*"What are the chances for promotion in the Foreign Service?"*

*"What are the Foreign Service exams like?"*

*"Will taking the exams affect my draft status?"*

*"Do you have a choice of posts of assignment?"*

*"What are the opportunities for women in the Foreign Service?"*

*"Is there a waiting list?"*

*"Is there any charge for taking the exams?"*

*"What is the pay?"*

*"What are the retirement provisions?"*

THESE ARE some of the questions which potential FSO's may ask a State Department representative.

Those of us who came into the service when public ignorance and apathy about it prevailed or when adverse publicity flourished may assume that the wide popular interest in foreign affairs these days produces an automatic flow of well-prepared and well-informed new FSO's-8 into the Service. It undoubtedly helps. However, the annual program of college visitation by FSO's as part of the Department's college relations program may also contribute markedly to our success in attracting future Bohlens.

The college relations program is not new. For many years a number of colleges and universities have been visited each year by FSO's to publicize the Foreign Service entrance examinations and to answer the questions of interested potential candidates about the exams and about careers in the Service. FSO recruiting has helped bring about a broadening of the geographic basis of our officer corps. (The 734 candidates certified for FSO-8 appointments in the last four and one-half years came from 198 different colleges and universities.) Each year, with increasing flexibility, it is being used to concentrate officer recruitment functionally, geographically, racially, and coeducationally.

Having been a part of the visiting program for the last two years, I should like to describe the typical experiences a visitor may encounter as he participates in building the Foreign Service of the future.

Late last September, the thirty-four officers who were to visit 275 colleges and universities in early October were

After serving on the Placement Panel in POD, Sam Gammon reports he is now in the Executive Secretariat in the Department, which he describes as louder but no funnier. He was a member of AFSA's Board of Directors from 1959 to 1961.

3

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briefed by Deputy Under Secretary Jones, and other officers of the Bureau of Administration. Continuing emphasis was placed on obtaining potential economic officers. New emphasis was given to the need for administrative officers, and we were told that a special optional exam would be offered in 1962 for candidates with academic backgrounds in business and public administration. The heaviest emphasis of all was placed on the Service's need to attract qualified Negro candidates.

The 34 routes assigned to the officers participating in the program covered all fifty states. My circuit this year included ten colleges and universities in Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Northern Texas. One was a women's university with not a male in sight. One was a predominantly Negro university, while eight were co-ed institutions. Their enrollments ranged from 750 to over 12,000.

On each campus the Department's Employment Division is in correspondence with at least one contact, who serves as our resident agent. Some are members of the teaching faculty in the traditional Service-preparation departments such as political science, economics, and history. Others are placement directors who, though less personally devoted to the Foreign Service and less informed about it, are more efficient in making informational material available to prospective FSO candidates in fields of study outside the social sciences.

A typical college visit goes something like this: You debark from a Greyhound bus at 9:00 in the evening in a strange mid-western town and find your way to the local hotel. A quick telephone call to the home of your contact reveals that he left town three weeks before to take a job in the new administration in Washington! You then fall back to regroup and try to find a restaurant in which you can have a belated dinner. Following a sumptuous repast of a cheeseburger and french fries in the local drive-in you return to the hotel, to collapse in bed exhausted, after leaving a call for 6:30 a.m. at the desk. (Campuses have a nasty undiplomatic habit of starting their working day before eight.)

**A** BIT OF detective work on campus early the next morning with the placement officer and the teaching department to which your lost contact belonged reveals that a strenuous program has been arranged for you: At 10:00 a.m. and at 2:00 p.m. you will be talking about careers in the Foreign Service to group meetings, which have been widely publicized on bulletin boards and in the campus paper for the last two weeks. At 9:00 a.m. you are telling a senior political science class about the Foreign Service and its work, from 3:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. you are to be available in a conference room to talk to individual students who were unable to attend either group meeting. A luncheon has been arranged for you with faculty members of the political science, history, economics, and public administration departments.

In the interstices of this busy program you will scamper about the rolling 200-acre campus tracking down and evangelizing potentially useful faculty members in the school of business administration and in the language and social science departments.

The group meetings are fun. Their participants vary widely from naive, totally uninformed to serious, well-pre-



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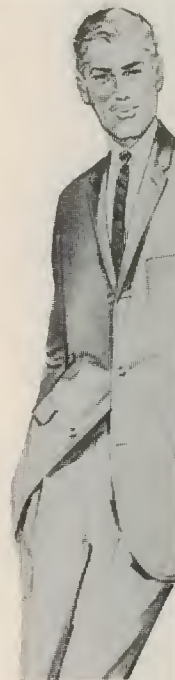


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### RECRUITING

by Samuel R. Gammon

pared FSO candidates. All are interested and seethe with questions. As a former FSO candidate yourself, you can sympathize with the first category and do your utmost to improve the already considerable knowledge of the third. You will be slightly shocked at how early in the discussion you will be asked about retirement conditions by beardless youths. You may also be surprised at how early you are asked about pay, but you will be pleased to learn from placement officers that our starting salaries (even without allowances) are roughly competitive with those for budding engineers and fully competitive with salaries for junior managerial talent. You will be pleased to note that in 1961 "What do you think of 'The Ugly American'?" is sometimes not even asked once in an hour-long meeting. Undoubtedly the high point of your tour will be the perplexed request of a bewildered blonde seeking to know the difference between an ambassador and a diplomat. (The same young lady came up after the meeting and in broadest southern accent noted that she thought it was just so nice our government is sending you-people way down here to talk to us.)

Near the end of the evening, as you plan a hurried departure for the bus or train station or airport, you may be asked to stay over and appear on an 11:00 p.m. television program to give your pitch on the Service. A quick study of the time table will persuade you that this can be done by taking the 1:00 a.m. bus instead of an earlier one, but you will inquire desperately whether your part could not be taped earlier. You will in any event have been interviewed during the day by the correspondent (always a freshman co-ed) of the campus paper and perhaps by someone from the city newspaper also.

**A**LL THIS is stimulating and intriguing work, though grueling when repeated on ten different campuses in twelve days. Perhaps the most interesting part of the trip, however, is the opportunity it gives you, a "provincial" Foreign Service officer. Intimately acquainted with many foreign countries and with Washington, but long out of touch with your native habitat, you can return to the grass roots and reacquaint yourself with that American public opinion which exists for you primarily in the newspapers. You learn, for example, that the largest television station in a major Oklahoma city has quietly built a bomb shelter for its employees and their families a few miles out of town. You will note that faculty members in the social science departments, after a six-year holiday, are again feeling under heavy pressure from the "radical right." You will become all too knowledgeable about the public transportation network. You will see many movies and many television shows you would never have patronized at home. You will learn to appreciate what good newspapers you have access to in Washington and at many foreign posts as you read the small town dailies and the one or two major regional dailies for the area in which you are traveling. You will realize with mixed alarm and pleasure that your fellow-citizens are at once profoundly ignorant of the Foreign Service and its work and deeply interested in knowing more about it.



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## Letters to the Editor

### "Central African F. S. Cook-Out"

IT OCCURRED to me that you might be interested in what Ambassador Walmsley has dubbed "The Central African Foreign Service Cook-out," which took place in Fort Lamy, Chad, January 27-28, with Ambassador Arch Calhoun as host.

No one is quite sure how it all got started, but it probably had its genesis at the AF Regional Conference in Lagos, last July. In any case, as fall rolled by, letters began to flow back and forth between friends in a number of African posts (and even some European) with the result that by Christmas it had miraculously been agreed on in at least some quarters that a reunion would be attempted the weekend of January 27-28.

In the end, the Mae Godleys made it by air from Leopoldville to Bangui where they joined Ambassador John Burns and drove to Fort Lamy. The Jerry Greenes, on official tour of northern Nigeria, met by pre-arrangement with the McIlvaines at Maidugari. The McIlvaines, incidentally, had previously done seven days of official calls on local officials and American missionaries in northern Dahomey, driven on

to Niamey for a session with Ambassadors Cook and Reams, then trekked across the southern Sahara to the rendezvous with the Greenes.

The consternation was great when it was discovered that the road between Maidugari and Fort Lamy was still cut by heavy floods. It was thought in some quarters that one could get from Maidugari to Fort Lamy via a 380-mile detour into northern Cameroun, across to Bangor and up, but no maps were available. Having come this far, there could be no turning back, so the McIlvaine-Greene convoy shoved off, armed with a compass and the names of two intermediate villages. Maidugari-Fort Lamy is normally a four-hour drive. Two days later the bedraggled convoy reached Fort Lamy and once there, had to face the return over the same route plus another 1,000 miles across Nigeria to Lagos and Cotonou.

Unfortunately, Ambassador Walmsley, who christened the reunion, as well as Ambassador and Mrs. Freddy Reinhardt in Rome and the David McKillops in Brussels were unable to make it.

Since everyone came and went at his own expense, the proceedings of the "Cook-out" were highly classified and cannot be reported at this time! At the end of the soiree, Ambassadors Burns and Calhoun and Mrs. Godley set out on an extended tour of Chad and Central African Republic, while Mac Godley dashed back to Leo by plane so Ed Gullion could accompany Premier Adoula to the States.

ROBINSON  
MCLIVAIN  
Ambassador

Cotonou,  
Dahomey

### Siestas

THERE WAS a old soldier who, when he wanted to tell about his war experiences at a dinner party, would bring his big fist down on the table, tumbling the tumblers, and shout, "Bang! Speaking of war reminds me." And so the mention of "siestas" in January's "Washington Letter," reminds me of the siestas of other days in some countries south of the Border.

Shops were closed from 12 to 3 p.m., streets were empty and silent except for a carriage rumble now and then. The occupants might be said to represent the carriage trade, and a few shops remained open to cater to it.

Residents of the district from whence came the carriages were permitted to shop only between the hours of 1 and 3 p.m. when the prominent citizens were at home taking their siestas. It was a man's world.

J. B. S.

Denver

### Pusey in Asia

IN HIS 1960-61 Annual Report, just at hand, President Nathan M. Pusey, President of Harvard University, refers to his recent trip to Asia and the good work being done by the two Harvard Professors in the two most populous nations of the Far East and the many other Harvard men serving in other capacities in that part of the world. He writes:

These men and women play a demanding role in a world in which the political, social, economic and educational factors of all countries are increasingly intertwined. I came back from my quick trip to the East with enormous respect for the splendid work being done by Americans in all the places I visited—not least by Americans whose lives have been touched by the experience of Harvard. I had been prepared, by the wide discussion of "The Ugly American" in this country, to find evidence of selfishness, inanity and incompetence. *It was inspiring to find quite the opposite.*

The last line was underlined by me, and is worthy of emphasis coming from so impartial and authoritative a source, by way of rebuttal for the slurs offered by the pedestrian authors of "The Ugly American."

ARTHUR C. FROST  
Menlo Park, Calif.



Standing, l. to r., DGM G. McMurtrie Godley, II, Leopoldville; Ambassador John H. Burns, Bangui; Ambassador John A. Calhoun, Fort Lamy; Ambassador Robinson McIlvaine, Cotonou; DCM Joseph N. Greene, Jr., Lagos. Seated, l. to r., Mrs. Greene, Mrs. McIlvaine, Mrs. Godley.

# Letters to the Editor

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## "Toward Putting Foreign Policy in its Total Context"

TWO ARTICLES in your issue of last September stimulate this letter, for both hit briefly at problems that have been much in my mind for some time. Both are interrelated—one speaks of the ambassador as true chief of the total U.S. Mission to any country ("The Ambassador as Administrator"), the other speaks, when discussing economic aid, of "foreign policy in its total context" (your editorial, "Aid and Foreign Policy").

Surely there can be little quarrel with the concept of ambassadorial leadership and responsibility as recently reconfirmed. What strikes me as more important than this principle, however, is the growing need to find men who as chiefs of mission possess a breadth of intellect and experience sufficient to encompass those vital, heavily enlarged components of diplomacy we call military assistance, economic aid and public affairs. May I suggest that a broader personnel base be built and new roads to the top be opened? I shall confine myself to what is closest and best known to me: the Foreign Service of the Department and of USIA.

In terms of qualifications, examinations passed and promotion procedures

to be met the career officers of both foreign services can be considered virtually identical. So, too, with the constant need of both services to consider foreign policy "in its total context." Why not allow the best officers of both to compete for the ranks of Career Minister and Ambassador?

I would envision a functional interchange of selected personnel beginning at mid-career levels. The consuls, economic officers, political officers, etc. would in effect trade jobs with USIS officers of similar rank at various times throughout their careers. The same in the case of domestic assignments—our people to State, FSO's to USIA, and both to Defense under the new exchange program. So up the ladder, with top foreign policy and foreign service posts eventually filled by officers of both Services. I would not stop with USIS. Selected officers of AID would, I presume, also be worked into such a functional exchange. The goal is a broadened competitive base for the top foreign affairs positions, considerably broadened experience for all involved and the translation of a noble principle, Totality, into a semblance of reality within the realm of personnel. (This letter has lain around my desk for so long that Mr. Handley of USIA has in the meantime been appointed Ambassador to Mali—a good start appears to have been made!)

Now a leap to the related question of economic aid within the total context of foreign policy. Your editorial so rightly notes that effective aid requires a "comprehensive understanding . . . of the gamut of political, social, cultural, historic, geographic, economic and psychological factors." From inception to execution, then, the aid program would seem to require the closest possible coordination of economic, political and public affairs knowledge, experience and functions.

Take the case of Country X where a situation somewhat along the following lines might be found: considerable labor-management strife, with organized labor politically left and largely convinced of the validity of the "class struggle"; a management group politically powerful, with relatively antiquated managerial methods and a similarly antiquated social philosophy; divorced from both, and from practically every-

thing else, a disaffected intelligentsia of university professors and students whose Marxist ideas and polemics play a considerable role in the formation of public opinion, and in the fomenting of political and economic strife.

What aim then for economic aid in country X? Merely to improve production or productivity while all else remains much the same and upon attainment of certain new levels of production to advertise heavily the blessings of American aid? Or could a serious implementation of Country Team talent from the very beginning promise more substantial benefits that would tie desired social change to that very realistic economic stimulant to such change, the fuller pocketbook? New management techniques could conceivably be planned with an eye to a new management philosophy and social consciousness, to psychological, "human relations" factors; new concepts of labor relations could accompany labor's obvious role in economic change and perhaps weaken the class struggle psychology; the stimulation by word, deed and example of mutually beneficial relations among labor, management, agriculture and the universities through an attack on actual local or regional problems could perhaps serve to bring the disgruntled intelligentsia away from the theories of Marx and into a sense of sharing a new national destiny. We are dealing, after all, with indivisible human problems. They might merit a less compartmentalized, more "total" approach on our part.

This, then, in only the broadest of outline, is A Modest Proposal of two steps that might contribute toward putting foreign policy "in its total context." Perhaps it will stimulate some discussion.

GUNTHER K. ROSINUS  
Director, Amerika Haus

Koblentz

### Air Travel

HEREWITH a prayer composed upon reading our new air travel regulations: May God help the Government conserve dollars, protect us all against seat cancellations on PAA and bring forth kind words from the lips of the haughty misses on TWA.

STOCKWELL EVERTS  
Second Secretary

Murree, West Pakistan



Inner court of castle, Heidelberg

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## Letters to the Editor

### End-User Summary: A Useful Double Check

**A**MONG recent comments on that ever popular subject of promotions and selection out were Ambassador Byington's article in the January NEWSLETTER and Mr. Sulser's letter in the November JOURNAL. Explicit or implicit in these and other articles has been the fact that some files contain a dearth of adequate information on which the selection board members can base their evaluations. Nevertheless there does not seem to be major consideration of one tool which should be of value in providing an expanded and better-balanced picture of the worth of each officer—the end-user summary.

In view of the world-wide scattering of posts—many of them small, the frequent transfer of both raters and ratees, the wide divergency of types of jobs, and the infrequency of inspections, it is no wonder that the efficiency reports alone often do not provide a complete picture. Both of the above-mentioned articles propose that the Office of Personnel put certain additional information in the files. Would not additional input from the "customers" be of even greater value?

The end-user summary can serve as a useful double-check on the efficiency report. If an officer receives a bad report from his superior and bad reports from his customers, he is probably a bad officer. However, if his customers like his service and yet his boss does not give him a good rating, it may merely signify that he is the only bad bridge player among the four Americans in Upper Lower Slobbovia.

The end-user summary is particularly useful for specialists. Some specialties are not of crashing interest to traditional diplomatists. Some are even negative in character. (One outstanding ambassador—more in truth than in jest—greeted a newly-arrived specialist by observing that the predecessor must have done a good job because the ambassador had not had to involve himself in the specialty concerned.) It therefore behooves special end users, desirous of having their interests well represented abroad, to be diligent in the maximum use of the end-user summary, as both a positive and a negative force. Such use would also provide the end user with a citable record of the degree to which their needs abroad are being fulfilled. The Depart-

ment of Commerce has made good use of the end-user summary but some of the other departments and agencies do not seem to be aware of its existence.

This emphasis on specialties does not mean that the summaries are not of value for the practitioners of the traditional diplomatic arts. As the country desks have grown in size, it has become more important that the views of the individual desk-holders on the value of incoming reports be registered as well. In this connection, all end-users should be reminded that evaluations of individual reports are no longer included in personnel files and so are not available to the selection boards.

The following suggestions are therefore made:

1. The selection board members should be queried as to the value of the end-user summary.
2. In April every year, the existence and purpose of the end-user summary should be called to the attention of all recipients of Foreign Service reports and communications of all kinds.
3. Consideration should be given to a more formal approach such as sending to all end-users summary forms, blank except for the name, rank, and position of the officer for whom a summary is sought. The end-user could use his discretion as to whether to reply or not.
4. A study should be made of the desirability and feasibility of encouraging non-governmental end-users to submit the summary or an adaptation thereof.

ALBERT W. STOFFEL  
Foreign Service Officer

Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.

### Edwin E. Vallon

**A**MERITORIOUS Service Award was recently bestowed posthumously upon FSO Edwin E. Vallon just at the time when his fellow officers in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs are witnessing the fruition of the arduous efforts which contributed to Ed's untimely death. Ed Vallon had been warned to be careful of over-exertion; he had devoted all of his energies unstintingly for weeks and months to the complex and persistent problems in the Caribbean area. Most of all he had exerted the last measure of his outstanding ability in efforts to contribute to the ideal of a peaceful transition from dictatorship to

genuine democracy in the Dominican Republic. It was, perhaps, especially fitting that Ed was in the Dominican Republic consulting with our Mission when the end came for him.

We can rejoice, in our memories of Ed Vallon, in the fact that the cause for which he gave his final energies is achieving success. Ed's departure was a grievous loss to his many friends and his fellow workers and these many companions now send their sympathetic greetings anew to his widow, Eleanor, and his son, with their sentiments of mutual pride in Ed's great personal contribution to one of the signal steps forward in democratic progress in the American Republics in this generation.

ROBERT F. WOODWARD

Washington

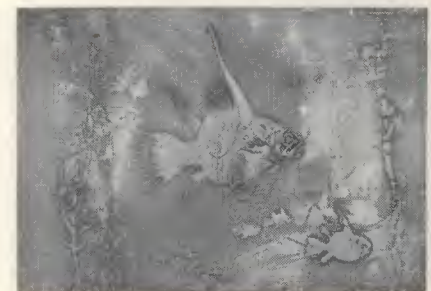
### The Constant Reader

**W**E WERE DELIGHTED to see, in your January "Washington Letter," the picture of the Fragonard. Even a retired FSO and family take pride in showing the Service something new and beautiful that has been added to Washington. But, please, when showing a work of art, especially one of such magnitude as "A Young Girl Reading," show it as it is, don't reverse it! Our new "Young Girl" faces left, not right as it is reproduced in the JOURNAL. Let's not allow our cultured Foreign Service to be laughed at because of a simple mistake like this, or to have a misconception of what the Gallery paid more than three-quarters of a million dollars for. And please don't think we are angry or any such thing—let's just get the record—or the picture—straight!

K. H. B.

Alexandria, Va.

*Editor's Note:* In line with the New Frontier hopes to photograph the dark side of the moon, the JOURNAL was hoping to show the other side of a very charming young lady.



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