Foreign Service Journal

Part 1 of Two Parts

SEPTEMBER 1962

30¢

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is an unofficial and voluntary association of the members, active and retired, of the Foreign Service of the United States and the Department of State. The Association was formed in order to foster an *esprit de corps* among members of the Foreign Service and to establish a center around which might be grouped the united efforts of its members for the improvement of the Service.

Chiefs of Mission, FSO's, FSR's and FSS's are eligible for active membership. American employees of other Departments or Agencies such as USIA and AID, who hold career status and who are on foreign service, are eligible for associate membership. Annual dues for both categories are $10.00 which includes a subscription to the JOURNAL. Those interested in membership should write to the General Manager, AFSA, Suite 301, 1742 "G" St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal considers all articles submitted. If accepted, the author will be paid one cent a word at time of publication. Photographs accompanying articles will, if accepted, be purchased at one dollar each. Negatives and color transparencies are not acceptable. Photos should be black and white glossies, measuring approximately 7 x 10 inches, and should be mailed between extra heavy cardboard. Photos are not returned, and the Journal is not responsible for the return of unsolicited material. Please include full name and address on all editorial material and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

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by Paul Child

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CHARLES E. BOHLEN *to U.S.S.R.*

WYMBERLEY DeR. COERR *to Uruguay*

JOHN H. FERGUSON *to Morocco*

FOY D. KOHLER *to the Soviet Union*

WILLIAM K. LEONHART *to Tanganyika*

MATTHEW H. McCLOSKEY *to Ireland*

CHARLES EDWARD RHETTS *to Liberia*

WILLIAM M. ROUNTREE *to Republic of Sudan*

PHILIP DODSON SPROUSE *to Cambodia*

LEONARD UNGER *to Laos*

BIRTHS

BROH-KAHN. A son, Daniel R., born to Mr. and Mrs. Jere Broh-Kahn, on June 8, in Vientiane.

CARLSON. A son, William Ernest, born to Mr. and Mrs. Roy O. Carlson on March 5, in Copenhagen.

COOK. A daughter, Alexandra Mary Louise, born to Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Cook, Jr., on April 7, in Washington.

DOLS. A daughter, Sheila Jean, born to Mr. and Mrs. Richard J. Dols, on June 29, in Washington.

HARRIS. A son, Kenneth Connors, born to Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Harris, on May 11, in Istanbul. Mr. and Mrs. Harris will be assigned to Manila after home leave.

KAPLAN. A son, David Aaron, born to Mr. and Mrs. George Kaplan, on June 15, in Munich.

MARRIAGES

FISCHBACHER-VON PAGENHARDT. Heidi S. Fischbacher and FSO Robert von Pagenhardt were married on June 25, at New Canaan, Connecticut. Mr. von Pagenhardt is assigned to the American Embassy, Paris.

TOMS-CARRE. Caroline Smith Toms and FSO Chester Morey Carre were married on June 16, in Christ Church, Georgetown, Washington. Mr. Carre is in the Bureau of Economic Affairs.

DEATHS

CHAPPELL. Joseph J. Chappell, FSO, died on July 25, in Toronto. Mr. Chappell entered the Foreign Service in 1941 and served in the Department, Hong Kong and Toronto.

HOLLAND. Henry F. Holland, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, died on July 18 in Greenwich, Connecticut. Mr. Holland was appointed to his State Department post in 1945 and resigned in 1956.

PERKINS. Mahlon F. Perkins, FSO-retired, died on July 3, at Washington, D. C. Mr. Perkins entered the Foreign Service in 1909 and retired in 1946. One of the old China Hands Mr. Perkins served at Chefoo, Shanghai, Changsha, Tientsin, Peking, Barcelona, The Hague, Copenhagen, and, at the time of his retirement, was Consul General at St. John's, Newfoundland.

WOOLDRIDGE. Robert A. Wooldridge, FSO, died on July 5, at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Mr. Wooldridge entered the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Baghdad, Dacca and Budapest. He was assigned to duty at the Department in 1960.

AFSA

Personal Purchasing Services

The following summary will remind members of services related to personal purchases that the American Foreign Service Association provides for its members.

► **Books:** Members may order books for themselves or as gifts by writing or telephoning the Association. The discount is 10% on technical works, text books, university press books and available paperbacks, and 25% or 33% on others. The Association bills the member after the book has been mailed. Paperbacks regularly sold in hardcover book stores can be supplied but not those sold only in paperback book stores or at newsstands. The Association cannot supply sets of encyclopedias or other publications that must be ordered direct from the publishing organizations.

► **Automobile Purchases:** The courtesy export price lists of American automobile manufacturers are available for members at the Association's office. As export prices of new models become available, the Association arranges for their distribution to all Foreign Service posts. Members in Washington may have their export orders for American automobiles prepared at the Association. Members stationed abroad may order American automobiles through the Association for export or for delivery in the United States. The Association provides an order form for this purpose.

► **Information for Personal Purchases:** For members who come to Washington on leave or who are on assignment to the Department, the Association provides a list of firms in the Washington area that offer articles commonly needed for personal and household use at favorable prices. For members in Washington who are preparing for assignments overseas, the Association maintains a set of current catalogues and price lists of appliances and other articles commonly needed abroad. The Association supplies to members a list of companies that fill individual export orders at favorable prices and mails this list to all posts. This list shows the addresses to which inquiries or orders should be sent. The Association encourages these firms to mail catalogues and price lists to Foreign Service posts and sends them a list of the posts.

To make AFSA's purchasing services as helpful as possible, the Association urges members to send in any information they believe would be useful to others, also suggestions for improvement.

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Seven Guns for a Consul

by RICHARD F. BOYCE

IT WAS JUST about twenty-five years ago that the *U.S.S. Augusta*, flagship of the United States Asiatic Fleet, paid its periodical visit to Yokohama where I was American Consul. Like all young officers I had looked forward to the time when I would receive a gun salute upon visiting an American warship. I had noted, on reading the Regulations, that consular officers were entitled to such salutes—five guns for a vice consul; seven for a consul; eleven for a consul general and so on up the scale of diplomatic rank. Although I had served at four seaports, and had been piped aboard our naval vessels many times there had not yet been an occasion for guns.

When Admiral Upham said he was going to give me the honors I was delighted. I refreshed my memory on the routine. Top hats and morning coats were obligatory in Japan for all formal ceremonials and I was properly decked out. An unusually large crowd of Japanese sightseers swarmed over the pier—they knew when a ceremony was to take place.

I was driven to the ship at the appointed hour. I walked slowly up the gangway to the curious music of the bosun's pipe, tipped my hat to the flag aft, was escorted to the Captain and the Admiral by the Officer of the Deck. We had an enjoyable visit and a cup of black Navy coffee.

All the time I was thinking of those seven guns.

Time to go! I thanked the Admiral and the Captain, and was escorted to the gangway. I raised my hat to the colors aft and walked sedately down to the pier. A few paces from the gangway I turned smartly about and faced the ship. The Japanese, hundreds of them, waited expectantly, and so did I.

BOOM! You could hear the Japanese catch their breath. I quickly removed my hat and held it over my heart.

BOOM! Then a long pause—those guns often jam.

BOOM! I wished they weren't so far apart.

BOOM! The roar of the gun rattled the warehouse roofs.

BOOM! That was five—a vice consul's salute.

Pause. They were slow again. I felt conspicuous standing there with hundreds of pairs of bright black eyes on my back.

Pause. Why didn't they keep their guns in working order, or train the gunners better?

Still no gun! Do you suppose, horrible thought, the gunners didn't know I was to get seven guns?

I was perspiring by this time. I had to wait to give them time to replace the dud shells.

I waited with my top hat still held over my heart while the Japanese silently stared. I was sure the gunners had stopped. Five guns was all I would get. So I made a stiff bow to the ship, put my top hat on my head, and turned about to get into my car.

BOOM! I turned about, held my hat over my now seething heart and stood at attention. The Japanese eyes barely flickered.

BOOM! The seventh and last! I replaced my hat, made another stiff bow to the ship, got into my car and departed. I never did learn what happened on board ship.

A Letter of Resignation

March 6, 1962

I DOUBT WHETHER you are much interested in publishing letters of resignation from the Foreign Service but in the event you are, here is my own:

My assignments in the Foreign Service over the past 5 years have run more or less as follows: Assistant to The Director of The Office of Public Affairs, ARA (four weeks, 1957), Assistant to The Officer-in-Charge of Brazilian Affairs, ARA (15 months, 1957-58), deputy to The Special Assistant to The Under Secretary of State for Law of the Sea, U/LA (17 months, 1958-1960), Advisor to the U. S. Delegation to the 2nd United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, Geneva (6 weeks, 1960), Staff Aide to the U. S. Ambassador to NATO and deputy secretary of the U. S. Delegation to NATO, Paris (22 months, 1960-1962).

EDWARD E. WRIGHT

USRO, Paris

February 8, 1962

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I SUBMIT MY RESIGNATION as a Foreign Service officer of the United States.

In resigning from the Foreign Service after several years of connection with it, I am conscious of feelings of regret at ending my association with you, and with fellow officers whom I esteem. The experience has been personally rewarding in many ways. The opportunity for government service it has provided is, and will continue to be, a source of pleasure to me. These sincere feelings, together with the high worth of Foreign Service work in these difficult times, cause me to think I should try to give you an explanation of the reasons that prompt me to leave the Service.

The Foreign Service Officer Corps does not, insofar as I can see, offer a unified and coherent career of service to one deeply interested in the conduct of our foreign relations. Service assignments are marked by an absence of direction or effective choice, and are often unrelated to an officer's principal interests. With respect to junior officers, I have found it somewhat rare that the duties of assigned positions can evoke an absorption and performance that approximate the officer's capabilities. It is my impression also that, toward the end of successful and rewarded service, senior officers, with great frequency, are unable to influence the formation of foreign policy decisions of most immediate impact upon their area of responsibility. Lastly, throughout the ranks, including the highest positions, the most deeply felt differences with prevailing foreign policy — on which members of the Foreign Service are more knowledgeable than any other group—must be silently confined within the internal processes of the Government.

The reasons last mentioned, it might he said, are, after all, historic limitations on working for the Government. That is so. But if at the end and height of a lifetime in the field of foreign affairs an officer's accumulated experience and judgment must be silently buried when it does not prevail, the nation itself loses the advantages of informed, audible argument over foreign policy, and it can he wondered if the career can thus rest upon foundations capable of giving genuine personal satisfaction.

To suggest that my resignation at this early stage is influenced by differences which I feel, or expect to feel, over our foreign policy, makes my case probably somewhat unusual. I do not

(Continued on page 10)

believe it is unusual, however, with regard to my other reasons.

Foreign Service officer positions in the last few years have taken on great variety. The fact itself has become a subject of common, if muted, grievance within the Service. In the range of conceivable assignments, there exists a large proportion of jobs only obliquely related to the political and economic interests which motivate the main body of officers to join. Those who have reached the summit may be inclined to look back with indulgence on a curious course. Those who are looking upward can only see the path as vague and more than a little demoralizing. The Service ranks consequently reflect, I believe, a lack of the "esprit de corps" an organization has whose members are satisfied with their posts, their future prospects, and their sense of direction.

Despite sharing, in various measure, the feelings which I have described, the majority of officers nevertheless choose to stay in. If many do so for a negative reason, for the lack of a concrete and attractive alternative, many also of course do so for reasons of satisfaction with their immediate work, which can be considerable, or of devotion and self-sacrifice. But it would be a mistake I think to hold a presumption that the ablest of junior officers by and large are staying in the Service, or, if they are, that years of assignment in the Service will result in their evolution as senior officers best qualified for the demands of the Foreign Service. It may appear a bizarre proposal, but we would have a better Foreign Service, I suggest, if FSO ranks 5-8 were substantially abolished, if there were no officer positions which did not confer heavy responsibilities, and if promotion, or outside recruitment, into all ranks, occurred freely, on the basis of conspicuous qualification. The principal rationale for containing junior officers in the Service is that they are expected eventually to staff responsible positions and must be trained. Such training as occurs however is for the most part limited, or accidental.

There are numerous exceptions and qualifications to the views I have expressed which I would not hesitate to concede. My own assignments have not particularly been the cause of my views, I might say, as they have been somewhat exceptional. But it is my judgment that the Foreign Service has profound deficiencies which must be remedied if its appeal, its esprit, and its performance in the nation's service are to reach the high ground required of it. In requesting that you accept my resignation, I take the liberty of expressing these personal views in the hope that the Service may somehow be the beneficiary.

EDWARD E. WRIGHT

Reply from PER:

MR. WRIGHT'S LETTER raises some basic questions which are, or should be, of real concern to all of us in the Foreign Service.

Perhaps the weakest of Mr. Wright's arguments is his contention that senior officers are unable to influence the formulation of senior policy, and that they suffer from their inability to make public their dissents. While it is true that final decisions in matters of foreign policy are, and should be, made at the highest level by the President and the Secretary, the role of senior and even, at times, middle-ranking officers, in the Department and abroad, is considerable. Where disagreements with current policy exist within the Department, it is difficult to see how the latter could

(Continued on page 12)

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be expected to function if these differences were regularly brought out onto the public forum. It is questionable, furthermore, whether this obvious need of having the Executive Branch speak with one voice is either detrimental to the nation or the individuals involved. As long as debate over foreign policy is freely and actively pursued in Congress, the press, and among the public in general, there is little danger that valid opinions will go unvoiced.

Whether failure to give public voice to dissenting views prevents "genuine personal satisfaction" for individual Foreign Service officers, as claimed by Mr. Wright, is, of course, a matter which each officer will have to decide for himself. Basic disagreements with policy within the Service are certainly more the exception than the rule, and, when they do occur, most officers are content to wage a silent battle for their views without the benefit of a public audience.

If Mr. Wright's long-range criticisms of the Service appear to be of somewhat marginal significance, his arguments concerning the nature of work to which junior officers are assigned and the effects of such assignments raise certain serious and basic considerations. It is true that some assignments have had and continue to have a negative impact on the morale of some of our junior officers. The work involved in a number of FSO positions has relatively little initial appeal to the average officer entering through the current examination process.

A partial answer to Mr. Wright is, of course, that such assignments represent useful experience for later assignments of broader responsibility and that the discipline involved is a desirable quality to develop in our young officers. There is certainly much to be said for this argument. The Foreign Service is a career service. If this much abused term is to mean anything, it certainly must mean that our career officers must he prepared to serve in a variety of jobs, not always of their choosing, both to meet the needs of the Service and for the purpose of developing the officers themselves. Our many positions in "program direction" (from Principal Officer at a consulate to Ambassador) can generally better be filled by officers with a wide breadth of experience than by too narrow specialists.

Having made the above point, it is only fair to recognize that some of our junior officer positions have only marginal significance even in terms of the above criteria.

If Mr. Wright's objections are not, therefore, entirely without foundation, his rapid discouragement with the Service would seem to be somewhat less justified. The concern he voices has, for some time, been shared by many and action is already being taken to remedy the situation.

There are several ways of approaching the problems. A first step, which has already been taken, has been to revitalize the Staff Corps. By removing the ceilings which resulted from the Wriston Program and by making it possible to assign FSS personnel to FSO positions, it should be possible in the next few years to assign an increasing number of qualified FSS personnel to lower ranking consular and administrative positions. Another important step, currently under active study, is to modify the entrance examination in such a way as to attract a larger percentage of FSO's interested in consular and administrative work (as well as more qualified economists).

A further move, which bears directly on the issue at stake, has been the recent decision to assign all new FSO's in a "central complement" status permitting extensive rotation during the first tour. If this policy is properly implemented in the field, and other measures mentioned are carried through, most junior officers should be able in the future to obtain wide ex-

perience in their first two years and thence proceed in areas of primary interest to them.

Still another desirable change would be to re-align our job classification and class structure at the lower levels. At present there is a considerable discrepancy between the number of officers in classes 7 and 8 and the number of meaningful jobs at these levels. Such a re-alignment would provide greater job satisfaction for our younger officers as well as better manpower utilization for the Government.

To sum up, it would appear that Mr. Wright has raised some partially valid criticisms, but that much can be and already is being done to meet them. The Service has seen many changes from the days when only a financially privileged elite could expect to serve. It will never be a satisfactory home for those who expect built-in perfection or for the faint of heart. It will continue to improve and meet its responsibilities to the extent the best of its members remain with it and relentlessly press forward.

September, 1937

by JAMES B. STEWART

Where Are Her Lovely Arms?

EDWIN A. PLITT, Consul, Paris, has a good story in the September 1937 JOURNAL titled, "Venus and La Carrière."

A young American bride, having just visited the Louvre with her husband, Phil Burritt, asked her husband's friend, a French official, to tell her the story of the acquisition of the statue, "Venus de Milo."

"Eh bien," de Payzac complied. "Not long after the Parthenon's frieze was taken to the British Museum, we added the Venus de Milo to our collection. The statue was discovered by a Greek peasant on his property on the island of Milos. According to an official report in 1820, one of our naval vessels happened to have anchored off the island at the time and the peasant showed the statue to one of its officers. That officer, realizing its probable value, reported it to the French Ambassador in Turkey who despatched a secretary to effect its purchase. However, another of our naval vessels had preceded him with the French Consul from Athens who claimed to have a prior right to the statue."

"I can well picture the scene," Phil interposed, "and I am curious to know the outcome of the dispute that must have arisen between the two representatives of 'la carrière' and 'l'autre carrière' as it were."

"According to the consul's report," de Payzac continued, "it came to blows between the rival boat crews as the statue was being rowed toward his vessel. And in the fight that ensued it was damaged, and the arms believed to have been lost. Last year another attempt was made to drag the bottom

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25 Years Ago

of the bay near Milos, but nothing was found."

Comment 1962: It's a far cry from the scene of the fight over the statue to this traffic scene in New York: A woman, failing to put out her arm, turned in front of a big truck. Whereupon the driver stuck out his head and shouted, "Who do you think you are, lady, the Venus de Milo?"

News from the Department

Assistant Secretary of State Wilbur J. Carr became Minister to Czechoslovakia and was succeeded by George S. Messersmith. Jay Pierrepont Moffat was appointed Chief of European Affairs. Richard Southgate was appointed Chief and Julius C. Holmes, Assistant Chief, of the Division of International Conferences. J. Klahr Huddle succeeded Lowell C. Pinkerton as director of the School.

Is there a Yellow Metal Peril?

The leading article in the September 1937 JOURNAL discussed monetary problems. At that time the problem was not how to keep gold from leaving the country, but rather how to keep it out. The author, Alvin H. Hansen, stated: "Nearly $4,500,000,000 of gold have come to the United States since the establishment of the new price of gold at $35 an ounce, in January 1934. The United States now has a total of $12,000,000,000 of gold which slightly exceeds half of the total gold in reserves of central banks and government treasuries throughout the world. This inflow of gold either continually adds to the surplus bank reserves, thereby creating a dangerous monetary basis for inflation, or else, under the gold-sterilization plan, becomes an idle and therefore expensive asset of the American Treasury. . .

"Plainly, the imports of gold are a result not of a lack of balance in international trade and service transactions, but of an enormous inflow of foreign capital into the United States . . .

"Two measures seem definitely justifiable at present. First, as a fundamental approach to the problem, a more drastic reduction of American tariff barriers deserves prior consideration. Second, an amendment to the Federal Reserve Act, making possible sterilization of gold influx by means of further increase in reserve requirements, should be passed without delay."

"Agnes is a great help to Tom's career—I think."

By JAMES B. STEWART

Comment, 1962: Apropos of money: Mario Pasquetto, Italian tenor, speaks no English. Once, on his way to a concert rehearsal in Washington he got lost from his interpreter. He pulled out a $5 bill, pointed to the picture on the back of it, and wound up where he wanted to go. It was the Lincoln Memorial. Nearby was his concert site on the banks of the Potomac River.

Mario discovered that money talks.

Bob Murphy on Income Tax Returns

Robert D. Murphy, First Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Paris, wrote to the JOURNAL about two deductible income tax items which had come to his attention. One item concerned the expenses incurred by Ambassador X in the performance of his duties as Ambassador, and the other item concerned the depreciation on the upkeep of an officer's automobile.

Changes—Chiefs of Mission: L. J. Keena to be Minister to the Union of South Africa; Ray Atherton, Minister to Bulgaria; Leland Harrison goes to Switzerland and Ferdinand Mayer to Haiti.

Editorial Comment: The September JOURNAL quotes from several papers praising President Roosevelt's stand for career diplomacy. Example: "The staunch Republican organ and severe critic of President Roosevelt, the New York HERALD TRIBUNE praises the executive for his consistent appointment of a large number of diplomatic career men to top posts."

Another paper stated: "Perhaps the fact that his own half-brother (Warren Delano Robbins) was for years a career diplomat is responsible for this attitude on the part of the chief executive."

● **AAFSW**—Brains and Glamour: The growth and the many activities of the Woman's Association are impressive. Jane Pool, wife of FSO Jack Pool, and a former Managing Editor of the JOURNAL, is an enthusiastic member of AAFSW. Jane says: "The young women are bright and ambitious, a very superior group." Referring to the Spring Fashion Show she said the clothes were modeled by F.S. women. "So you see," she added, "there is glamour here as well as brains."

Changes and Additions to Advanced Career Assignments, 1962-63

GARDNER E. PALMER will remain as State Department faculty adviser at the Industrial War College.

RAYMOND G. LEDDY will continue as State Department faculty adviser at the Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

CLARE TIMBERLAKE is assigned to the office of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

WINTHROP BROWN has been assigned as State Department faculty adviser to the National War College.

JOHN D. JERNEGAN has been assigned as State Department faculty adviser to the Air University.

ERNEST E. RAMSAUR has been assigned as State Department faculty adviser to the Armed Forces Staff College.

The Talking Drums of Kumasi

John Biggers

Terrorism: Motives and Means

by DONALD M. DAVIES

MANY Foreign Service officers have lived close to the ebb and flow of politics-by-violence. Not long ago, one officer while on an assignment to observe and report on a political uprising was injured in the disturbances. Others of us have picked up the pieces after offices have been sacked or bombed and still others have successfully deflected politically inspired mob action that might have damaged American property.

The political use of force short of war is a subject of increasing importance because there is a growing number of geographical areas where force is likely to be used, and because the communist leadership has openly announced that it will support so-called "wars of liberation."

Readers of the JOURNAL are particularly indebted to Edward E. Rice and Henry C. Ramsey for their recent articles on guerrilla warfare and insurgency. It might also be useful to reflect on an old, but newly refined, political utensil which some officers have observed at close range: terrorism.

There follow some generalizations based on experience in three different areas of insurgent ferment. But because terrorism is an intensely personal and local kind of militancy, there surely will be officers whose experience has shown that there are exceptions to the generalities cited here.

There are two kinds of terrorism: One evolves alongside a popular, revolutionary, nationalist movement. (Which is what happened in Algeria, Cyprus, the Philippines and Viet-Nam.) This has erroneously been called terrorism from the Left in order to distinguish it from terrorism from the Right, the latter being a vigilante type of action.

The former works from a broad base of support, seeking the new, rather than being an expression of militancy by the few who are trying to restore old social and political patterns.

The two forms use quite different means and, of course, have entirely different aims.

Let us discuss only the broad-based terrorism that supports a popular nationalist movement.

As a newspaperman and Foreign Service officer, Mr. Davies has served in China, Southeast Asia, Africa and Europe. He first became interested in unconventional warfare when he travelled as a correspondent with irregular units of Chiang Kai-shek's forces in China in 1939. Mr. Davies is now assigned to public affairs duties in the Department.

Terrorism has worked in several countries in its own particular ways to achieve its own particular aims. It does not function in exclusively political or military fashion but establishes its own ground rules.

Most recently, it has been used for revolutionary purposes. As a supplementary factor in national uprisings, it has contributed to the acquisition of national independence.

This should not exclude speculation, however, that terrorism might be employed purely for political pressure without any intention of capturing territory or populations.

Terrorism does not often have a military command or operational structure. It uses military tactics very rarely; when it does, it is likely to be in coordination with small guerrilla units. It is more likely to operate under a committee or collegial direction, employing its own agents but occasionally also hiring a killer or bomber from outside the organization.

The objectives are bound to be much more modest than those assigned by a military command to a formal military operation. This is because the killers and saboteurs cannot apply force continuously over a period of time in such a way as to conquer and hold terrain, installations, or people.

Rather, the full-time terrorist is likely to be an emotionally-motivated agent working primarily for psychological objectives.

The strategy has been most successful when the adversary —usually a central government—has wrongly diagnosed the problem as one which should be treated by the police and the army. But terrorism is seldom suppressed by the application of force to restore law and order because terrorism is, in large part, a manifestation of psychological and serious social derangements, and neither the police nor the army is equipped to cure it. On the contrary, no matter how courageous, sincere and patriotic the troops may be, their use of force is likely to aggravate the situation by creating new animosity and social dislocation, thus adding new sympathizers to the insurgency.

Terrorism has been least successful when the central administration has correctly judged it to be rooted in social inequities and intensely emotional resentment, and has set out to correct them. The late President Magsaysay successfully followed this course in the Philippines.

In the recent past, terrorism has borne fruit when it has been supported by agile political activity and skilful diplo-

macy. Terrorism alone and the dislocation that accompanies it are likely to produce a situation in which neither combatant can impose his will on the other, much less defeat or eliminate the adversary. Prolonged over a considerable period, terrorism produces some attrition, though not so much as guerrilla warfare does, and some disruption, though not necessarily a breakdown, of central government authority.

Much more important is the fact that it produces a psychological climate, a sense of frustration in the military adversary and a sense of fear among civilians who no longer can count on the military for protection nor the civil police for local order. As frustration, fear and distrust erode the public will to resist, as it becomes increasingly evident that the central government's howitzers are ineffective against the firefly assassins and saboteurs, public morale decomposes. When, as European observers have remarked, "*la situation est suffisamment pourri,*" there is a stalemate.

It is at this stage that negotiations, which may have been carried on covertly for some time between unofficial "men of good will" or spokesmen for both sides, emerge more openly.

What the terrorists have prepared, the politicians consummate. If the terrorists and their political colleagues are shrewdly insistent—and they usually are, for they have little to lose—the negotiations can be extended and most trying for the central authority.

Thus, terrorism is a ruthless psychological weapon. The tactic is to wear down the central authority, sap its determination and break its will. The objective is to negotiate a political settlement of what has never been a military problem to begin with, even though thousands of troops may have been deployed.

The foregoing, it seems to me, is a fair generalization with a minimum of over-simplification about how terrorism works.

E.W.

"Remember your diplomatic background, my boy, pretend he isn't there and sooner or later he'll go away."

In terrorism, as in guerrilla warfare, motivation is of primary importance.

In both cases, the activists must be prepared for a long, extremely dangerous operation in which the militant should expect extraordinary deprivations. The rules of war do not apply in this totally personal kind of conflict and if the militant is captured he can expect no mercy.

How, then, is the terrorist emotionally moved to take on his hazardous chores?

On the admitted basis of second-hand evidence, it would appear that the psychological impellent for most terrorists is emotional, not rational. Although he may call himself a nationalist, he may not be one in the true sense because he has little sense of nationhood, the commonweal, or the general good even of his own ethnological group.

He is rising up against something, not for something.

There is, for example, the verified story of a so-called nationalist who, during the early stages of a terrorist insurgency, had seemed totally apolitical.

"I'm only interested in two things," he said: "Money and women."

Subsequently, he was arrested by the government authorities on suspicion of having contributed money to a nationalist cause. After having spent a night tied to the floor of his jail cell, he emerged with newly acquired political conviction. He hated the government.

Terrorists often seem to be men who have feared a real or imagined oppressor. Their motivation may be hate or the desire for revenge. They may feel that they have been humiliated or that their interests may have been injured and that there is no recourse to impartial justice. Whatever the particular emotion, it is certain to be fairly sulphurous.

Even with this resentment, however, the so-called nationalist may not join a terrorist cell until he has lost his employment, or has become compromised, until he has been convicted *in absentia* for a crime, or until he believes that he is on the police most-wanted list. But when he has himself lost his security in the community, he may join the apparatus.

Basically, then, the psychological motor force in an efficient terrorist is likely to be a combination of fear, hate and a desire for revenge, plus the conviction that he no longer is secure in his surroundings. Having little left to lose, he may decide, or be enticed, to become in a very real sense of the word, a desperado.

There are exceptions to this generalization. A few cases are known in which professional criminals or indigent war refugees have been pressed into service. But the most effective terrorist is the trained, intensely motivated man bent on personal revenge as much as he is on a nationalist cause.

Terrorism, then, is one cheap method of sapping national stability and of distracting a government from its normal, major functions.

It is an economical device using very simple means. The matériel is inexpensive and easy to come by. A

terrorist cell needs very little in the way of arms and ammunition. In the Orient, terrorists have used shotguns or hunting rifles stolen from plantation managers. In urban terrorism elsewhere the weapons have been pistols that are easier to conceal. It is not until the apparatus has become fairly successful that more sophisticated weapons are used; and even then the arms must be compact, for most of the work is done covertly at close range. In any event, the major aim is not so much to wreak massive damage or to carry out large scale killings as it is to create a psychological impact. Bombs, grenades and other tools of sabotage may be home-made.

Terrorism also is economical in the use of time. Training a terrorist is even less time-consuming than training a guerrilla. The gunman or saboteur is already in residence and no long marches are involved. He can do his task in two minutes on his way to or from respectable employment.

There may be some question as to whether terrorism is economical in risk. There is room to think, however, that it is the least risky kind of conflict in proportion to the effect produced because the central authority is inclined to react to terrorism by mass repression that in turn creates more animosity towards the government. Therefore, although a high percentage of terrorists may have short spans of service (because they are neutralized by police action, are in flight, or take cover) it still is true that very few terrorists can create very great effect. Hence, the risk to the insurgent movement as a whole may be small even if the risk to the individual activist may be considerable.

An extension of this argument would lead to the conclusion that terrorism is cheap in its use of manpower.

The strategy makes few demands on propaganda or information activities. Local radio and newspapers report terrorist activities and in so doing serve the insurgent cause. What propaganda is needed can be carried out by word of mouth, and the militants can do without expensive electronic equipment or a complex and hazardous clandestine press program.

If the means employed by terrorism are cheap, are they effective?

In a negative way, terrorism is almost as effective as guerrilla activity in that it obliges the government to commit large forces and to tie them down in unfamiliar police work.

It drains the economy by requiring a twenty-four-hour watch over agricultural, industrial and commercial facilities.

It usually provokes a curfew that may further somewhat reduce economic activity and contribute to the general psychological malaise as well.

It obliges the government to launch enlarged intelligence operations which, as they expand, become increasingly susceptible to penetration.

Like guerrilla warfare, however, terrorism alone does not achieve the final objective.

Guerrilla action may bring about a *military* solution when it evolves into larger scale, regular warfare and is then able to seize and hold territory—or at least deny it to the adversary.

Terrorism may succeed in a *political* solution when it evolves into political activity and diplomatic negotiation, provided that none of the major world powers is willing to intervene and commit itself to the extent of using force.

It has been proved that terrorism in one restricted locality can be mastered by force. This involves the division of the affected area into blocks and making a resident block leader responsible for the security of his neighborhood. The insurgent locality must be barricaded, there must be house-to-house searches and continuous controls on movement. This requires immensely aggressive police work, and even then, police repression is likely to produce more antipathy.

It would seem more fruitful to explore the possibility of affecting the cause rather than the manifestation of the phenomenon.

A study might be made of counter-motivation, persuasion, and the social measures that could reduce or remove the base for a terrorist movement.

A first requirement in such a study would be the acquisition of first-hand knowledge from former insurgents in order to understand more fully the motivations, the psychological and social conditions that lead to this newly refined expression of politics-by-violence.

Because terrorism is a personal and localized explosion, it would be desirable that the approach to the study be made with humility and an open mind. An observer laden with preconceptions and equipped with intellectual uniforms would almost certainly fail to gain the needed insight and understanding of what it is that triggers the incipient terrorist.

Until we understand intimately the origins of this politic, we cannot seriously hope to deflect, abort or defeat the manifestation of it.

When we do understand, we can hope to provide, in the local idiom, some means to appease the emotional, social and political hungers of men less sophisticated than we to whom we nevertheless accord recognition and the right to opportunity.

Harvesting Rice after a Storm — *Wallace C. Marley*

Coupe d'Etat

by JAMES CARSON

There is much of the diplomat* in a —. A dignity of bearing, authority, an alertness. This rapport has led men of state, for over half a century, to equate their personal traveling with the silver three-pointed star. There is a wide choice among sedans. coupes, touring cars, roadsters and sports cars, all designed for men with exacting tastes. In each, you have the assurance of excellence that runs through more than seventy-five years of — experience.

***In the tradition of diplomatic courtesy, a fifteen percent consideration on list price will be accorded members of the Diplomatic Corps. List prices range from about $3,800 to $12,000 at port-of-entry.**

(*Advertisement in* FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

Frivolian Embassy,
Pantcharia,
August 25, 1962

My compliments and my respects, as always, to the Minister of State for External Affairs. I have the honor to report the following:

Before fully developing my remarks on the recent political crisis in Pantcharia, however, I must express my appreciation to the Minister and other officials for their prompt approval of my request for the purchase of a Coupe d'Etat. The car arrived with an assurance of excellence on June 15 and for a time was invaluable.

As to the crisis, the Embassy staff first heard reports of firing from the general direction of the Presidential Palace at 11:18 a.m., June 18. At 11:24 the Pantcharian radio went off the air; at 11:26 it returned to announce that ex-President (sic) Romrares had fled the country and that a provisional government had been formed under the leadership of General Lemoya. (For biographic details, see Legation Despatch 4X54, which, admittedly, somewhat underestimates Lemoya's capacity for direct action.) A few minutes later the official radio declared that the provisional government had demanded recognition from all foreign embassies in Pantcharia.

I immediately left in my Coupe d'Etat for the site of the *Coup d'Etat*. (My British, French, and American colleagues, in cars no match for the Coupe, came along much later than I.) Near the center of town soldiers had formed a roadblock; however, they quickly gave way to the Coupe. I rather had the feeling they were impressed with my dignity of bearing, authority and alertness.

Other than a revolutionary soldier or two lounging about the Presidential Square, the scene as I arrived at the Palace was one of utter normalcy, so normal indeed I was able to park the Coupe in its usual place next to the President's car.

Lemoya, meanwhile, awaited me at the top of the stairway.

A light touch is important here. "Fernando," I cried on seeing him, "you old devil, I didn't think you had it in you." (Which was quite literally true.)

The General chuckled, grabbed me by the arm, led me into his office, and immediately launched into a discussion of a vastly expanded aid program for Pantcharia, mostly in cash. I tut-tutted reminding him that official recognition had not even been extended. The sound of heavy firing in the Square interrupted our conversation. Rushing to the window, we looked below.

Some fifteen to twenty loyalist soldiers, obviously ill-versed in French, had surrounded the Coupe in the belief it had some connection with the *coup*. They kept pointing excitedly at the emblem on that noble vehicle, then began to rock it back and forth, gently at first, then with more and more vigor.

After hastily receiving Lemoya's assurances (1) that he would abide by Pantcharia's international obligations and (2) that the soldiers in the Square would be promptly disarmed, I extended recognition. (A move, of course, which can be reversed with indignant denials if the Ministry prefers.) I then raced to the Square to rescue the Coupe. Alas, too late, there it lay on its side, burning furiously, its upholstery stolen, a total loss.

When it became clear some days later that Lemoya's control was established, I approached him about an indemnity for the Coupe. He received me in candlelight, explaining that Romrares had so completely cleaned out the treasury that the electric bill could not be paid and the power company had turned off the power. From a window I saw a dozen porters carrying water jugs into the palace from the village well. It seemed foolish in the circumstances to pursue the indemnity.

Some will think it presumptuous on my part, others will criticize my too exacting tastes, but now that normal abnormality has again descended on Pantcharia, would it be possible for the Ministry to replace the Coupe with another? I had developed a rapport with that car that has led me to equate my personal traveling with the silver three-pointed star. I assume the tradition of diplomatic courtesy still prevails at the firm, a considerable saving in itself. With all due humility, if the purchase could be approved, for my part I would promise never to take the new Coupe to a new *coup*.

Anxiously awaiting your reply, I am, as always, respectfully yours,

A. HEDGLEY ROUNCE
Frivolian Ambassador

JAMES CARSON, a former member of the JOURNAL's Editorial Board, has contributed several articles to the JOURNAL. He is currently assigned as First Secretary at Cotonou, Dahomey.

San Francisco's hill-climbing houses and the Bay beyond.

Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado Cliff Palace.

Do Foreign Service People Retire?

by REBECCA H. LATIMER

RETIRE? How do you define "retire?" Inactive? Unproductive? On the shelf? Not the people who have retired from the Foreign Service! Lots of them are in Florida, but you can bet that they're not pitching horseshoes. There are even more of them in California, according to the Californians, and most of them are keeping very busy. It sounds as if some of the men who are not actively employed are busier than many younger men. "Busy" is the key word.

My husband retired from the Foreign Service eight years ago, but we had not realized until recently that our pre-retirement concept of our new life was like the negative of a vivid black-and-white picture. Those eight years had been tougher, more exciting, more rewarding, and harder work than we had ever thought to experience in retirement. We realized that there was much more to retirement than we had suspected when we decided, one wintry day in Ankara, that the coincidence of my husband's fiftieth birthday with his completion of twenty-five years of service was a Sign not to be ignored.

Hoping that perhaps our hindsight might supply foresight to those still in the Service who may be approaching, considering, or planning in advance for retirement, a plea was made through the JOURNAL for reports on the experiences of other retired Service people.

The response was warmly generous, frank and thoughtful. It embraced several fields and as many personalities. The experiences and ideas of these volunteers are hereby gratefully acknowledged. It is these people whose voices you will hear vividly describing their occupations and concerns:

Paul C. Child, Philip Ernst, Edward McLaughlin, Iris Packer, Samuel Sokobin, James B. Stewart, Harry R. Turkel and Mariange Wilson. A bow should also be made in the general direction of Joseph W. Ballantine and John P. Hoover.

We will take up their various interests first. Later we will go into their suggestions and theories for easing the transition from the Foreign Service into retirement. In this latter phase, we will be joined by two agencies which concern themselves particularly with the right job for the individual who is leaving—or has left—the Foreign Service.

Do retired Foreign Service people really retire? Listen: This from New York: "We love being retired. We wouldn't take a million dollars for all our posts and experiences in the Service, but are enjoying our activities these past twelve years at home. We are always a little too busy, but that means we are never bored."

From California: "One of my 'wisecracks' has become, 'Golly, when I worked for the government I had an eight-hour day; now that I am retired, it is a sixteen-hour day.' "

Texas speaks up: "I've started to reply to your letter no less than a dozen times, only to fall asleep with utter exhaustion. My day at the construction job starts before dawn and ends after dark." (We'll hear more about this Consul General who "retired" to Texas.)

What do they do? It looks as if you could name any job and we'd find an ex-Foreign Service man in the field. Of course, only a tiny sampling of the retired Foreign Service men has been made, but even so, the list covers an extraordinary range of interests.

Naturally, both interests and occupations reflect the international training and experience of the Foreign Service. There are men who act as consultants, as well as those who actively participate, in the international field of commerce,

REBECCA H. LATIMER, wife of Frederick P. Latimer, FSO-retired, will be remembered by JOURNAL readers for her Turkish article in February of '59, and "Making Calls in 1929" (March, 1961), among others. Last winter Mrs. Latimer assisted the University of Utah library in cataloguing its large collection of Turkish-language books.

in public relations, communications, and in such organizations as Radio Free Europe, the New York World's Fair of 1964-65; they act as interpreters for the guests of the Department of State, as correspondents for foreign newspapers, and as tour leaders.

I suspect that those people who give an address abroad as their domiciles are also involved in unusual pursuits. I hear that Harry Villard is busy writing in Gstaad now that he has finished building his châlet, but how about Burton Berry perched high above the beautiful Bosphorus—is he planning a new monograph on the coffee houses of Istanbul? And Dave Thomasson in Portugal—what is he doing? There is also a magnificent story in Cecil Cross's venture on the "Last Frontier" in Brazil. (I hope I may write it some day.)

Then there are the people who are taking advantage of retirement to enjoy a less demanding schedule. There is our friend who has settled down with a view of the Kissing Camels in the Rocky Mountains. He has a job running the office for a construction company which has set up a pleasant housing project with adjacent golf course in the shadow of Pike's Peak. Plenty of time for golf, too. But there is more to it than that:

"We are catching up on the normal American way of living which we missed for so long. That is, PTA meetings, attending school functions in which our children participate, taking care of our own lawn, planting trees and flowers and shrubs, and even painting up our old home as well as fixing up the basement as a playroom. These are some of the simple things which we have missed and which we enjoy doing so much now."

Many of us enjoy these simple things. A retired Ambassador writes:

"I am glad that we selected a spot with four seasons, and that I went in for gardening and the development of a green thumb . . . and I keep in mind that 'old gardeners never die, they just spade away!' "

In the same vein, he added: "I do all the shopping and am on a first-name basis with all the young men and young women checker-outers. If I happen to lose my shopping list, I watch for someone who has one about the same length as mine was and borrow it. Shopping can be fun!"

Probably all retired Foreign Service families enjoy the relaxed life of an "un-official"—the friends for friendship's sake—not because they are a good contact; the indulgence in one's personal hobbies—instead of "business golf." This is most forcibly expressed by a retired Cultural Affairs Officer who writes from Cambridge:

"What I really love to do is paint, photograph, write, make music (violin), garden and exercise . . . the life of a conscientious Cultural Affairs Officer leaves no time for such things.

"After twenty years of wandering, the one thing I wanted to do was to put my roots down into the soil somewhere and not be pulled up every two or three years by the Voice of God saying, "OK, get ready to proceed to Montevideo," or Kabul or Marseille, with a new language, new customs, new food, new politics, new geography, new diseases, and new Americans (not of one's own choosing, like the few really wonderful friends so far away in America.)

"One likes one's new friends—don't mistake me—but at my age one cannot, in two years, develop the relaxed and understanding intimacy that I am now enjoying with people I have known for twenty-five or thirty years. This is a limitation on my part, but I have to live with my limitations, damn it."

The recurrent note is, as you can see, one of making the most of retirement, enjoying it, expanding in it, stretching out in it for new experiences. Take the man who was sitting in his office in Washington when he suddenly realized that he had reached "the magic age of fifty" and had thirty years of Foreign Service credit. Walking out of his office, he went down the street and found himself a consultant job, and now, "retired," he says, "I shall happily listen for the future to speak."

And the future does speak, in different voices, even in different languages, but if you listen, it speaks.

Retirement does not automatically carry happiness with it, but it does seem as if, once the pressures of ambition and competition are removed, people are more than likely to discover what it is they really want from life. A retired Consul General writes from the South: "We all approach this problem individually; what may be a suitable plan for one is not suitable for another." As he was a lawyer before entering the Service he returned to this profession, making a long jump from Lagos to Alabama. Now a judge in a Juvenile Court, he says:

"The FSO who takes up law, or who has the even greater satisfaction of engaging in Juvenile Court work, will find it greatly stimulating and a constant challenge to one's wisdom, judgment and compassion."

Another retired officer conducts tours to the field of his specialization, the Far East. He varies this occupation by giving lecture courses during the academic year. A busy, productive retirement.

Recalling that striped-pants, top-hatted cartoon of a Foreign Service officer, that unfortunate stereotype in the mind of the American public, let's take a close look at a retired Consul General, the man down in Texas:

"I have a blue Cadillac coupe with black leather—hardly in consonance with our former station in life, but considered by the firm to be essential to the high-powered real estate business. Both our house and car are air-conditioned, so we have joined what is called locally, 'the never-sweat set.' "

Apart from his job with a top-level real estate firm, this versatile, in-a-hurry, retired FSO is planning to build a 90-unit apartment house on four acres that he acquired in his new hometown in Texas. Texas must have a stimulating climate, for in addition to these activities, he writes:

"You ask for illustrations of challenging things to do? Not only am I assistant construction superintendent on forty-four houses and two separate apartment projects, but I have a sideline of tearing down a mountain!

"A paper company formerly owned the acreage now owned by my associate . . . and they dumped their pulp residue until it formed a great mound, say five blocks long, three blocks wide and thirty feet high. There are five lakes in it and the ground underfoot is soft and treacherous . . . I conceived the idea of selling this light, friable material as

soil conditioner for the notoriously dense East Texas soil. (The grass on the 'mountain' is vividly green as compared to the surrounding gray, flat prairie.) Have already built a roadway out of the dump."

Listen to this cooky-pusher: "How I love those big bulldozers! I wear myself out scrambling ahead, guiding them as an orchestra leader guides his orchestra. Fun! And, moreover, no committee meetings, no concurrences, no frustrations, just dive into the problem and get it done."

When someone asked this dauntless entrepreneur why he took on these complex and unfamiliar activities, however, he did not confess to that underlying desire to be an orchestra conductor; instead, he answered that perhaps he wanted to prove that a State Department man could meet a payroll if he had to.

Set against the man of action, this man in California:

"Today, it being Passover, I have been reading an English-Hebrew prayer book. Here is a section, 'Ethics of the Fathers,' which is not in the Passover liturgy, but which I read from time to time because I like it very much. One of the passages reads: 'Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation . . . neither say, when I have leisure I will study; perchance thou wilt have no leisure.'

"The passage points to the necessity of disciplining oneself in 'leisure.' I know that one of the things I resolved early in my retirement that I would do would be to read certain books which for one reason or another I had put aside in my active career. I have read some of those books, but alas, not enough of them, not nearly enough."

Self-discipline in meeting the leisure often offered by retirement opens many avenues for thought. Making leisure meaningful may be more difficult than the most active life. Our correspondent in California is an old China hand and perhaps he absorbed some of the rewarding techniques of contemplation to be found in the Orient. Self-knowledge and self-discipline are assets in any phase of life, but doubly so when youth is left behind.

Our Californian demonstrates his right to speak of discipline in leisure when he discloses that since he retired, at the request of the American Jewish Historical Society he has collated an index of ten volumes of their publications. This monumental task involved digging out the information and typing some 12,000 cards. "It was a time-consuming task, but I loved it and did it without any remuneration, other than my own satisfaction in doing something that scholars needed." This man has a right to speak of meaningful use of leisure, and the benefits of self-discipline.

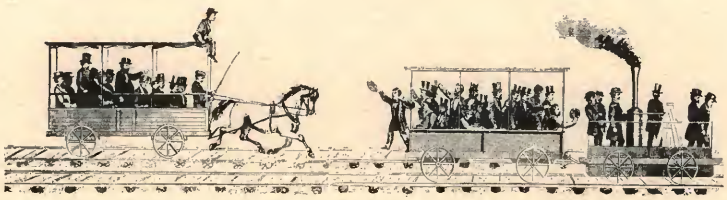
That discipline may take many forms. One is the long, sustained discipline involved in plugging through an M.A. and a Ph.D. Teaching is a profession that has drawn many retired Foreign Service men.

One of these is the Latin American specialist who has settled in the congenial atmosphere of a Southern California college town. While his children absorb the American atmosphere and his wife learns new skills in her kitchen, he is studying and teaching, working for his doctor's degree in Spanish, having attained the rank of Associate Professor with a full-time teaching schedule. His wife explains her husband's choice of retirement profession:

"Before he graduated from the University of Arizona, my husband had made up his mind to join the Foreign Service, but since there had been no exams for several years, the depression was playing havoc with the hopes of our future diplomats. I believe that those who joined after the five-year wait were lucky, since they had to prepare for a second profession. They had to earn their living while waiting for the real thing. My husband prepared for teaching then, and so he was ready to teach after retirement."

These are only a few of the varied activities of Foreign Service people who are now on what is loosely considered the inactive list. We have examined in some detail the various second-careers of our generous correspondents. We hope soon to explore the immediate problems that confront the newly-retired.

In a subsequent article we will look into the difference, if any, between leaving the Service and retiring from a business. We shall also take up suggestions for hedging one's annuity against inflation, for adapting to a private life in the United States, and various other ideas for preparing for retirement and for making a success of it after the deed is done. As you have seen, these suggestions will come from people who are fully qualified to speak; they are themselves making the most of retirement, living enthusiastically, thoughtfully and dynamically.



AFSA 1962-'63 Scholarship Winners

by MARGARET MORGAN

EVERY SPRING, members of AFSA's Education Committee vanish from social sight for a month while they study and assess scholarship applications from Foreign Service children. Meanwhile Clarke Slade, Education Consultant to the American Foreign Service Association, reads and evaluates confidential financial data sheets supplied by parents. Using a formula similar to those used by college and boarding school financial aid officers, but adapted to meet certain Foreign Service problems, he groups applicants in four categories from greatest to least financial need. By the time D-day (D for decision) comes in May, committee members have an individual and intimate knowledge of each applicant. This year after ten hours of meeting together and a sharing of vigorous differences on various cases, Committee members felt they knew the 157 applicants even better, especially the 57 who this year received awards.

Who are these boys and girls who are applying for scholarship aid? They are a fascinating lot; most have a wide experience and the ability to express themselves clearly and well. A few find spelling a hurdle, or prepare their applications in such haste that they are almost illegible. All are asked to express in their own handwriting their views on factors which have influenced their education and development and plans for their future education and/or career.

With imagination and vigor these young people are looking forward to the future, many with the ambition of serving their country in some special way. Attracted by the opportunities of service in the Peace Corps a number suggested that after college they would like to spend several years in such service and then move on into the Foreign Service. A few have remarked that, in light of their parents' experience, they would not like to train for the Foreign Service. Others cherish hopes of passing examinations and joining the Foreign Service at the earliest opportunity. Several candid girls have suggested that they would like to join the Foreign Service or marry an FSO, whichever happens first.

Career plans are firm in many cases; in others young applicants want to have another year or two of American experience before they decide. Engineering in all its phases, physics, teaching, the Foreign Service, and work in languages are all popular ambitions. But there are students eager to be doctors, lawyers, creative writers, historians, computer programmers, biologists. A few seek careers in animal husbandry, merchandising, library science, industrial design, home economics, accounting.

Some students complain that much as they would like to there was no opportunity to work when they were overseas, and so they gained neither the experience nor the income that some of their contemporaries get at home. Perhaps if their elders were more imaginative in the field, various useful jobs might be developed for Foreign Service offspring either in the Embassy or in some other U.S. activity.

For others, hobbies and overseas experience have often been developed to the point where they contribute to much-needed supplementary income for college. Languages learned overseas can be tutored here. A full orchestra could be made up of students whose interests are musical, including the conductor. Some of these students give instrumental lessons, and play in bands to help meet college expenses. Others have studied typing and shorthand and work as stenographers and clerks. Summer jobs vary from lifeguards, swimming instructors, drug store clerks, crane oilers, snack bar attendants to traditional odd jobs and baby sitting. Winter work is frequently demanding. One girl pays for her board by washing dishes in the dining hall and spends her summers as a typist. Another does part-time domestic work. One boy has a morning paper route which, he remarks, is sometimes hard on late evening studies. Another is attendant in a laundromat. These earnest young people appear, in the words of one, "resolved not to throw my life to the four winds."

Many applicants pay tribute to their parents for good example, for intellectual and spiritual leadership. Quite a few comment that life overseas brings a family closer together.

Even among this group of applicants there are, of course, a few who are cynical about Foreign Service career hazards. "I don't want to work as hard as my father has to without greater financial reward," some have said. Or, "I would like to have more to say about my own life; where and how I am going to live and raise my family," say others.

Next year these young people will be studying in schools and colleges scattered throughout the entire country. Their unique experiences, one hopes, will enable them to adapt rapidly to their new college situations and to gain genuine enrichment as their studies broaden. Most of them reflect the inspiring lines in President Kennedy's inaugural address: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

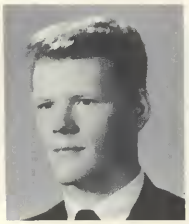
MRS. MORGAN, wife of FSO George Allen Morgan, served on the Education Committee of AFSA during the past year and was chairman of AAFSW's education committee.

AFSA Scholarship

PATRICIA B. ARMIJO, daughter of Patrick H. Armijo, sophomore at Vassar College. AAFSW Scholarship, 1961-63.

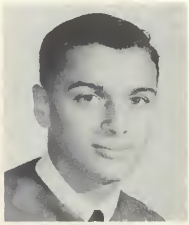
SUSAN C. BOHNE, daughter of late Frederick A. Bohne, junior at University of Illinois. AFSA Scholarship.

BARBARA M. BOUCH, danghter of Elizabeth C. Bouch, freshman at Georgetown Visitation Jr. College. AFSA Scholarship.



KEVIN S. BOUCH, son of Elizaheth C. Bouch, sophomore at George Washington University. Overseas Service Scholarship, 1961-62, AFSA Scholarship, 1962-63.

KATHLEEN J. BRODERICK, daughter of Maurice J. Broderick, USIA, senior at Mary Washington College. AFSA Scholarship.



ROBERT CATTOCHE, son of Joseph N. Cattoche, freshman at St. Joseph's College. William Benton Scholarship.

JOSEPH J. CHAPPELL, JR., son of the late Joseph J. Chappell, junior at Georgia Institnte of Technology. Three Benton awards, 1960-63—George F. Kennan Scholarship.

SYLVIA E. CHASE, daughter of Morris Chase, freshman at Vassar College. Merrill Trust Scholarship.

BONNIE LEE CLARK, daughter of G. Edward Clark, freshman at Gettysbnrg College. Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.

MICHELE DE GRACE, danghter of William B. de Grace, sophmore at Alhertus Magnus College. AAFSW Scholarship, 1961-63.

DIANE M. DICKERSON, danghter of Paul A. Modic, USIA, freshman at Roanoke College. AFSA Scholarship.

JOHN R. DORR, son of late Rohert J. Dorr, sophomore at Foothill College. AAFSW Scholarship, 1961-63.

NANCY E. DUNHAM, daughter of William B. Dunham, freshman at Carleton College. Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship.

GERALD A. FEFFER, son of Louis C. Feffer, jnnior at Lehigh University. AFSA, 1960-61, 62-63, Bursley Scholarship, 1961-62.

ERIC C. FRIBERG, son of Frank F. Friberg, junior at Harvard. Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship, 1960-63.

MICHAEL E. FRYE, son of Theodore R. Frye, tenth grade, Phillips Exeter Academy. Merrill Trust Scholarship.

NINA CLAIRE GILOANE, daughter of William Giloane, sophomore at Swarthmore College. Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, 1961-63.

CRISTINA L. GORRELL, daughter of Juan L. Gorrell, freshman at George Washington University. AFSA Scholarship.

KARIN LEE GRADY, daughter of James F. Grady, freshman at Simmons College. AFSA Scholarship.

JACQUELINE HARING, daughter of Philip E. Haring, freshman at Mills College. AFSA Scholarship.

Recipients 1962-63

MARTHA A. HERNDON, daughter of Richard M. Herndon, sophomore at Colby Junior College. AFSA Scholarship.

TIMOTHY H. HIRABAYASHI, son of Martin Y. Hirahayashi, sophomore at University of Colorado. AFSA Scholarship.

CAROLYN R. HORNER, daughter of late Dwight B. Horner, freshman at Reed College. AAFSW Scholarship.

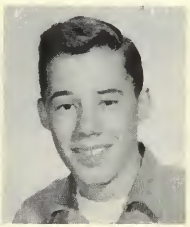
WENDY M. A. B. KALENDA, daughter of Vendelin A. Kalenda, freshman at University of Washington. AFSA Scholarship.

CAROLINE L. KANNENBERG, daughter of M. Hollis Kannenberg, freshman at George Washingtou University. AFSA Scholarship.

BARBARA ANN KELSTON, daughter of late Leon Kelston, senior at Skidmore College. Overseas Service Scholarship, 1961-63.

DAVID L. KELSTON, son of late Leon Kelston, freshman at Columbia University. Overseas Service Scholarship.

LINDA J. LAMACCHIA, daughter of Frank R. LaMacchia, sophomore at Swarthmore College. AAFSW Scholarship, 1961-63.



R. E. MICHAEL LINDAHL, son of Eric G. Lindahl, freshman at University of Michigan. AFSA Award—Howard Fyfe Scholarship.

STUART H. LIPPE, sou of Irvin S. Lippe, senior at Universlty of Michigan. AFSA Award—Edwin ii. Vallon Scholarship.

TOMMY C. LUBENSKY, son of Earl H. Luhensky, junior at California Institute of Technology. William Benton Scholarship, 1961-63.

MARILYN R. McDONALD, daughter of John W. McDonald, Jr., freshman at Oberlin College. AFSA Scholarship.

DAVID J. MOLINEAUX, son of Cyril L. Molineaux, AID, junior at Georgetown University. AFSA Scholarship, 1961-63.

KAREN MOXNESS, daughter of Ronald G. Moxness, USIA, sophomore at Stanford University. AFSA Scholarship, 1961-62, Merrill Trust, 1962-63.

RICHARD W. MUELLER, son of Walter J. Mueller, freshman at William and Mary College. Wilhur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship.

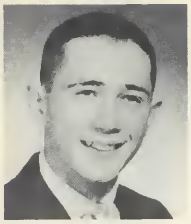
MIGNON A. NEWTON, daughter of George P. Newton, AID, freshman at Amhassador College. AFSA Scholarship.

SUSAN F. NICHOL, daughter of Henry F. Nichol, freshman at College of Wooster. Bruce Scholarshlp.

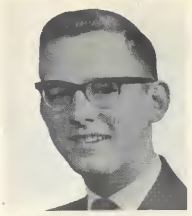
DENNIS M. O'BRIEN, stepson of Jodie G. Eggers, AID, junior at Pomona College. Merrill Trust Scholarship.

ELIZABETH F. O'BRIEN, daughter of Richard C. O'Brien, junior at George Washington University. AFSA Scholarship, 1960-63.

DAVID A. POST, son of David Post, sophomore at Amherst College. AFSA Scholarship, 1961-63.

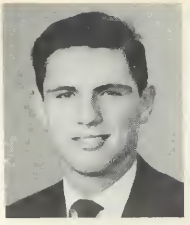


EDWIN A. RAINERI, son of Peter J. Raineri, freshman at College of Texas A. & M. AAFSW Scholarship.



PETER J. REICHARD, son of Hugh C. Reichard, freshman at Dartmouth College. Bruce Scholarship.

MARGARET JILL ROBINSON, daughter of Thomas C. M. Robinson, freshman at Swarthmore College. Hollingsworth Award, 1961-62, AFSA, 1962-63.



CHRISTOPHER W. S. ROSS, son of Claude G. Ross, junior at Princeton University. AFSA-Dulles Award, 1960-62, Merrill Trnst Scholarship, 1962-63.

WILLIAM T. SANDALLS, JR., son of William T. Sandalls, freshman at Yale University. AFSA Award—Charles B. Hosmer Scholarship.

MICHAEL O. SANDERSON, son of Melville A. Sanderson, Jr., sophomore at Brown University. Merrill Trust Scholarship, 1961-63.

EILEEN H. SCHAUB, daughter of Stanley H. Schaub, freshman at University of Maryland. AFSA Scholarship.

PATRICIA E. SCHRAUD, daughter of Myron H. Schraud, sophomore at Stanford University. Merrill Trust Scholarsbip, 1961-63.

PATRICIA A. STANGER, daughter of Ernest L. Stanger, freshman at H. Sophie Newcomb College. AFSA Scholarship.

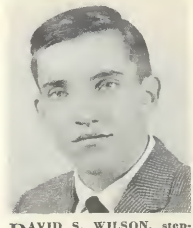
MONICA L. STEVENSON, daughter of Robert A. Stevenson, sophomore at Duke University. Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, 1961-63.

ERWIN S. STRAUSS, son of Erwin Strauss, sophomore at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. AFSA Award, 1961-63, John Foster Dulles Scholarship.

MIGNON SWIHART, daughter of James W. Swihart, junior at Mount Holyoke College. Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, 1960-63.

W. DAVIDSON TENNEY, JR., son of W. Davidson Tenney, freshman at University of Virginia. AFSA Scholarship.

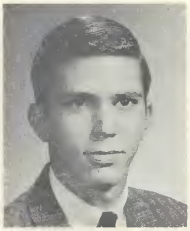
STEPHEN F. WAYLETT, son of William J. Waylett, AID, eleventh grade, Bullis School. Foreign Service Journal Scholarship.



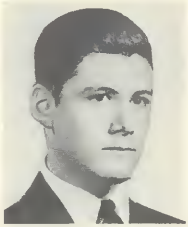
DAVID S. WILSON, stepson of Duncan Scott, Jr., USIA, sophomore at Dartmouth College. AFSA Scholarship, 1961-63.

Harriman Winner

PETER WINSHIP, son of Stephen Winship, junior at Harvard University. Merrill Trust Scholarship, 1961-63.



DAVID F. YOUNG, son of Walter C. Young, freshman at Arizona State College. AFSA Scholarship. (Approx. $1,000).



CHRISTOPHER F. GIVAN, son of Walker Givan, freshman at Yale University, Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship.

New York Times Foundation Scholarships

ANNE S. WOLLAM, daughter of Park F. Wollam, freshman at Barnard College.

ERNEST B. GUTIERREZ, JR., son of Ernest B. Gutierrez, freshman at Columbia University.

MARY CATHLEEN CAMPBELL, daughter of Laughlin Austin Campbell, freshman at Radcliffe College. No photo available.

EDITORIALS

Orrick for Jones

OUR CONGRATULATIONS go to Mr. William H. Orrick, Jr., on his appointment as Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. Perhaps some will say we should extend sympathy, for his will be an extremely difficult task, but we assume that, like the President and ourselves, Mr. Orrick likes "the heat in the kitchen."

Mr. Orrick doesn't need us to tell him how busy he will be. We would like, however, to suggest two broad areas which, in our opinion, need attention. They are not new areas; Mr. Orrick's predecessors wrestled with them and so unquestionably will his successors.

The first is the problem of the selection of talent for the top jobs in the Service. The assignment, promotion and career development programs have been greatly improved in recent years, but much remains to be done. The new criteria, reported in the June NEWSLETTER, for the selection of DCM's appear to be a step in the right direction. So is the more flexible tour-of-duty policy. The precepts for the Selection Boards seem to be improving, as noted below. More important, increasing emphasis is being placed on selecting the best possible people for service on the boards.

There are no easy answers to any of these problems, but there are also no more important matters as far as the ability of the Service to meet the needs of the country or the career of the individual Foreign Service officer is concerned.

A second area requiring intensive study is the problem of the relationships between the State Department proper and other agencies working in the foreign affairs field. Coordination between State and AID is one of the principal problems in this area. The new arrangements being worked out between ARA and the offices in AID working on the "Alliance for Progress" may provide some guides for other parts of the Department. In the field, the responsibility and authority of the Ambassador have been strengthened and, more important, are increasingly being brought to bear on country-wide problems involving several sections of an Embassy. It would be a great step forward if a similar degree of coordination could be achieved in Washington.

Finally, a word about Mr. Roger Jones. Much of the progress enumerated above was achieved under his leadership. He provided a steady and experienced hand during the difficult days of transition to a new Administration. We will miss him as we welcome Mr. Orrick.

New Promotion Procedures

WE WELCOME FAM Circular No. 69 on Foreign Service Selection Boards as a basically sound group of proposals designed to streamline the selection system. The idea of having the full panel concentrate only on what is after all the main object of the exercise, promotion and selection out, is clearly a more efficient use of the panel member's services. Moreover, shorter periods of service will permit more painstaking decisions where it counts most, in the top and bottom groupings, and will also enable Departmental Bureaus and Chiefs of Mission to make officers more readily available for service on Selection Boards.

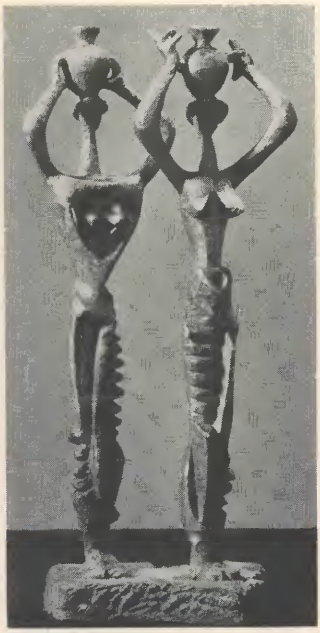
We are pleased also that the efficiency rating system is to be reviewed, that the rating form is to be revised to evaluate leadership and executive ability more sharply, and that the writing of frank and pointed efficiency reports is to be encouraged. There is probably a mean between revealing the full contents of the efficiency report to the officer being rated and telling him so little he does not know where he stands or what he should do to improve himself. We think the system is overbalanced now; that having the entire report read by its subject is inhibiting on the rating officer and may produce frictions between the officers concerned. It also is likely to result in bland reports that are inadequate as a basis for discrimination by examining boards. Probably the reports should not be read at the time by the officer concerned, but the superior should discuss the report and his performance with him. The full report might be made available to the officer in Washington only on a "need-to-know" basis. We are confident that given the good start in this field, the Administrators in the Department will devise a better procedure which can then be modified as experience may suggest.

The Old Port, Marseille, ***by Paul Child***

(See Page 26)

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS



Aguateras

by Roberto Gonzales Goyri

"IT WAS that editorial you sent me, from the St. Petersburg TIMES, that started me thinking," E.B. said. He had just come in and was mopping the sweat from his brow. At our urging he took the armchair of importance in the small office.

"Very nice comments on the President's talk to the American Foreign Service Association it had, but when it came to discussing today's ambassadors the editorial talked as though their virility and excellent qualifications were something that had suddenly appeared, along with the coming of the New Frontiers.

Street Scene, Macau *Earl J. Wilson*

"Nothing of the sort. Men of great talents and fools, men with muscle and men without, have all served as ambassadors since the days of that great diplomat, Ben Franklin.

"Of course, at a time when touch football is *de rigueur* newsmen will be more interested in getting that type of photo home to their editors. But I remember watching Doug MacArthur's hard-hitting ball game in Tokyo several years ago—he staged a repeat performance with a Japanese team in Brussels this summer, too."

"Interesting you should mention that," we interrupted. "We plan to run a whole page of pictures of our active sports-playing ambassadors, including a champion basketball player in our next issue."

"Good; but to go back a bit: You'll find plenty of activity as well as plenty of derring-do in our earlier diplomats. In the Middle East, for instance, during both World War I and II we had men of remarkable abilities who saved the lives of many by their own personal courage and wit. Gordon Paddock, American Consul at Tabriz, for one. Paul Knabenshue, for another.

"Still, it's nice to have flowers occasionally—even one. And speaking of flowers, many of us were happy with the tenor of LIFE magazine's recent lead editorial 'Well Done, Mr. Ambassador' which recognized the job exceptionally well done and the F.S. career of more than passing merit of Llewellyn Thompson who has just returned from five years at Moscow.

"Liked their quotation from his earliest days, too: 'It pays to take some risks. I think one of the things about the Foreign Service—and this is the great weakness of any career service—is the tendency to try to live by the book, never take a chance. I think that's a thing you must fight and I always tried to do that.' Trying to "live by the book" is most deadening for any career—any person, in fact. Takes away necessary flexibility and spontaneity and helps to freeze irrelevant patterns already established.

"Doing something different won't always bring cheers from the sidelines, of course. Take, for instance, the criticisms in the July DIPLOMATIST (London) which said sharply:

'This year again, for the second time, austerity and economy featured the July 4 U.S. Embassy celebration in London. . . After the huge affairs of the years preceding the Kennedy administration when up to four thousand people were invited to partake in July 4 receptions in London, when two bands were playing and whisky flowed by the gallon, the emphasis now is on restriction, restriction and more restriction. The numbers of guests have been drastically reduced and of those who are asked many cannot come for the simple reason that the time of the function is, to say the least, very awkward. Indeed, "elevenses" is not usually associated with diplomatic receptions and, whatever one may think, diplomats do work and even among those who work only half-days the working half is in the morning. . .

'Friendship in the free world does not preclude the right of frank criticism, especially when it is aimed at improving relations.' "

"But back to New State, E.B.," we urged. "Seems as though most of the people we tried to reach in August were on holiday."

"It did get a bit empty feeling toward the latter half of the month of dog days. A little like the tourist trying to get a shirt ironed in August in Paris. Rather a somber mood, too, following the talks at Geneva. It was a good time to get away.

"Fine job was done this summer by the new Country Team Seminar, by the way. The President praised the FSI for its initiative in launching this seminar and received the team at the White House."

"And since we're talking of dog

days, did you ever happen to think how different it is working in Washington these days, as compared for instance with World War II days? Even less than five years ago government employees were being let out early during some of the August days when the temperature and humidity reached over 95°.

"The REPORTER wrote this August 'for sheer gasping discomfort and crop-destroying drought perhaps no area can compare with the District of Columbia. For some years now legislators have had to dismiss from their minds any hope of getting out of Washington by the Fourth of July: because of the pressure of work the date of adjournment seems to be getting later and later. But somehow, it seems, the more there is to do under the Capitol dome, the less expeditiously it is done. And this year, despite all the headlines and noise, Congress seems all too likely to end up with very little to show for its efforts.' Fortunately, this was forecast rather than report—how can a mere columnist know what would happen in advance in Washington?

"How, indeed . . ." we started to say but E.B. was already reaching for the door handle. He'd heard the sound of an expected horn from below and he knew we were pushing deadline so he vanished quickly.

It wasn't until after the Exhausted Bureaucrat had left that we discovered the Washington POST's timely and graceful editorial "Posted to Paris," which praised the high caliber of the Foreign Service:

"The American people are exceedingly fortunate in the caliber of the men produced by the United States Foreign Service. A fresh illustration of the point is to be seen in the man chosen by President Kennedy as his Ambassador to France. Charles E. Bohlen, who will succeed General James Gavin in one of the most critical of diplomatic assignments, has had thirty-five years of varied experience as a Foreign Service officer, half a dozen of them in the French capital. He possesses in exceptional measure the tact, wit, disciplined self-restraint and knowledge of Franco-American relations necessary to deal effectively with the somewhat touchy and inflexible President Charles de Gaulle. Americans can think of him as their spokesman in Paris with confidence and pride."

Peter Edson's column in the NEWS on "Foreign Service Turnover" had appeared about the same time. It, too, was written with genuine appreciation of the work of the Foreign Service officer. With figures and facts it queried whether the turnover in ambassadors was not too high:

"With the return from Moscow of Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson after five years of superlative service in the touchiest diplomatic job in the world, President Kennedy will have completed a turnover in 95 out of 108 top Foreign Service jobs. . .

"It is customary for a new administration to clean house when it comes into office. But the question is raised whether a complete shifting around of ambassadors in a protocol of musical chairs is good for the diplomats or good for American foreign representation abroad. The average diplomatic assignment is around four years. The main reason for shifts is to give Foreign Service personnel wider experience. But career diplomats aren't kept in one area long enough to really know it."

Signs

FOLLOWING our recent item on signs one sees around town and overseas we had word from Cairo that one of the merchants there intones gently to the prospective customer:

"Come een, come een, la-dee, let me rob you gently."

And a roving correspondent in New State reported the notice on one office door that "Instant Bridge Instruction" was available.

One of the signs most interesting to us, however, was in busy "E" area's outer-conference room where the sign at one time read:

"The Gates of St. Elizabeth are OPEN."

Exits are as important in life as entrances.

Paraphrases

"We are intensively reviewing our policy towards Lower Moronia — in view of the implications of recent developments."

(It blew up in our face.)

"We welcome the proposal of Inner Nostalgia as a constructive step forward, but wish to give it further study."

(Don't call us; we'll call you.)

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

"And as a Foreign Service wife, you will join enthusiastically in the good works and social activities organized and directed by the Ambassador's wife."

Of Men and States

by CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

IN THE State Department ten years ago, acting for the Secretary, I received a group of ladies seeking official endorsement of a plan to solve world political issues and establish peace once and for all. The kernel of the idea was to transcend the state system in the making of great decisions. The trouble with the state system, as their spokeswoman explained, was its divisiveness. It partitioned humankind off into some dozens of societies, whereas in the interest of peace mankind must be grouped as one. The common denominator must be motherhood.

The proponents of the scheme were mothers, not necessarily in a literal sense, it was explained, but at least in viewpoint. All humanity was linked by motherhood. Half of the race had a capability for maternity, if not indeed the experience of it, and everyone was linked to motherhood at least in the sense of having had a mother. No mother could ever wish anything but good for her own offspring or anyone else's. Thus through motherhood all the world could be harmonized and redeemed. The solution of the obdurate political problems confronting governments and threatening the peace lay in translating them into the discourse of mothers, who understood each other around the globe.

The ladies were planning to make their way by charter flight around the world. In each country, they would get in touch with mothers and recruit increments for their pilgrimage. Multiplying into thousands as they progressed, the mothers would congregate for a climactic meeting in a city behind the Iron Curtain, where, after singing the choral parts of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony simultaneously in the diverse tongues represented, they would resolve the views of mothers on world issues. Statesmen, all having learned obedience in the cradle, would scarcely dare defy the consolidated will of the world's mothers. Moral force would supersede political power. The authority of mothers over the courses of nations would be established to stay.

I regret my success in dissuading the ladies from their venture if only for curiosity over the technical problems of translating Schiller's ode for simultaneous rendition in such a variety of idioms and of accommodating Beethoven's counterpoint to the limits of the five-tone scale prevailing in most other cultures.

My notes on the session with the ladies are filed along with a number of items of like sort: for example, a clipping concerning a resolution by a nudists' convention urging the practice of their particular persuasion on those in high authority in world affairs as a way of opening their eyes to what mankind has in common and thereby resolving world tensions; or another reporting an action by a convention of luncheon club executives calling for special voice for their vocation at highly sensitive international conferences in view of their peculiar understanding of the art of smoothing things over. I cite these not for facetious extremity but for their representativeness of many formulas for elevating the conduct of international relations above the prevailing unsatisfactory level.

The unsatisfactoriness of the basic condition of politics was touched upon by a child in one of Rudyard Kipling's verses:

> All the people like us are We,
> And everyone else is They.
> And They live over the sea,
> While We live over the way,
> But—would you believe it?—They look upon We
> As only a sort of They!

Carrying on relationships between a "we" and a "they" disposed to look upon us as "they" is an onerous and often baffling business. It is not difficult, and it is indeed appealing, to imagine better alternatives. The factor of purported improvement is almost invariably a greater community of attributes among the entities counting in world affairs. More often than not, the characteristics projected as desirable universals in a plan for rising above the vicissitudes of a political world are those of the person or group doing the projecting. It is neither necessary nor typical to go so far as to imagine the acceptance of the proponent's outlook and preferences by everyone. The people who count —the ones in authority—are enough. Then great decisions would be made as if the choice were left to the author of the wish. The environment would be wholly reassuring and problems susceptible of rational solution. There would only be a "we" formed according to the wisher's views and unencumbered by having to deal with a differentiated "they." Our discourse would become the sovereign discourse. Our perspectives about truth would be the prevailing ones.

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL, an associate of the Washington hureau of Foreign Policy Research, was a member of the Policy Planning staff from 1950-53.

Excerpted from Mr. Marshall's article, "Render Unto Caesar," published in the Johns Hopkins Magazine, May-June, 1962

A United Nations bureaucrat whose company I experienced a few month ago pressed unremittingly upon his audience the urgency of raising the great decisions above all considerations of national advantage by placing them in the hands of a disinterested international bureaucracy. Imagine, if you can, a disinterested bureaucracy?

I might go on and on with instances of self-projection—of seeing the state as oneself written large—in formulas for saving the world. I could dwell at length on the implications of an idea treasured among anthropologists looking to the achievement of concord in world affairs through general acceptance of their professional attitude of avoiding judgments of good or bad in regard to the practices of other societies; on the literature of psychiatrists who pursue solutions by imagining nations in the role of patients under their care; on books by fanciers of the diplomatic tradition calling for a return to the usages of a dreamed-up time when foreign policy was left to the charge of unaccountable diplomatic technicians; and on a grand enterprise of lawyers for abating dangers in the world by translating its issues into terms of their litigious specialty. A lawyer serving as counsel with one of the delegations at the United Nations reproved my skepticism regarding that last named project. "It really is true," he insisted. "As lawyers we all get along together wonderfully. Much of the world's trouble would vanish if left to lawyers to work out."

In our age the man written large is preeminently the scientist, and so I reserve special comment for a relevant outlook of the breed—an attitude given its clearest expression, in my judgment, in an address given by Werner Heisenberg to students at Göttingen in 1946 and included in his "Philosophic Problems of Nuclear Science." He described political life in terms of "a constant change of values, a struggle of one set of illusions and misleading ideas against another set of illusions of equally misleading ideas," whereas there would "always be a 'right or wrong' in science," where "a higher power, not influenced by our wishes . . . finally decides and judges." The core, he went on, consisted of "the pure sciences . . . not concerned with practical applications." He waved aside any objection based upon the inaccessibility of this power to the great masses of people; ". . . it may be that people today will be satisfied to know that though the gate is not open to everyone there can be no deceit beyond the gate. We have no power there—the decisions are taken by a higher power." Moreover, "any world order must be based" on this center and "guided by men who have not lost sight of it."

In more recent times, Heisenberg has become less assured about the title to a sovereign role for his discipline, as evidenced by a warning in his "Physics and Philosophy": "Of course, the influence of science should not be overstated." The spirit of his earlier pronouncement, however, marches with confidence through an array of current literature, enough of it to snow us under. That spirit is maintained as dedicatedly by scientists who do not write as by those who do—and, in my tentative conclusion, no dogmatism exceeds that of a scientist expounding outside the field of his particular competence. World problems would all become negotiable if left to scientists, one of the calling told

me. There were no barriers as in ideology and politics, he explained, and an equation in physics meant the same in Moscow as here—tantamount to what had been said of mothers, artists, legalists, and philosophers.

My observations have a bearing on traditional arguments over expediency versus morality and interests versus principles in foreign policy—hardy topics invariably good for an editorial, a classroom lecture, or a Sunday afternoon in a civic forum. In my experience, those wont to speak up for morality in this connection, as if settling issues by invoking the term, use it generally to denote the way they imagine their kind would run affairs if in charge. Expediency, in contrast, is an invidious term employed to describe the temporizing occasioned by the diversity of interests and attitudes in the world as it is. Principles mean the interests one thinks his group would look after if in authority, and interests mean any concept of principles deviant from them.

I see small usefulness or importance in arguing about foreign policy in these terms. They are rarely, if ever, pertinent to resolution of a real issue in the line of responsibility; that is to say, I cannot imagine a President or a Secretary of State posing a question whether to be expedient or inexpedient in a particular line of action, to uphold or to abandon morality on an issue, to serve or to disserve our interest, to honor or to flout principles.

I can imagine doubters asking what about morality and principle in relation to painful episodes of springtime two years and then a year ago. As for the U-2 scrape—few would question the necessity of espionage; governments continually intrude upon one another with unacknowledged prying. The fault in that embarrassment lay not in our failure to be history's first big exception but on a default of preparing to handle consequences of mischance—inadequate forethought, bad timing, and inept performance, all adding up to something hugely inexpedient. As to the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs, the Under Secretary of State reported to have voiced advance doubts and the Senator who interposed objections did invoke principles. They were vindicated—no doubt of it. My only question is whether the lesson was one of principle or an expediential one. As a hypothesis, suppose our intelligence to have been correct and the plans and execution tolerably adequate. Suppose masses of Cubans had risen to dispel the five-o'clock shadow. Suppose, after a tactical success with minimal slaughter, the Cubans had managed to rally to a reasonable political arrangement. How different, how bold and noble, the undertaking would have seemed then! In actuality, it was a botch. It proved untimely. Factors of feasibility were misappraised or mismanaged. Means chosen were inapposite to the purposes—in sum, an exercise in inexpediency. Hands were wrung over the wickedness of intervention. Yet no cries of offended principle were raised when, in unequivocal intervention, our warships stood in to ensure and to quicken the departure of certain ambitious scoundrels from the Dominican Republic a short time later—just as no great display of rue had been occasioned by a provident venture in Guatemala a half dozen years earlier.

Though reconciled to being misunderstood and misquoted on the point, I really do not suggest renouncing morality and principles or embracing a characterless sort of relativism in foreign policy. I mean only that the possibilities relevant to real questions coming up for settlement can rarely be sorted with such litmus-paper conclusiveness.

Moral judgment does have to be brought to bear on the problems of state—especially so with respect to the perilous problems central to the control of its coercive apparatus—but not vain judgment based on a fallacy of ignoring the limits of the state's situation, not the sort of moral judgment we imagine ourselves giving when we fancy being philosopher kings.

A colleague of mine in the State Department was wont to assume that mantle in the face of a new and difficult issue. His customary first step was to observe that such a problem could not arise in a properly ordered world. His second was to balance causes and effects concerning the problem and, having thus explained it, to assume a tone of having explained it away. His third—following a device of philosophers—was to analyze the entities in contention according to essential and accidental characteristics. The first were the ones supposed to be important. The accidental were relegated to secondary status—and thereafter ignored in his discourse. All problems were thus elevated to a philosophic level of consideration, their troublesome aspects sloughed off. At that rare level, ourselves and our adversaries were pared down to central essences as states and shown to be quite alike with all differences eliminated by definition.

THE REJOINDER to this intriguing Platonic exercise was obvious. For analogy, suppose a man on the street sticks a gun in my ribs and makes demands. I might say to myself that such a thing should not ever happen. I might assure myself that the effects confronting me could all be balanced out against causes. I might then make note of the handit's status as a man like myself, enumerating the essential attributes shared with me, reminding myself of his parity with me in God's sight, of the equality of concern which a priest might feel for the state of our souls, and of the equality of interest which an anthropologist might take as between the customs of the gunman's culture and mine or which a psychologist might take in the workings of our respective minds. The problem of the exigent man with a gun in my ribs would still be there—and the aspect of him most important for me at the moment would be his accidental characteristics as a bandit.

The state operates in a realm of imperfection, attending to an array of problems at the level of accidental and particular characteristics of the human situation—a level different from the essential and universal qualities of fascination to philosophers. One should keep this in mind in considering the problems of foreign policy—honoring the injunction to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

Policy Making in AID

THE PUBLIC and the Congress are increasingly articulate on policy. It is a rare citizen who does not have a catalogue of convictions about policy matters. Proposed policies usually take the form of stopping aid under certain conditions, i.e., if a country has a communist leadership, if it is neutral, if it expropriates property of an American firm, if it defaults on a debt to a U. S. citizen or company, if it is guilty of racial or religious discrimination. For some reason we lack policy guidance as to when we should increase our assistance.

This concentration on policies for our aid effort is good. It is a sign of increasing maturity, but "policy' is a term misleading in its simplicity. It covers a multitude of things. Sometimes it means a lucid and succinct mandate. The clause in our law requiring at least fifty percent of our cargoes to be shipped in U.S. bottoms is such a policy. Sometimes it is a broad agency-wide goal which may not be determining in specific instances. Our objective to place at least eighty percent of our purchase orders in the U.S. is such a policy. Sometimes it is a bias, broadly held, but not a legal mandate in a particular case. Such is our general preference for project loans as opposed to loans for the import of commodities.

Policy making in foreign affairs and in that part of it relating to foreign aid is at least no less complicated than in the fields of domestic law. This is or should be a truism. But it bears emphasis. A sophisticated citizen can marshal a host of reasons against the plea to stop illegitimate births by stopping payments to unwed mothers under the aid to dependent children program. But he may at the same time buy, lock, stock, and barrel, the argument that we can bring neutrals over to our side by cutting off aid.

In policy thinking we should never lose sight of the main target. The underlying purpose of aid is to help make it possible for the new and the poorer nations to develop within the framework of an open society. There are limits to the number of other policy objectives which aid can be made to serve. For example, it might be suggested that we withdraw aid from India to show our revulsion over Goa or dissatisfaction with Krishna Menon. If we do this, however, we automatically abandon our ultimate goal of helping this nation with a population greater than the total in all of Latin America and Africa progress in freedom and stability. Can one seriously argue that this serves the basic policy of the United States?

There are two Greek words which are to policy makers as Scylla and Charybdis were to the mariners of old. Their lineal descendants are "pragmatic" and "dogmatic." "Pragmatic" comes from a word meaning "to do"; "dogmatic" from a word meaning "to think." Time has endowed the former with a coloration of doing without giving much thought to principle, while the latter usually means adherence to a theory without regard for practical considerations. The policy maker must usually steer a course between these two extremes.

—Excerpts from remarks of the Honorable Frank M. Coffin, Deputy Administrator for Program, AID, at a briefing conference on foreign aid, trade and investment.

Service Items

by James B. Stewart

► **Evil Times:** A favorite quote of Dr. Henry Wriston, former president of Brown University is the following: "The earth is degenerating in these latter days. There are signs that the world is speedily coming to an end. Bribery and corruption abound. Children no longer obey their parents." From an Assyrian tablet of 3000 B.C.—*Cowles Magazine's Insiders Newsletter.*

► **Comment:** Dr. Wriston finished his work about seven years ago as chairman of the Wriston Committee which worked on a new administrative program. An important part of that program was the integration feature, i.e., the appointment of Department of State personnel to the Foreign Service and the opening up of Department positions to FSO's. One of the Wristonees was Walter J. Marx.

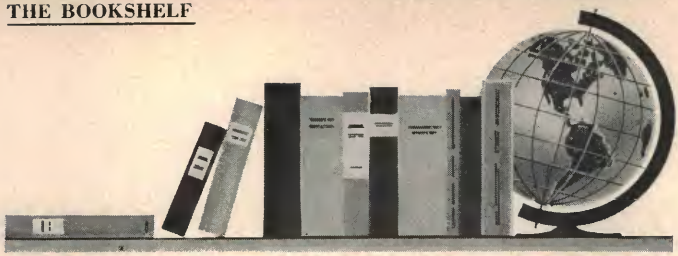
According to an article Mr. Marx wrote for the Journal in 1959, he was not happy about going to the field. But he was assigned as Consul to Le Havre and he, his wife and seven children came to like it. Mr. Marx's article ends on this happy note: "To paraphrase Caesar, it is much more fun to be the principal officer in Le Havre than to be one of several Assistant Secretaries of State in Washington."

Mr. Marx says that he has enjoyed his five years in Le Havre tremendously and that he still stands by what he wrote a few years ago in the Journal.

► **Haven't We All?** From time to time smokers have contrived to reduce their daily consumption of the "weed." For instance, Ed Montgomery, FSO-retired, tried his hand at the reducing exercise when he was Consul in London. Ed describes his well-thought-out plan: "Lacking the ingenuity to devise any other means of cutting down on the number of cigarettes, I hit upon the idea of delaying lighting up each day. I had an apartment at Ashley Gardens, Victoria. The first day I waited, with cigarette in one hand and lighter in the other, until the elevator reached the ground floor. The next day until I was outside the building; the next a block down the street; then boarding the bus on Victoria Street; then up to Westminster Abbey; then to Scotland Yard in Whitehall; then to Trafalgar Square; then to Piccadilly Circus; then to Oxford Circus; and soon I hadn't lit the cigarette until I had reached Cavendish Square. By then I had arrived at the Consulate General where Consul General Robert P. Skinner had an inviolable rule, 'No smoking during office hours.' The matter from then on was out of my hands."

► **But the Majority Are Different.** "E.B." in the June "Washington Letter" comments on the unreasonable attitude of some Americans toward Foreign Service officers. He states that "they sometimes act as though the officers owed them an individual reckoning." Bob McGregor gives this example: "Once in Antwerp I arrived at the office to find a much inebriated seaman awaiting me. I was new at the game but wary enough to realize that I was not going to allow his contention that it was up to me to get him bed and board at Uncle Sam's expense. Exasperated, he turned on me and let go with, 'Say young feller, what the hell do you think I'm paying you for?' "

► **Birthday Greetings:** to Chief Homer M. Byington (September 19) and to retired Ambassadors John Wiley (September 26) and Boaz Long (September 27).



We ought also to keep reminding ourselves that America has now joined the world and that the problems of revolution and order in the United Nations continually throw light on our domestic scene.

—*Scott Buchanan*

The Establishment in America

by JOHN Y. MILLAR

THE SHORT title essay from Mr. Rovere's book might, depending on the book's sales, become an American by-word like The Organization Man or The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit. Mr. Rovere has things his own way in this essay because he never tells us what the Establishment is. Apparently it is the ruling clique in America. Mr. McCloy is identified as its 1958 director, the New York TIMES its spokesman, Mr. Dillon a model member and Mr. Galbraith an exemplary non-member. The essay is written in a mock-academic vein with spurious footnotes. It is probably hilarious to the *cognoscenti* as a satire on rightist tracts. To those who are not familiar with such documents, or who are less easily convulsed, it might seem a little forced and not up to Mr. Rovere's usual standard.

Whatever one's opinion of Mr. Rovere's opinions—and the rest of the book is full of them—his standard as a writer is high. He writes vividly, economically and conveys what he is trying to express. He has the facility of pinning every moth neatly into the display case. Sometimes, as in the case of his essay on Mr. Ickes, he seems a little brutal about it.

He has read a lot, seen a lot and thought a good deal. He has a well-stocked, enlightened mind, with a liberal bias. He appears to be an experienced newspaperman who sizes up men well. Judging from his pieces on the State Department that have appeared in magazines in the last year and a half, like the rest of us he sometimes describes the inside story on the basis of insufficient knowledge.

The book is a series of reprinted articles which go back about sixteen years. Although such collections may leave many people cold, this is entertaining because of his style and the subjects. His piece on Newbold Morris' brief and abortive clean-up mission at the end of the Truman Administration is worth recalling. There are also striking essays on a Brooklyn boss, George Orwell, Justice Holmes, General MacArthur and Sidney Hillman.

Mr. Rovere is a handy man with words. Our speculation about him is that he might evolve into a latter-day Edmund Wilson, combining knowledge and taste. Opinions about his book will vary between dis-Establishmentarians and antidis-Establishmentarians, but most will agree it is provoking, witty and entertaining.

THE AMERICAN ESTABLISHMENT and Other Reports, Opinions and Speculations, by Richard H. Rovere. Harcourt, Brace & World, $4.95.

Evening of Nationalism?

WHEN HANS KOHN wrote the preface to his famous work, "The Idea of Nationalism" in 1943, he promised that another book, to be entitled "The Age of Nationalism: A Study in the Growth and Fulfillment of an Idea" would round out his study of the subject. It would deal, he said, "with the rise of nationalism from 1789 to 1832, with its growth and spread . . . and its intensification and transformation under the conditions of a shrinking world, conditions resulting from the very forces of nationalism, industrialism, and democracy."

"Though it is always risky to apply metaphors to history," he then wrote, "these three periods from the French Revolution on may be compared to the morning, the noontide, and the evening of the historical day of nationalism." Professor Kohn has remained faithful to his view that we are today witnessing the twilight period of nationalism, and the subtitle of his latest work bespeaks that conviction. For, instead of using the predicted subtitle, "A Study in the Growth and Fulfillment of an Idea," his latest work is subtitled, "The First Era of Global History." To the historian, it would seem, we are already living in the second era.

Those of us who are dealing with the still lively forces of nationalism, especially in the underdeveloped part of the world, may find difficulty with an approach that treats this phenomenon in the life of nations as though it belonged to history, but the quality of Professor Kohn's latest book only gains from his historical detachment. Except for the sketchy last chapter, which deals with "Universal Intercourse" as though it were already superseding nationalism, the book is a valuable and incisive analysis of the birth and life of nationalist forces. An interesting as well as a useful book.

—M.F.H.

THE AGE OF NATIONALISM, by Hans Kohn. Harpers, $4.50.

The Soviet Theatre

NORRIS HOUGHTON'S "Return Engagement" is a very professional, very competent account of the contemporary Soviet theatre based on close contact with its productions and its leading figures. While the author has labeled the book a postscript to his "Moscow Rehearsals" of twenty-five years ago, it is fully able to stand by itself as probably *the* definitive work on the post-Stalin theatrical arts. Mr. Houghton, the co-founder of New York's Phoenix Theatre, presents a discerning and objective picture of an institution which mirrors much of Soviet life with its contradictions, its complexities, and its inhibitions inherited from almost three decades of Stalinism. "Return Engagement" is a work deserving of special mention in the current output of literature on the USSR.

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

RETURN ENGAGEMENT, by Norris Houghton. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $5.00.

Service Glimpses

1. Baghdad. Ambassador John D. Jernegan's One Thousand and First night in Baghdad was celebrated by an Arabian Nights surprise party at the residencc of DCM Rodger P. Davics. Left to right, First Secretary William Lakeland, Mrs. Jernegan, the Ambassador and Mrs. Fred Newman, wife of the Air Attaché.

2. Addis Ababa. Mrs. Arthur L. Richards, wife of the Ambassador to Ethiopia, gives Dr. Mengesha Gebre-Hiwet, of the Ministry of Education, a library of reference books for students at Dessie Comprehensive Secondary School. Mrs. Richards planned and conducted the campaign to raise funds for the books.

3. Colombo. Two kinds of transportation meet in far-off Ceylon during Friendship 7's fourth orbit around the world. this time under the aegis of the USIA. Shown with John Glenn's capsule and the magnificent tusker are NASA representative G. Merritt Preston and Escort Officer Hartzell Dake of USIA, Tokyo. The capsule was en route to Colombo's National Museum where 55,000 people filed past the exhibit in three days.

4. Vienna. Ambassador and Mrs. H. Freeman Matthews view a painting given him by the staff of the Embassy. Ambassador Matthews is retiring after almost thirty-nine years and was also fêted at a farewell dinner where Austrian Foreign Minister Dr. Bruno Kreisky said: "Our friend Ambassador Matthews has been, in the true sense of the word, a representative of this new American mission, a task which he has tackled with great tact, wisdom and kindliness."

5. Duesseldorf. The topic of discussion is export trade promotion as Governor Frank B. Morrison of Nebraska (second from left) meets Howard Fine, Boston manufacturer, John Remeny, New York textile manufacturer, Consul William S. Krason, Chief of the Duesseldorf Export Expansion Project, and Vice Consul Felix S. Bloch. The gentleman on the Governor's left is his aide de camp. The conversation took place at the IGEDO Fair to assist U.S. exhibitors of clothing and fabrics. For more on export expansion, see the JOURNAL of August 1962.

6. New Delhi. Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith watches the finish line of the first Kentucky Derby in India. Winning the Run for the Lotuses is Barry Zorthian, Deputy Country PAO, USIS, with Phil Potter, Baltimore SUN correspondent urging his mount into second place. The impassioned rooter is Maj. Gen. R. D. Batra, former Indian Army Attaché in Washington. The race was run at the residence of FSO Edward A. O'Neill, on.Derby Day.

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The Ultimate Responsibility for Foreign Policy

by JACK PERRY

HERE are three books bearing from different directions on American foreign policy; each should be of interest and help to Foreign Service readers. Rossiter tells us how politics works in America. Almond tells us how the American people, through this political system, influence foreign policies. And the fourteen authors in Graebner tell us how all this has worked out in the records of fourteen Secretaries of State.

American politics as Rossiter portrays it is a healthy, though not perfect, organism; busy, constantly challenged within, it feeds on itself; it is not directed outside, it was not formed to direct itself outside. "Whatever America finds necessary to do in the years to come," Rossiter says in his last sentence, "The politics of American democracy will surely make possible." The question is, in facing up to the world around us, what will we find necessary?

Almond helps us answer this question by analyzing the relationship of public opinion to foreign policy in the United States. The author calls his work, published in 1950 and reissued in 1960, "a structural analysis of American attitudes towards foreign policy." The book describes the national character as it manifests itself in foreign relations, particularly in the post-war period, and portrays our changing foreign policy "moods." It emphasizes the role of the "foreign policy elites," and tells who the elites are and what they stand for.

The record of our policies in this century is laid down in a most interesting manner in the Graebner work, which has an introductory chapter by the editor, a useful bibliography, and separate chapters on Hay, Root, Knox, Bryan, Lansing, Kellogg, Stimson, Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes, Marshall, Acheson and Dulles (only Bacon and Colby are omitted of those who served before the book was prepared). Since one usually approaches a book with fourteen authors expecting striking unevenness, one is pleasantly surprised at the evenness of this book, especially in that about the same ground is covered in each chapter. Everyone in the Foreign Service would probably find some hours with this volume well spent in pleasure and instruction. For one thing, it gives good contrasting pictures of how fourteen Secretaries have coped with their cobweb of relationships: with Congress, with their own Department and others, with the public and the press, and—most importantly—with the President.

As shown in this book, the Secretary of State's job in our democracy is made extremely onerous by the fact that he must succeed in all of several crucial relationships, and success in one often seems to mitigate against success in another. But if he succeeds *within* our democracy—establishes good relationships with the President, the Congress, the press, his subordinates, the other Departments, and most of all the people—he still has to face his primary task, *outside* our democracy. And because national politics is overriding, he must assure himself that the role he envisions for America in world affairs is commensurate with that role as seen by most Americans.

We are led to an old idea that would presumably cause Rossiter to nod and Almond to raise his eyebrows: in this country, the responsibility for foreign policy in the end lies not with the Secretary of State, or the foreign policy elites, or the President, but with the people. For a Secretary, or a President, to rise to greatness in world affairs, the temper of the American people must rise with him.

PARTIES AND POLITICS IN AMERICA, by Clinton Rossiter. Cornell, $1.65 (paperback).

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Gabriel A. Almond. Praeger, $3.65.

AN UNCERTAIN TRADITION: American Secretaries of State in the Twentieth Century, edited by Norman A. Graebner. McGraw-Hill, $6.95.

Policy Handbook for John Q.

AS THE title suggests, Andrew Berding aims his book about foreign affairs at the lay reader. But few Foreign Service people will read without profit his passages both on the Department's relations with the U.S. press and on the increasingly important influence public opinion has in the formulation and execution of foreign policy.

Promenade *by Earl J. Wilson*

About this, Mr. Berding is of course ideally fitted to write. A distinguished foreign correspondent of the Associated Press for some years, he was in 1937 assigned to cover the Department. At that time, he recalls with some nostalgia, there were precisely four desks squeezed into the press room of the "solemn French neoclassic edifice at Seventeenth and Pennsylvania, then called the State-War-Navy Building;" and if in one day twenty newsmen visited the Department "something really was afoot." Two decades later, Mr. Berding—having in the meantime helped the late Secretary Cordell Hull write his memoirs, and served successively as Marshall Plan Director of Information, Defense Department Director of Information, and Deputy Director of USIA—became Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. In that capacity he inaugurated the Department's new press room, containing all of 50 desks and 50 telephones, plus facilities for radio and television.

This is, Mr. Berding points out, at once a measure and a result of vastly increased public interest in foreign affairs: Department-originating news

stories that before World War II "nestled in the eiderdowns of inside pages" now "make their effortless way onto the front page clothed in black streamers." And it consequently sharpens the vigil newsmen keep over State's doings, making "quiet diplomacy more difficult;" while it increases the demands headline-hunting Congressmen make on the Department's all-too-busy top officials.

But Mr. Berding points his pen at much besides this. He describes the mechanics of policy-making. He peers disapprovingly down his nose at the plethora of cooks (some from the kitchen at 1600 Pennsylvania) who sometimes water down the policy broth. He discusses the role of Congress in policy formulation, and quotes the late Secretary John Foster Dulles's rueful comment that, while the Executive is prepared to cooperate with Congress, Congress is not "structured" to cooperate with the Executive. He takes up the execution of policy, making the useful point that the manner of its presentation may be as important as its content; and he considers the role of USIA in this. He discusses, with qualified disapproval, "summitry," which he had much opportunity to observe closeup, and Soviet Russia's propagandistic diplomacy.

Most attention, perhaps, will be focused on Mr. Berding's remarks about the U-2 incident and its aftermath. It is to be gathered from these that Mr. Berding is still more than somewhat unhappy that he and the Department's other top public affairs men (as, indeed, USIA's) were at no stage consulted. And—rightly, in my belief—he blames on its inept handling, including the decision to let President Eisenhower take personal responsibility for the espionage flights, Mr. Khrushchev's torpedoing of the Paris summit meeting, and, more important, his cancellation of Mr. Eisenhower's visit to Russia.

A useful volume, in sum, written in competent prose that constitutes an able public servant's record of four crisis-fraught years in which he was usually privileged, or fated, to be where the crisis flared hottest.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND YOU!: How American Foreign Policy Is Made and What It Means to You, by Andrew Berding. Doubleday, $4.50.

High Adventure in Low Key

SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON ranks with the greatest of Antarctic explorers, although he never reached the South Pole and his most ambitious expedition failed to get anywhere near its objective. His greatness lies largely in the magnificent judgment and self-control which led him to turn back from a point within ninety-seven miles of the Pole in 1909 (before the Pole had been conquered) and in the extraordinary leadership which saved the life of every man under his immediate command in his 1914-16 effort to traverse the continent.

Republication of "South!" makes available again Shackleton's personal account of that latter expedition, one of the high points of adventure in all human history. Told as fiction, this tale would be considered absurdly improbable; told in the simple, clear prose of a brave Englishman, it deserves the status of a popular classic.

For those not familiar with the rich literature of Antarctic exploration, this book makes a poor chronological beginning—but it is guaranteed to whet the appetite. —LEON CRUTCHER

SOUTH! by Sir Ernest Shackleton. Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

Southeast Asia Today—and Tomorrow

by JOHN KORMANN and CHRISTIAN CHAPMAN

"SOUTHEAST Asia Today—and Tomorrow. A Political Analysis" by Richard Butwell is a useful discussion of contemporary problems in Southeast Asia. It is particularly helpful for the newcomer to this area of the world, since the author affords the reader an impression of the region as a whole and by employing a comparative approach gives an insight into the major problems confronting each country.

The author's primary purpose, he says, is "to describe and assess the record of the lands of Southeast Asia in governing themselves after a decade of independence: to offer some suggestions, based on this examination, concerning the nature of government in this part of the world; and to chart the probable course of future development." A tall order in 169 pages!

The book is at its best when it recounts in a matter-of-fact way the governmental structure, the political parties, interest groups, etc. which go to make up the individual nations in Southeast Asia. Much is compressed in few pages and the author succeeds not only in covering the geographic area adequately, but in penetrating in some depth.

The book's principal weakness, as might be expected, stems from the author's attempt to cover too many aspects of too many countries in too limited a space. Inevitably, in telling his tale, he glosses over very real difficulties. The best example is his constant reference to "democracy." Although not stated in so many words, "democracy" is apparently, in the author's mind, the goal toward which these countries should aspire and the measure of their progress toward this goal is the standard by which they should be judged. However, the author gives no definition of what he means by "democracy." The reader is left to gather that the American experience should serve as the model: two-party system, free elections and other going political institutions. If this is indeed the author's view, then it is no surprise that he finds the people of the area disappointed in the realization of democracy.

As a concluding remark, a general question might be raised regarding the value and wisdom of breathlessly trying to bring events up to the last moment of time before the publication date. Errors of fact are easily made, the importance of the facts themselves is difficult to assay and perspective is lost. A book also becomes quickly dated. Nevertheless, despite some shortcomings this book is worth reading and has definite value as a comprehensive work for any person interested in learning about present day Southeast Asia in capsule form.

SOUTHEAST ASIA: Today and Tomorrow, by Richard Butwell. Praeger, $4.25.

Among Those Sailing on the "Ship of Fools"

THERE IS nothing new or startling about the basic situation on which Katherine Anne Porter builds the plot of her long-awaited novel: Nobody really knows how many authors have written tales about a group of people thrown together for a period of days or weeks aboard a ship. The idea will undoubtedly be adapted, some years hence, to a space-ship locale, with the destination the moon or Mars. The very title, "Ship of Fools," as Miss Porter notes, was used by a German writer for a book published nearly five hundred years ago. None of this, however, is especially important. What matters is how Miss Porter handles the basic situation, how she develops her characters, how she builds the story, and the meaning she imparts to the title.

MERCURY, Italian 16th Century
National Gallery of Art

More erudite literary critics notwithstanding, Miss Porter's major achievement has been the superb telling of a good tale. If you want to learn how to use the English language, with a minimum of words—and each the precise word, pick a paragraph at random from the book and read it aloud. She resorts to none of the gimmicks to which we have become too accustomed of late; flashbacks, for example, are presented only to impart necessary information, not to create phony, otherwise non-existent suspense. And it is all peopled by characters whom you come to like or loathe; some register more strongly than others, but you care about what happens to each.

Woven among the threads of the narrative are timely yet timeless (the story takes place in 1931) political and sociological threads — international, interracial, and just plain person-to-person. Here, the reader finds another of the author's secrets. She deals in real people, not tired stereotypes, and she reports without editorializing.

In speaking of the book's title, Miss Porter says: "I took for my own this simple almost universal image of the ship of this world on its voyage to eternity. It is by no means new—it was very old and durable and dearly familiar when Brant used it; and it suits my purpose exactly. I am a passenger on that ship."

—S. I. NADLER

SHIP OF FOOLS, by Katherine Anne Porter. Little, Brown and Company, $6.50.

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Lao Lady — *Lilian Eisenberg*

Singapore in the 1840's — *Straits TIMES*

Balestier of Singapore

by RHODA E. A. HACKLER

"I desire to add my warmest and best wishes for your speedy restoration to health, with the assurance that whether in Public or Private Life, the name of Balestier the American Consul at Singapore will have a leading place in the hearts of many and in the minds of all, and that you carry with you the greatest respect and highest esteem of the community generally and of the British authorities particularly, but of none more so than of him who has the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,"

W. I. Butterworth, Governor
March 15, 1848.

AFTER fourteen long and heartbreaking years, Joseph Balestier, the first United States Consul at Singapore, was leaving with the best wishes of the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Joseph Balestier had been a mature man when he first went out to Singapore in 1834. He came from a respected New England family, already had a reputation in the United States as a man of science, and was connected with the thriving Canton, China, business house of Russell & Co. He brought with him to the young settlement his wife and their fourteen-year-old son, and it was part of Balestier's personal tragedy that neither wife nor son was to survive the years in Singapore.

On the bright, sultry morning in May of 1834 when the middle-aged New Englander stepped from a ship's boat and handed his wife and son ashore on the banks of the Singapore River, however, the scene before him must have encouraged him to anticipate a prosperous future. The inner harbor of Singapore was full of the sailing vessels of the world, from the mighty clippers to the cockleshell sampans, and the road was crowded with Chinese, Indians, Malay and Europeans, busy actors in the drama of trade, played against a backdrop of substantial stone-fronted godowns and shipping offices.

Trading opportunities particularly interested Joseph Balestier. As the first United States Consul at Singapore he had explicit instructions from President Andrew Jackson to do everything in his power to put American shipping in Singapore "on the same footing as the shipping of the most favored nations in amity with Great Britain."

Singapore had been founded in 1819, and had not come within the provisions of the Convention of 1815 which

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RHODA E. A. HACKLER studied Far Eastern History at the University of Malaya while her husband, FSO Windsor G. Hackler, was Consul at Singapore.

listed those ports at which the ships of the United States might trade. Technically, the Yankees were excluded from Singapore but the restriction was generally ignored and for the first few years Yankee sails joined those of other countries thronging the increasingly busy harbor.

All went well until 1825, when the American bark *Governor Endicott*, sailing peacefully toward Singapore, was overtaken by *H.M.S. Larne* in the Straits of Malacca. The overzealous British commander was apparently unaware of the unwritten law. He invoked the Convention of 1815 and ordered the *Governor Endicott* to Calcutta under arrest. As he had met the Yankee in the Straits, the British Captain was unable to prove to the authorities in Calcutta that his captive was intending to trade in Singapore, and was ordered to pay damages to the American. The Government of Bengal which administered the Straits Settlements from India at the time reproved the British Captain and advised the Governor in Singapore that there had existed "many infractions of the Navigation Laws under Sufferance in India and it is . . . not for the public interests that a more severe interpretation of those laws should be enforced. . . ." However, the merchant vessel had lost valuable time, and the story of the *Governor Endicott* spread throughout shipping circles. The Americans were a wary lot and soon found an alternate harbor some fourteen miles from Singapore in the Rhio Islands which were under Dutch, not British authority. There they waited for the lighters of Singapore to come to them. It was to these Rhio Islands that Joseph Balestier was first appointed United States Consul, although he resided from the start at Singapore.

The situation was ridiculous. Even Sir Stamford Raffles, no lover of America and Americans, did his best in London to effect a change, egged on by the merchants of his new town, who watched with distaste the American ships with specie to pay for goods, sailing south to the Dutch Islands. Lightering goods to the Rhio Islands was inconvenient and expensive, and the cost-conscious Yankees would not stand for it long. The combined efforts of Raffles, the merchants of Singapore and the agents of the American Government, both in Singapore and London, took more than ten years to unsnarl this legal tangle. In November of 1836 London finally consented to the recognition of Mr. Joseph Balestier as Consul of the United States for the Island of Singapore. The word was passed so slowly to the new Consul that it was not until June 15, 1837, more than six months later, that he was able to insert in the local newspapers an announcement that he had been "appointed on the 4th July 1836. by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Consul of the United States for the Island of Singapore, and having received the recognition of his appointment by the Honorable the Court of Directors, at London on the 23rd November, hereby gives notice to those concerned, that he has entered upon the duties of his office."

The United States now had a recognized Consul at Singapore and United States ships were allowed to trade. The anticipated rapid growth of U.S.-Singapore trade did not, however, materialize, for the very good reason that Singapore was at that time administered not by the Government

of Great Britain, but hy the functionaries of the East India Company, a trading firm, and these merchant-rulers were not prepared to allow the Americans to gain any advantage that they could prevent. The Company welcomed Yankee specie but not competition, and quietly took steps to defeat this commercial threat. Under the Navigation Laws, American and other non-British ships could trade between British ports and their home countries, hut not between one British port and another. A cargo of rice picked up in Singapore by an American vessel had to be taken all the way back to the United States, although it would be much more profitable to sell it in Hong Kong and pick up tea there for the journey home. In the end it was the closeness and convenience of Batavia as an alternative port to Singapore, and the fear of losing trade to Dutch rivals, that brought about an unofficial easing of British restrictions on the Americans' right of trade, but it was years before the U.S.-Singapore trade could be called flourishing.

While Balestier worked toward official recognition of American freedom of trade at Singapore and of his own recognition as the United States Consul there, he had also to turn his mind and hands to a means of supporting his family. In the 1830's a consul was often also a merchant or a shipping agent, for the consular fees which he was allowed to retain could not possibly support him. In Singapore Joseph Balestier became a merchant, a shipping agent and a sugar planter, with an office in town and a large plantation on its outskirts.

Captain Wilkes of the United States Navy visited Singapore in 1842 in the course of an exploring expedition and described the Consul's office as being in a "large quadrangular building, one side of which faces the river." The Singapore River was lined with stone embankments and down the sides of the embankments steps had been built so that at any tide small boats could be loaded and unloaded directly onto the river banks. Captain Wilkes went on to say, "The bridge which connects the two towns is by far the most attractive place in Singapore, for the constant passing and repassing across this thoroughfare makes it particularly amusing to a stranger. The consul's rooms are so situated as to command a free view of this moving panorama."

In these surroundings Balestier was the U. S. Consul and a man of commerce. His interest included selling ships as well as goods, provisioning ships and arranging cargoes and passages. Of the sixteen American ships that entered Singapore Roads in 1837, Balestier served as agent for fifteen of them. His godown accepted the small amount of goods brought in by the American captains and supplied their outgoing cargoes of arrack, coffee, pepper, rattan, rice. sugar, tin and other products of the peninsula. The *Governor Endicott,* which figured in the events of 1825 in Singapore waters, continued to sail Eastern seas and in October of 1837 arrived from Sumatra. Balestier provided her with a mixed cargo which included among other things thirty-three piculs of dragon's blood. (Not as intriguing as its name, dragon's blood is actually a dark red resinous substance taken from the fruit of the Malayan palm tree.) In addition, the *Governor Endicott* sailed for Salem with a cargo of Borneo pepper, Campar coffee, Straits tin, Singapore pearl

sago, Siam sapan wood, Manila hemp, Banjar rattans, tortoise shell and cassis—a more or less typical assortment of goods for the American trade. In exchange she had brought to Singapore domestics, or cotton goods, gunpowder, and most important of all, 27,000 Spanish dollars.

In addition to his activities as American Consul, merchant and shipping agent, Joseph Balestier was deeply concerned with Singapore agriculture. Shortly after his arrival in 1834, he leased a tract of land two miles outside the town and settled down there to plant sugar cane. It was a struggle, for the soil was poor and according to an early survey the growing of sugar cane was considered to be "eminently ill-suited to the poor, red soil of the hills of Singapore." Balestier did not agree with this report and spent fourteen years trying unsuccessfully to prove it wrong. On his 1,000 acres he cleared land and drained it. He built canals which connected his fields with the Kallang River so that he could float the canes directly out to the ships in the Roads. He erected water wheels and a boiling house, and imported a steam engine which was attached to a mill for crushing the cane. He had store rooms and work shops, and a distillery, for not only was cane shipped in bulk, but the sugar was extracted and some of it turned into rum, a profitable sideline.

One of the hazards of plantation life in early Singapore was tigers. The newspapers of the time were full of tales of predatory raids by tigers on lone planters and the editors were continually urging the authorities to grant larger bounties and to fight the menace more assiduously. In 1841 the Singapore FREE PRESS announced "The news of the capture and death of a tiger last Saturday night, on a Chinaman's plantation close to that of Mr. Balestier the American Consul . . . the first of these destructive animals which they had succeeded in taking. A pit was dug where his track has been observed, the mouth of which was covered lightly over, and two or three dogs tied as bait—the ruse luckily took, and when advancing to his imagined prey he was himself precipitated into the pitfall, where he was very soon despatched, being pounded to death with stones. He

Hong Kong, 1961 — *Earl J. Wilson*

was a large animal, measuring 9 feet 2 inches from the nose to the tip of the tail, which was only 35 inches long, the circumference round the forearm being 26 inches." Mr. Buckley, a historian of early Singapore recounted that "Mr. Balestier . . . said that it was no uncommon thing to see the tracks of tigers about his house in the morning, and he used to point out the spot where two of his men had been killed in 1842." In spite of tigers, Balestier settled his family in a pleasant house on his plantation, surrounding the dwelling with a small orchard and spacious flower gardens.

Balestier made his mark on Singapore from the very first. He was a good friend of the local newspaper editors, and was able to supply them with usable items of news and general interest from the United States. Both as U. S. Consul and as a shipping agent and merchant, he was in a position to receive the latest papers from the United States and pass them along to the local editors. From the evidence of the newspaper files of that early day, this service, a forerunner of the modern United States Information Service, was a very successful operation. The papers of 1837 and onwards were liberally scattered with items reprinted from United States papers, ranging from President Van Buren's message to the 26th Congress, delivered on December 2, 1839 (which was printed in full, although over five months after the event), to a letter "handed by a friend" to the editors, explaining a new machine invented in Massachusetts for cleaning rice.

The U. S. Consul served several times on the Grand Jury of the Straits Settlements in Singapore, and was a member of numerous local committees. In 1837 the Singapore Chamber of Commerce was founded by six British merchants, two Chinese, one Armenian, one Arab, and one American—Balestier. He was a founder-member of the Singapore Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and worked with the local citizens to have the land laws liberalized and the high tax on Straits-grown sugar entering Great Britain remitted.

To the ship captains and their crews which he served, to the visitors of all countries whom he entertained, and to the government and business world of Singapore, Balestier must have presented a picture of the successful Yankee businessman and an able, dignified representative of the United States. However, in spite of hard work, in spite of his energetic participation in all aspects of the life of Singapore, prosperity and happiness were illusive. In 1844 his son, Joseph W. R. Balestier, died at the age of twenty-four. Three years later his wife, to whom he had been married

View of Old Singapore habor and countryside (1840)

by Rhoda E. A. Hackler

for some thirty years, was buried beside her son in the graveyard on Canning Rise, and that same year heavy rains devastated his sugar fields, ruining the year's crop. In the letters of Governor Butterworth, writing to his superiors in Bengal in March of 1848, Balestier's condition at the end of fourteen years of service in Singapore was described and the plea entered that the Court of Directors in London bring to the attention of the American Government the state of the Consul's health, "with a view to that Gentleman being transferred, in a like Official capacity to a Country and Climate more congenial to his Mental and bodily health than that of Singapore, under existing circumstances."

The climate of Singapore, situated almost on the equator, the loss of his wife and his son, and finally the failure of his plantation and business were a heavy load for Balestier to bear, but the Governor was correct in predicting that the Consul would be able to adjust to them, given time and a more temperate climate. Having put the affairs of the American Consulate in order, nominated Mr. Joseph Harvey Weed, a fellow American, as Acting Consul, and entrusted to yet another American businessman the job of selling the plantation, on May 8, 1848 Joseph Balestier sailed out of Singapore harbor and back to the United States. There he apparently recovered his health, for a year and one-half later he was designated Special Agent and Envoy of the United States, and entrusted with negotiation of treaties with Cochin China, Siam and Borneo. He returned to Singapore in 1849. In his absence Mr. Weed had died and Balestier replaced him with another Officiating Consul, while he went about his new duties of negotiating treaties with neighboring countries. In Siam he was unsuccessful, but on June 23, 1850, he signed a treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with the Sultan of Brunei, having the previous month laid the foundation for one with the Rajah of Sarawak.

In May of 1851, Balestier touched once again at Singapore, on his way back to the United States. He was still nominally the United States Consul at Singapore, although a series of other men had been acting for him since 1848. It was not until January 21, 1852 that Joseph Balestier resigned his consular commission. For fourteen years he had served actively as Consul and for another four years had held the post more or less *in absentia*, visiting Singapore infrequently during the course of his travels about Southeast Asia.

Balestier was a pioneer, and like many another pioneer, he failed in his private endeavors. His official exertions, however, were successful, and his years as American Consul at Singapore provide a worthy beginning to a succession of American Consuls and Consular Representatives who have served at Singapore (except for the interval during World War II) down to the present day.

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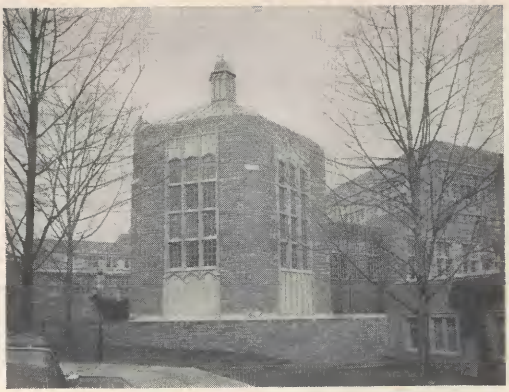

Dulles Library, at Princeton

The Dulles Library

by PHILIP A. CROWL

THE John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History was formally dedicated in a ceremony held May 15, 1962 in the Chapel of Princeton University, alma mater of the late Secretary of State (Class of 1908). Earlier in the day a private dedication had been held in the new library itself, a two-story hexagonal wing of the Firestone Memorial Library.

After the conclusion of the formal ceremonies, visitors and faculty and students of Princeton filed through the new library and the exhibition gallery connecting the Dulles wing with the Firestone Library. There on display (to be continued throughout the summer) were original materials from the Princeton collections bearing on United States diplomatic history. On exhibit were not only selected items from the Dulles papers but also documents from Princeton's extensive Woodrow Wilson collection, and letters and documents of earlier Secretaries of State, beginning with Thomas Jefferson and including five Princeton alumni who had filled the office before Secretary Dulles—James Madison, Robert Smith, Richard Rusk, Edward Livingston, and John Forsyth.

The dedication ceremonies, in which Mr. Dulles was eulogized as world leader, Secretary of State, churchman, lawyer, and loyal alumnus of Princeton, marked the culmination of a plan set into motion some years before by Secretary Dulles himself—a plan whose primary aim was to promote historical scholarship in the field of international affairs.

About two years after his appointment as Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles had made arrangements for Princeton to

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DR. PHILIP A. CROWL, now in the Office of Current Intelligence Indications, Department of State (ONC/RCI), was formerly Assistant Professor of History at Princeton and also Historian in the Department of the Army.

Reading Room, Dulles Library

receive the gift of his personal papers. These he recognized to be of considerable historical significance since they date back to the Hague Peace Conference of 1907.

To complete this collection, it was decided that copies of official State Department documents reflecting Mr. Dulles' career as Secretary of State should also be housed at Princeton. Mr. Dulles, on the University's recommendation, chose a professional historian, Dr. Philip A. Crowl, to work in the files of the Department (at Princeton's expense), to select from the mountain of official documents those believed to be of the greatest historical significance, and to have microfilm copies of these made for Princeton.

Late in 1959 close friends of Secretary Dulles, in consultation with the authorities at Princeton, had initiated plans for housing this collection, plans that were accelerated in early 1959 when Mr. Dulles was stricken with his final illness. Before his death in May 1959, Mr. Dulles had been advised of these plans and had been shown the architects' drawings of the library that would bear his name.

History-minded as he was, Secretary Dulles' purpose in establishing this collection of his papers was to promote free inquiry and bonafide research in the fields of history, political science, international relations, and related subjects. As far as research into his personal papers was concerned, he could of course attach to his gift to Princeton any conditions he chose—so long as they were acceptable to the University. Actually his conditions were minimal. To the committee which he chose to exercise general control over the collection, he stipulated that access to his personal papers should be granted "as widely as possible"; that access should be unlimited after the expiration of twenty-five years from the date of his death; and that it was not his intention that the functions and control which he had given the committee should be exercised other than to insure that material from his private papers be "publicly presented in a factually accurate manner."

There remained a second group of papers which were not solely personal, nor, on the other hand, classified official documents subject to the usual security safeguards. This group consists of personal letters, memoranda of personal conversations, memoranda of telephone calls, daily personal records of appointments and activities, and personal draft

Country Team Reception:

President Kennedy receives the members of the Country Team Seminar, July 3rd.

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DULLES LIBRARY

working documents. These papers reflect Mr. Dulles' activities as a high Administration official, rather than as Secretary of State. These papers he donated to the Eisenhower Library at Abilene. After a suitable period of time, copies of these documents are to be made available to the John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History at Princeton.

A third group of papers consists of those official State Department documents which Mr. Dulles had arranged during his lifetime to have selected and microfilmed for deposit at Princeton. This collection contains reproductions of telegrams, memos and conversation, minutes of meetings, briefing papers, position papers, etc., covering the period of Mr. Dulles' tenure as Secretary of State. All together, about 45,000 documents, containing about 131,000 pages, were photographed. One copy of each of these films has been deposited at Princeton; the second copy remains in the custody of the Historical Office, Department of State.

Before this transfer could be legally effected, and certainly before access to these classified documents could be authorized for nongovernment researchers, it was necessary for certain changes to be made in the regulations governing access to classified information.

In order to promote historical research in his own papers and to establish legal precedents for other high government officials who might wish to do likewise, Mr. Dulles outlined his proposed arrangement with Princeton at a Cabinet Meeting in January 1957 where it was well received and approved in principle by the Cabinet and the President.

In May 1959 the President issued an executive order amending and liberalizing previous regulations so as to permit trustworthy nongovernment researchers to have access to classified information, provided that such access was "clearly consistent with the interests of national defense."

Also in May 1959 an agreement was signed by the Department of State and Princeton University authorizing the transfer to Princeton of the microfilm copies of selected official documents reflecting Mr. Dulles' career as Secretary of State. The agreement stipulated that the microfilms would be stored at Princeton under approved security regulations of the Department; that access to and use of them should be under identical conditions as access to and use of the original documents in the files of the Department; and that title to the copies or any part thereof should remain in the U.S. Government until such time as all restrictions were removed from them by the U.S. Government. On its part, the Department agreed to "seek to assist Princeton University in its aim of making available, as rapidly as practicable, the information in this collection for purposes of research and publication; and that accordingly the Department will deny access to the collection and will refuse permission to publish information therefrom only when so legally required or when it determines in its discretion that controlling considerations of national security, the public interest, or relations with other governments and their nationals so require."

Thus, on deposit at John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History at Princeton is the nucleus of what will

by Philip A. Crowl

certainly develop into one of the major documentary collections pertaining to 20th century U.S. foreign policy and related subjects. It was Mr. Dulles' hope that the deposit of his papers at Princeton might act as a kind of magnet to attract other collections of a like nature. With this in view, William S. Dix, Librarian of Princeton University, has announced that he will welcome the deposit of correspondence and other documents which throw light on the diplomatic history of this era.

"Out of the papers stored here in Princeton," wrote Secretary of State Rusk in a statement read at the dedication of the Dulles Memorial Library, "will come a picture of a dedicated man, deeply committed to the peace and well-being of his own country, and deeply, as well, aware that the fate of his own country was linked to that of peoples in the remotest parts of the world." Out of the Dulles Memorial Library, it might be added will someday come historians with good reason to be grateful to a man so mindful of the interests and requirements of historical scholarship.

John Foster Dulles

I AM DEEPLY distressed that overriding duties, of the sort with which John Foster Dulles was entirely familiar, make it impossible for me to be present for the dedication of the John Foster Dulles Library at Princeton University.

It is entirely fitting that Princeton University should be the repository of his papers. Those of us who knew him as a friend knew of his devotion to his alma mater. It was while a Princeton undergraduate that he undertook his first diplomatic mission—at the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907. Thus began more than a half century of dedicated service to his country in the foreign policy field.

John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State at a time when United States policy was pursued in an utterly complex world and in a period when events moved with breath-taking speed. Only a fraction of what was in his mind, and in the mind of the President he served, was inscribed in formal documents. The historian, if he is to be accurate, must try to reconstruct the context—the total context—which surrounded what was written down. Today was not yesterday and tomorrow would be different, too. To recapture the changing scene and what Mr. Dulles thought about it will be the historian's delicate and painstaking task.

Accident, mystery, the surging events in a hundred countries in every continent were all a part of his daily fare. And he was building toward a decent world order not on the basis of exact blueprints, mathematically guaranteed, but in the light of a future but dimly perceived, as through a fog. For the statesman must move from facts which can never be quite complete into a future which, perhaps mercifully, can not be surely known.

—Excerpts from a statement by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, read by Robert F. Goheen, President of Princeton University, at the dedication of the John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History.

Letters to the Editor

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

Pet Coatimundis in Paraguay
by Dorothy Sharp Carter

"Modernization Process and Insurgency"

I CANNOT decide, and it puzzles me, whether Mr. Henry C. Ramsey in his article in the June JOURNAL, entitled "Modernization Process and Insurgency," is serious or indulging in Super-U humor.

The subject of his discussion is serious enough, I suppose, if I know what it means. However, he has lost me in the spectrum of challenge and response with regard to the totality of interacting political and security capabilities, not to mention escalating dissidence explicit in military expertise which achieves a Governmental consensus providing Government has never gripped the countryside. Insurgency, in fact, at some level of violence is its normal concomitant.

Take the orchestration of U.S. resources, for instance. Does that justify a Draconian repression with appropriate adjustments to the local context? Or is it a popular consensus which must interact across the whole of the active counter-insurgency spectrum to the point of acceptability of a popular base of the insurgency?

Or would the objective assessments of the probable effects of action or inaction on the dissidence which is just beneath the surface encourage the forward thrust of societies so as to effect the dissidence, dissatisfaction and disequilibrium normally accompanying the upward thrust of a modernizing society?

Take dissidence, again, and the classic cleavages between city and countryside which have not been closed. Would, or could, its tactical manipulation in an expanding community of free nations with pluralistic values result in a pooling of collective judgments or result in economic and social infrastructure of the main dimensions of the job ahead?

I agree that we should become more generally knowledgeable of the mysteries of the modernization process and of how to employ the unique array of U.S. resources at our disposal in assisting local governments to anticipate and prevent Communist attacks on the process through subversion and insurgency. But what I want to know is, why didn't Mr. Ramsey say that in the beginning?

RICHARD F. BOYCE
Hallandale, Fla.

Editor's Note: Possibly because writing, as well as reading, the new semantics is in itself a novel form of jungle warfare.

Aggressiveness, Involvement, and First-Class Officers

I AM SURE that those of us who read Theodore White's article on Secretary Rusk in the June 8 issue of LIFE found it of exceedingly great interest. His arguments about the type of officers needed in the Foregin Service today, however, are in need of further discussion.

Foreign Service officers not given to a defensive attitude toward the Service but observing it critically against the backdrop of current necessities will agree with much that Mr. White said. It is quite true that the Service, like our diplomacy, has developed and "matured in an age of American detachment" and that what is needed are "aggressive men who can, in the diplomacy of revolutions, commit themselves not only to involvement but to action in the affairs of other people." However, this is easily said and much less easily done, particularly if influence and leadership are what we are after and not resentment, resistance and counteraction. Those of us who have been in this business of diplomacy for some time are well aware of this problem and know it is not an easy one. For others, it may suffice to remember that it was precisely involvement and action in the affairs of other people which caused the Government of Guinea to effect the recall of the Soviet amhassador and to turn to us for advice and assistance. It was precisely because we did *not* pursue a policy of involvement and action in the affairs of the people of Guinea that they turned to us.

More of us will differ from Mr. White that "such officers (of aggressiveness) do exist in the Department, but they are the younger men, roughly forty years old, who entered the Foreign Service from the hot, combat action of World War II." Personally, I think there is an element of truth in this. Along with others of my colleagues, I

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Letters to the Editor

have been very favorably impressed by the better officers who have entered the Service with war experience or with military training of several years' duration. They are a type committed to action rather than reporting, a type less inclined to resent criticism of the Service than to weigh it, a type keenly and analytically observant of the Service, its accomplishments and its deficiencies and concerned with the causes of deficiencies. This, I submit, is altogether healthy.

However, I would sound two notes of warning. One is that greater aggressiveness on the part of younger officers can well spell trouble rather than leadership. For leadership requires followship. Are we not indeed confusing the issue by referring to younger officers? Isn't what we are essentially after influence and leadership? If this is so, the test is not simply what we want of our diplomatic representatives but the qualities other governments and peoples will respect, the qualities which will command their followship. Let us not make the error of projecting our faith in youth into the mentalities of other peoples. There are many peoples in the world who respect age, experience and maturity. How often have I had government officials abroad say to me: "Please don't send that young officer around to talk to me about these important things. I want to discuss them with a mature officer—someone who can not only ask intelligent questions but who can trade ideas and experience with me." Here lies the secret of influence and leadership, rather than in aggressive involvement in the affairs of others.

The other note of warning concerns the future. With some exceptions, and I emphasize there are exceptions, our young officers are no longer the cream of the American employment market. Having no longer the primary appeal it once had to able young men desiring participation in international affairs and not being sufficiently active in a highly competitive market, the Foreign Service has for some years declined in over-all quality.

R. Smith Simpson
FSO-retired

Annandale, Va.

Annuities and the FSO-Retired

C. M., in his letter to the Secretary and postscript to AFSA, has pledged a substantial income to AFSA's Scholarship Fund (July 1962 Journal,) for the next nine years—certainly a laudable act!

May he and his contemporaries now look back nine years and compassionately ponder the present unfortunate situation of former colleagues who then "handed over the torch." It is pertinent to realize that the C. M. who retired in May 1962 receives about double the annuity of his peer of 1953. The cost of living of both is the same, even perhaps higher for the 1953 C. M. due to medical expenses.

Before proceeding to specifics, let us review (and to some extent contrast) the general background of service of the 1953 retiree which precluded personal savings from official income:

1. Most home leaves were at personal expense,
2. All educational expenses for children, including transportation, had to come from his savings, and other allowances, now considered routine, were either small or non-existent,
3. Medical attention at government expense mostly did not exist,
4. Salaries, class for class, were only about sixty percent of what they are today,
5. If he held an ambassadorial post, the salary in excess of his class salary was not included in annuity computations,
6. He received no extra pay for unhealthful post service and often no realizable credit in annuity computations owing to the thirty year (later thirty-five year) credit limitation as opposed to the forty year limitation under Civil Service.

A comparison of retirement annuities of a 1953 Career Minister and a 1962 Career Minister, each having served three years as a chief of a class III mission and each having a wife ten years his junior, shows that the 1962 Career Minister receives a sum almost twice as much as his '53 predecessor can claim.

Certainly the officer who retired in 1953 is pleased that the retirement provisions which went into effect in the Foreign Service for those who retired subsequent to October 15, 1960 include provisions which have obtained in the Civil Service for a number of years, with the notable exception of the forty-year credit provision. But he fails to understand why he was shunted aside; in particular, he protests the gross inequity in the computation of survivorship annuities which not only discriminate against him but in fact have caused, since October 15, 1960, and continue to cause him to contribute disproportionately to the Retirement and Disability Fund and thus finance in part the much higher annuities of the recent retired.

Senator Sparkman has demonstrated a definite desire to correct the inequities and it is hoped that Secretary Rusk and C. M. and his contemporaries, now that they are fully aware of the situation, will put their shoulders to the wheel to get those who retired prior to October 16, 1960 out of the deep annuity rut in which they are. The terms of retirement annuities of these forgotten men of the Foreign Service should be renegotiated as the government renegotiates other commitments. The cost to the government for an equitable adjustment of annuities would be small and would be liquidated over the comparatively few remaining years of the life spans of the recipients; the benefits would be great in fortifying their financial independence, dignity, and self-respect.

Richard P. Butrick
C.M.-Retired

Washington

"July Four No More"

Please accept my congratulations for the excellent edition of the June Journal, the articles and the material in the departments were very readable and of much interest to any FSO, active or retired.

One of the best articles appearing in a long time is that of Mrs. Stuck, "July Four No More," with her rather devastating description of the tribulations of an FSO and the somewhat pathetic antics of the Frau of the Chief of Mission. With such a facility for description, she should be encouraged to write more. I also liked the two stories, "Home Leave Under Canvas," and Spencer Barnes' "Corollary to Parkinson's Law,"

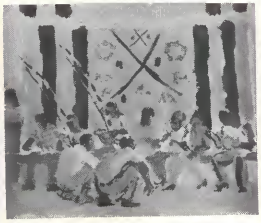
P.J.R.
FSO-Retired

Vineyard Haven

Turkey:
AUGUST 1961
by Dong Kingman

Japan:
JUNE 1961
by Yoshitoyo

Laos
JULY 1962
by Lilian Eisenberg



Brazil
MARCH 1962
by Lewis Rubenstein

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Foreign Service Journal

September 1962—Part 2

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