Inner Courtyard, Barcelona Cathedral — *by Lynn Millar*

Foreign Service Journal

OCTOBER 1962 50c

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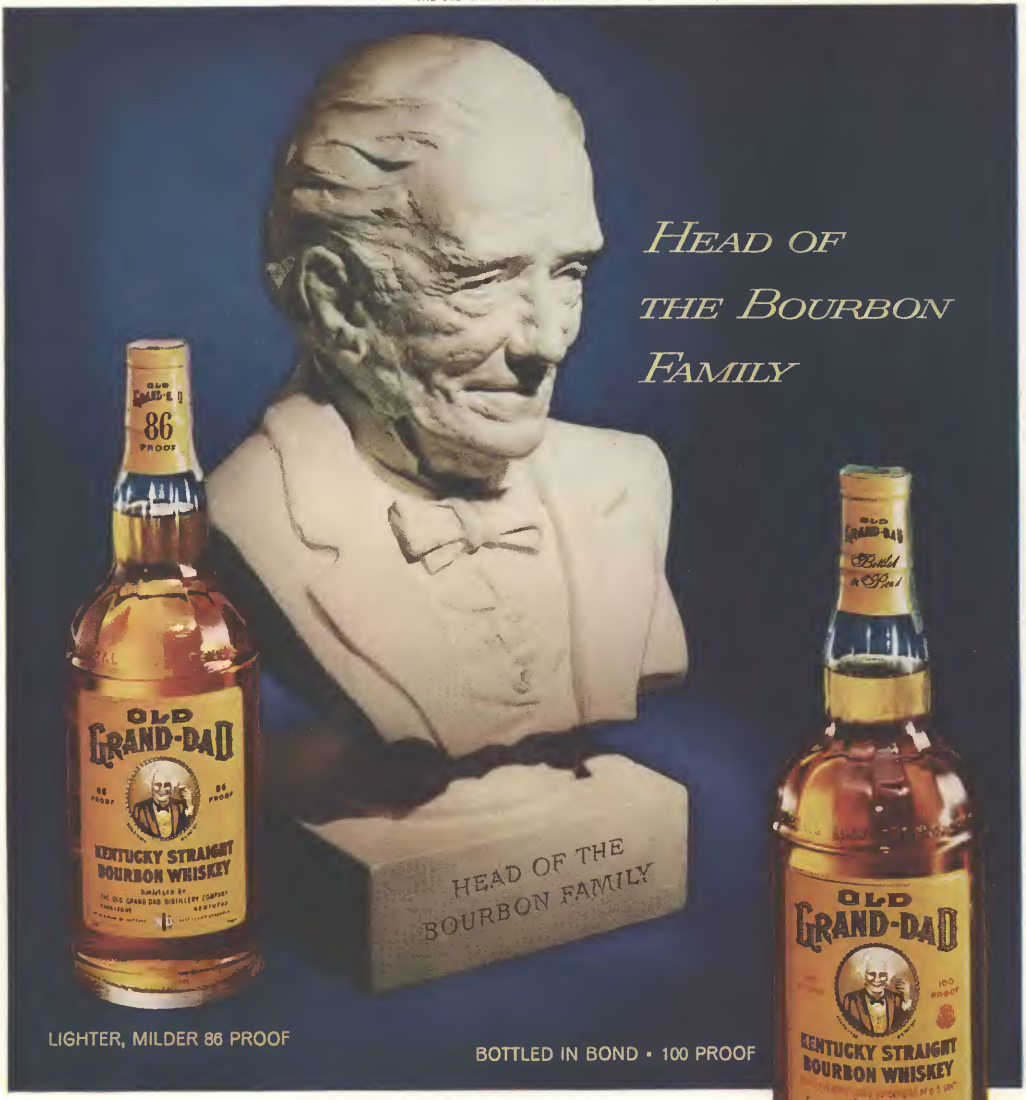

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
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by Lynn Millar

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AFSA : Activities

From the Minutes of Recent Meetings:

June 5, 1962: Appointed Messrs. Herbert B. Thompson and William D. Calderhead to the Committee on Welfare. Approved appointment of a Legal Affairs Committee, naming Messrs. Frank G. Siscoe, Richard C. Hagan, Grover W. Penberthy, James R. Holway and Miss Marian Nash. Named Mr. Edward Little as new Chairman of the Committee on the International Affairs Center. Approved ballot prepared by the Committee on Elections to the Electoral College for 1962 and agreed that it should be prefaced by a note on the procedure for making up the slate. Reviewed the meeting of a group of Directors with the Herter Committee. Discussed revision of quorum requirements for the General Meeting.

June 20, 1962: Agreed to urge publicly that persons interested in serving on the Board of Directors or its Committees make their interest known to the Association. The remainder of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the idea of a Foreign Affairs Service incorporating personnel of related agencies. This was a preliminary round in discussions which will continue with a view to constructive contributions to problems of personnel administration.

June 26, 1962: The Board met informally with the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel to discuss some of the wide ranging questions regarding the service which lie within his competence.

July 11, 1962: The Directors gave a luncheon for the former Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, the Honorable Roger W. Jones, and discussed with him plans and problems in administration of the Foreign Service.

July 17, 1962: Mr. Graham Martin appeared at the Board's invitation to advise the Board about provisions of the charter of the (Paris) Embassy Employees Association which are significant financially to AFSA. Referred to the Committees on Finance and Legal Affairs a suggestion to establish a welfare fund. Elected Mr. William Metzger to the Board to replace Mr. Thomas Mapp, assigned abroad. Appointed Ambassador Robert Newbegin as Chairman of the Committee on Retired Foreign Service Personnel. Approved appointment of Mr. William Harrop as Chairman of the Committee on Education replacing Mr. Nicholas Thacher. Noted with gratification that so far, in connection with the Honorable William Benton's generous offer, close to $48.000 had been received for the Scholarship Fund. Agreed that the Electoral College, in addition to electing the members of the Board of Directors, should be asked to provide a list of alternates from which replacements would be drawn as needed.

August 14, 1962: Noted with pleasure current and forthcoming constructive and objective press articles on the Foreign Service. Studied proposals by which the Association might contribute to better public knowledge of the Service. Began to worry again about increasing prices for Association luncheons at the only public places with adequate facilities. Noted some progress in the work of private groups interested in an International Affairs Center and in the development of an executive branch position on the matter. Asked the Membership Committee to make recommendations on the structure of Active and Associate Memberships.

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Seated L to R: **William W. Walker, William J. Crockett, Roger W. Jones, Herman Pollack, John Ordway, Orson Trueworthy.** *Standing L to R:* **Lillian L. Godek, Eleanor Pruitt, Henry T. Andersen, Eleanor Paulson, Gerald Winemiller, George H. Stewart, Ralph H. Hunt, Benjamin L. Sowell, John V. Hedberg, Darold W. Keane, Richard B. Sorg, Margaret P. Hays, Leo A. Gough, Kathryn Thorley, Marion Whinery, Lucia V. Kirk.**

The following promotions were recommended by the 13th Review Panels which met this spring.

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GARVEY, Leo W.

To FSS-4

DONNELLY, Edward J.
MAGUIRE, Edward B.
PRACHT, Raymond W.
ENGLAND, Frank
HOWE, George L.
LAMPREOHT, Reinhard

To FSS-5

HUMMEL, Walter H.

To FSS-6

ASSANTE, Giulia
BAILEY, Raymond M.
BAXTER, Henry E.
BORISSEVITCH, Alex
CHARIOTT, Theodore
SOLDAN, Rudolph
SPEERS, Francis J.

To FSS-7

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BURRELL, Annabelle
COEY, Florence F.
CUNNINGHAM, Maylou Enid
DEBORCHGRAVE, Dorothy
ECKERT, Ernest H.
FLEMING, Catherine
GALLOP, Verna N.
GERLACH, Bryce M.
GILLMAN, Eleanor M.
GUERNE, Helene M.
HAIG, Ransom S.
HARK, Ida Rose
HERBERT, Harold A.
HOFFHEIMER, Ruth A.
HORAN, Helen
HUDSON, Nancy R.
IRELAND, James F.
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KALKBRENNER, Raymond M.
LAW, Pauline
LIPP, Marguerite R.
MCCARTHY, Phoebe M.
MITCHELL, Annabell
MUOCI, William A.
NIWA, Tamako
PAPA, Albert F.
PICARD, Hugo C.
RADFORD, Joseph Jr.
RANSOM, Muriel K.
REISDORF, John M.
ROBERT, Lawrence J.
SCHWERTFEGER, Dorothy
SEDLER, Lillian
SMITH, Phillip M.
STOLEN, Edna O.
SULLIVAN, Dolores
TARIN, John A.
WILSON, Grace E.

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ARENZ, Francis S.
BAGULEY, Aloha
BARNES, Elizabeth
BARRY, Katherine
BAUMANN, Lawrence T.
BEATI, Christina M.
BELLER, Catherine M.
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BRASSIL, Timothy F.
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COOPER, Kenneth L.
COOPER, Lola Sybil
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CUNNIFF, Ellen K.
DOBLER, Robert F.
DOMBROWSKI, Theresa
DONNELLY, Muriel J.
DULL, Donald R.
EVERART, Georgette
FALL, James A.

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ZROWKA, Peter

New Journal Board Member

ED KILLHAM confesses to a long-frustrated passion for the printed word which dates back to 1943 when he entered the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. Service overseas in World War II stimulated his interest in the Foreign Service, however, and after graduating from Northwestern he obtained an M.A. in International Relations from Columbia University. He entered the Foreign Service in 1952 and has served in London, Edinburgh, Moscow and the Department with time out for Russian language and area studies at FSI and Harvard. He is presently assigned to the Treasury Department as Director of the Executive Secretariat. Mr. Killham comments that after two years in Moscow reading PRAVDA on the iniquities of Wall Street and the U.S. Government it is only fitting that he begin his days now by reading the WALL STREET JOURNAL on the wickedness of PRAVDA and the U.S. Government.

Edward Killham

CORRECTION:

In our recent Appointments list, the Honorable Charles E. Bohlen was inadvertently mentioned as being assigned to the U.S.S.R. He was, of course, appointed Ambassador to France and will depart for Paris later this month. The American Foreign Service Association will greatly miss the close working relationship and support it has enjoyed during his presidency of the past year.

Appointments

FRANCIS H. RUSSELL *to the Republic of Tunisia*

Additional Career Training Assignments

WILLIAM L. PARKS: *Industrial College of the Armed Forces*
WENDELL B. COOTE, ALAN G. JAMES, CHARLES M. ELLISON and CLARENCE S. GULICK: *National War College.*
ANTHONY CLINTON SWEZEY: to *NATO Defense College*
ANDREW V. CORRY and LEE E. METCALF: Faculty, *Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy.*
EDWARD RIVINUS and ARTHUR J. HAZES: *Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy.*
DANIEL HOROWITZ: *National War College*

BIRTHS

BOSWORTH. A son, Andrew Carl, born to Mr. and Mrs. Stephen W. Bosworth, on July 31, in the Canal Zone, Panama.

FEATHERSTONE. A daughter, Lisa Katherine, born to Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Featherstone, on August 14, in Washington.

JACKSON. A daughter, Isabella Lyman, born to Mr. and Mrs. William Harding Jackson, Jr., on July 27, in Washington.

GROVER. A son, Michael Eugene, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Grover, on August 8, in Washington, D. C.

LESH. A daughter, Kathryn Frances, born to Mr. and Mrs. J. Hal Lesh, on June 30, in Ottawa.

NELSON. A son, Jeffrey Kent, born to Mr. and Mrs. Theodore C. Nelson, on August 17, at Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

PETTERSON. A daughter, Susan Lee, born to Mr. and Mrs. Donald K. Petterson, on July 24, in Mexico, D.F.

RUBENSTEIN. A daughter, Ellen, born to Mr. and Mrs. Irwin Rubenstein, on July 30, in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

RUSHING. A son, Evan Mark Fischer, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Rushing, on December 27, 1961, at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Mrs. Rushing is the former Mary A. Causarano.

MARRIAGES

FRAZIER-WALKER. Anne W. Frazier and FSO William G. Walker were married on August 4, in Arlington, Virginia.

MACHADO-LOWENFELD. Elena Machado, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Luis Machado, and Andreas F. Lowenfeld were married on August 11, in Washington. Mr. Lowenfeld is Special Assistant to the Legal Adviser, Department of State.

MAINS-TIPTON. FSO Marian L. Mains and FSO John B. Tipton were married on July 9, in Arlington, Virginia.

ROCHETTE-OZZELLO. Yvonne Rochette and FSO James Ozzello were married on July 28, in Saint François de Sales Church, Paris. Mr. Ozzello is currently assigned to the Office of Security in the Department.

DEATHS

ALLWARDT. Reinhold H. Allwardt died on August 12, in Springfield, Maryland. Mr. Allwardt entered the Department of State in 1939, and served in the Division of Accounts and Office of the Budget. At the time of his death he was Budget Analyst in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

BARTLETT. Mrs. Gladys Irene Bartlett, wife of FSO Frederic P. Bartlett, died on July 31, in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Bartlett, formerly Ambassador to Malagasy, is now assigned to the Department of State.

BEYER. Helen Winsor Beyer, baby daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Robert Beyer, died on August 2, in Yokohama.

CARRIER. Daniel P. Carrier, FSR, died on August 15, in Presque Isle, Maine. Mr. Carrier entered the Foreign Service in 1955, served at Tel Aviv and Kabul. He was on leave from Nairobi at the time of his death.

DERRY. Mrs. Ethel M. Derry, wife of FSO-retired Charles H. Derry, died on July 21, in Arlington.

DOLBEARE. Frederic R. Dolbeare, FSO-retired, died on July 17, at his home in Bar Harbor, Maine. Mr. Dolbeare served at London, Berlin, Vienna, Berne and Warsaw. Since 1949 he had been a co-founder, director and member of the Free Europe Committee, Inc.

DOUGLAS.* Katherine S. Douglas, FSS, died on July 14, in Washington. Miss Douglas entered the Foreign Service in 1950, served at Frankfurt, Duesseldorf, Hong Kong, and Tehran. At the time of her death, she was assigned to EUR/EX.

EMMONS.* Arthur B. Emmons, III, FSO, died on August 22, in Washington, D. C. Mr. Emmons entered the Foreign Service in 1939 and served in Montreal, Hankow, Keijo, Montevideo, Seoul, Dublin, and Kuala Lumpur. At the time of his death he was Deputy Director of the Office of Southwest Pacific Affairs.

GEORGE. John S. George, FSS, died on August 30, in Baltimore. Mr. George, brother of FSO William C. George, served at Monrovia, Athens, Tokyo, and was assigned as Administrative Officer at the Department at the time of his death.

HOLDER.* Oscar C. Holder, FSO, died on August 1, in a plane crash in the Bhalkot area of West Nepal. Mr. Holder entered the Foreign Service in 1941, and served at Montreal, Cairo, Port Said, Suez, Lisbon, Moscow, Vladivostok, Salzburg, and Frankfurt. At the time of his death he had been detailed to the Office of the Inspector General of AID.

JACQUES. Sidney B. Jacques, FSO, died on August 1, in a plane crash in the Bhalkot area of West Nepal. Mr. Jacques entered the Foreign Service in 1952, and served at Paris, Naval War College and Athens. At the time of his death he had been detailed to the Office of the Inspector General of AID.

KESSLER. Hugh D. Kessler, FSO, died on July 23, in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Kessler entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served at Santiago, Warsaw, Naples, Luanda, Habana and Mexico City.

LONG. Boaz Walton Long, former American Ambassador, died on July 30, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Mr. Long was appointed Chief, Division of Latin American Affairs, in 1913. He served as Minister to El Salvador, Cuba and Nicaragua, and as Ambassador to Ecuador and Guatemala. He retired in 1945. For several years thereafter, Mr. Long was Director, American Research Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

TAIT. Thomas E. Tait, FSO, died July 26, in Munich. Mr. Tait entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Peiping, Penang, London and Munich.

WILLAUER. Whiting Willauer, former Ambassador to Honduras and Costa Rica, Admiralty lawyer and old China hand, died on August 6, in Nantucket. Mr. Willauer recently acted as a special assistant to former Secretary of State Christian Herter.

*These families have asked that, in lieu of flowers, contributions be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

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25 years ago

October, 1937

by JAMES B. STEWART

Can You Top This Thriller?

FRED LATIMER, when he was third secretary and consul at Istanbul, wrote a tribute in the JOURNAL to Hussein Ibrahim, a remarkable Consular Cavass who had completed thirty-five years of service. Fred narrates the rescue by the Cavass of a fair lady: "Once, in the old days, a 'Pasha,' a favorite of the Sultan, kidnapped a young American artist and carried her off to his villa on the beautiful island of Prinkipo. Hussein received a smuggled letter of distress from the lady. Without wasting time to seek his Chief's instructions he hastened to the island and to the Pasha's village. Challenged by the guards at the gate, he knocked them them down and drawing his revolver, rushed into the villa, seized the terrified young lady before the eyes of the astonished Pasha, made a whirlwind escape and brought her safely back to the city. Consul General Charles M. Dickinson gave Hussein a house near the Golden Horn in appreciation of his services."

Oiling the Wheels

The JOURNAL prints an article from the New York TIMES which refers to the oiling of the wheels of diplomatic relations. "In a situation in which the human element is of exaggerated importance, it is the task of the Secretary and his assistants to create and preserve the atmosphere of goodwill, confidence and sympathy which oils the wheels of diplomatic intercourse.

"This is a field of traditional amenity in which the efficiency experts and accelerators must walk warily. Ingratiating manners have long been a specialty of State Department attendants. And such manners must not be speeded up. From the moment a smiling white-haired Negro messenger conducts the foreign diplomat to the room assigned to his use, and relieves him of his hat and coat—from that moment until he is ceremoniously conducted to the elevator outside Mr. Hull's office, the envoy must feel that he has received the utmost of understanding consideration, both in his own person and for the problem he is there to present. The testier the diplomat—or his Government—and the thornier the problem, the more this must be so. And to this impression no little is contributed by the unhurried atmosphere of the State Department, the comfortable old-fashioned look of things."

The same article tells of the Department's relations with the Diplomatic Corps: "The greater part of these relations is carried on by subordinates . . . Suppose, for example, a European government has in mind sending an important communication to ours. In all probability it delegates one

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MORE MAJOR INCREASES IN BENEFITS
FOREIGN SERVICE BENEFIT PLAN

Effective November 1, 1962, except where noted

(Page numbers refer to current Brochure, new Brochure will be issued as of November 1, 1962)

Former Benefit	*Revised Benefit*
Plan paid first $500 of hospital expenses plus 80% of any charge over that amount for confinement in a hospital in the United States and paid the same benefit, after a $35 deductible had been met, for confinement in an overseas hospital. (Page 6)	Plan pays in full for semi-private room for up to 90 days plus 80% of charges after the 90th day for confinement in a hospital in the United States and pays the same benefit, after a $35 deductible has been met for confinement in an overseas hospital.
Plan did not cover services of practical nurses in United States. (Page 9)	Services of practical nurses in hospital in United States covered when R.N. not obtainable.
Plan paid 80 percent of actual surgical charges after payment of deductible. (Page 10)	All charges for surgery in United States are covered without a deductible ($35 deductible overseas) up to amount set by fee schedule ($400 maximum) plus 80% of additional charges.
No coverage for dental work except for accidental injury to jaw or natural teeth and certain oral surgery. (Page 12)	Plan provides benefits for certain dental surgical procedures in addition to covered oral surgery and other dental work.
Deductible applied separately to each family member. (Page 13)	Deductible is applied separately to each family member; however, if two or more members of the same family are injured in the same accident, only one deductible need be satisfied.
Plan paid actual charges up to $250 for Maternity Benefits. (Page 14)	Plan pays actual charges up to $300 for Maternity Benefits. (Effective June 1, 1962.)
Caesarean section not considered a complication of pregnancy and maternity benefits only were paid for this procedure. (Page 15)	Caesarean section considered a complication of pregnancy and regular benefits of the plan are payable.
The maximum benefit for each illness or accident was $10,000. (Page 17)	This maximum benefit for each illness or accident is now $20,000. (Effective June 1, 1962.)

25 Years Ago

of the more expert of its Washington mission's staff to drop in on Jay Pierrepont Moffat, head of the European Division. The chances are that he and Mr. Moffat are friends. They may have served at the same time in some foreign capital.

"The foreigner tells his State Department friend the general idea his Government has in mind, asks his advice on the best way to present the matter and his opinion as to how it will be received. The American hears him through, asks for a day or two to think it over. He discusses the matter with higher officials, gets their unofficial reaction, and tells the European what he can . . .

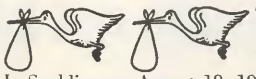
"All of this preliminary activity, of course, has nothing to do with the policy involved. Nevertheless, handling by trained experts can often cushion what might otherwise be a painful shock."

Also a Builder

One of the principal squares of Willemstad, Curaçao, bears the name "Leonard B. Smithplein," in honor of an American consul who brought to the island many practical benefits of Yankee ingenuity. The famous wooden pontoon bridge which swings open for ships of many nations, has not been altered in design since the consul built it. He also installed the first plants for the supply of electricity, water and ice. At the time, ice was a curiosity and was brought in sailing vessels from the Penobscot River, Maine.

Briefs: The appointment of Bill Dawson as Minister to Colombia was megaphoned from the *Potomac* on which President Roosevelt was cruising in Long Island Sound by the President's son to newspaper men following in another boat.

The new officers of the American Foreign Service Association are: Ray Atherton, *President*; James B. Stewart, *Vice President*; John Carter Vincent, *Secretary-Treasurer*.



Twins: Sheldon Edgar and Peter Frederick, were born to Vice Consul and Mrs. Francis L. Spalding on August 18, 1937, at Stuttgart, Germany.

Comment, 1962: Peter graduated from Middlebury College last year and is now in an Army intelligence school as a 2nd Lieutenant. Shelly is a junior at Georgetown having done his service in the Army before college with a tour in Greenland.

News from the Department

Another torrid summer has gone its way, to the vast relief of the FSO's assigned to the Department. They believe that Calcutta, Aden and Buenaventura are positively arctic in comparison.

Maxwell Hamilton was appointed chief of FE and Joseph Ballantine and Raymond Mackay, assistant chiefs. Frederick Larkin was appointed chief of the Foreign Buildings Office and Mrs. Warren Robbins, widow of Warren Delano Robbins, appointed assistant chief. Ellis Briggs succedeed Willard Beaulac as chief of RA. Keith Merrill, executive assist-

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25 Years Ago

by James B. Stewart

ant to Mr. Carr, resigned. Francis Flaherty became an administrative officer in FA and Charles Spruks was appointed head administrative officer (ceremonials). Miss Rebekah L. de Lashmutt became head administrative officer in AM.

McConaughy-Davis. Miss Mary Dorothy Davis of Andalusia, Alabama, and Walter P. McConaughy, Consul, Kobe, were married on June 28, 1937, at Birmingham, Alabama.

Comment, 1962: Walter is now our Ambassador to Pakistan. I asked him how he came to meet Dorothy: "It was a whirlwind courtship which started in early May, 1937, when I was on my first home leave from Kobe, Japan. I discovered Dorothy as May Queen and a member of the graduating class at Alabama College, which is located in my home town, Montevallo, Alabama. We became engaged on June 25, were married on June 28, and had our honeymoon on the good ship *President Harrison*.

"Among the staffs of the Consulates at Kobe and Osaka in those days who, having known me as a bachelor, welcomed my bride with incredulity, were the Ted Scotts, Bill Affelds, Paul Tenneys, Kenneth Krentz, John Emmersons, John Allisons, Carl Boehringers, and 'Dusty' Rhoades.

"We have acquired two daughters, Patricia and Drucilla, now seventeen and thirteen. The family will be together again here in Karachi as soon as the Washington school term ends. I presented my credentials here on March 20, just one day before Mrs. Kennedy arrived for her memorable visit."

Daniels-Olivier. Miss Theodora Olivier and Paul C. Daniels, FSO assigned to the Department, were married at Lafayette, Louisiana, on August 28, 1937.

Comment, 1962: Interesting how Paul and Teddy first met: She was in Washington with her bachelor uncle who was at that time (1937) a congressman from Louisiana. They went to a party at the Cuban Embassy given to celebrate their Independence Day. Teddy says: "And there I met Paul, who has declared ever since that it was the day he lost *his* independence."

Except for occasional assignments by the Department, Paul and Teddy have been living at their home in Lakeville, Connecticut, since 1953. Last spring Paul was in Mexico City for several months attending meetings of the Committee for Cultural Activities of OAS.

● The press states that motorists in Sweden will soon be driving on the right side instead of on the left. That change will no doubt be welcomed by some Americans in Stockholm—Ambassador Graham Parsons, Benson Timmons, Alonzo Stanford, Ralph Hunt, Sara Andren, Robert Person and FSO-retired Erik Magnuson, who, with his wife Peggy, lives in Bromma, a suburb.

Washington Letter

Since the Editor is on leave, the Washington Letter does not appear in this issue.

CUI BONO?

In its admirable way, classic Latin puts the question clearly. Cui Bono? — "For whose advantage?" Time has not diminished the value of the searching question. Nor of the direct reply. ☐ We who make Seagram's V.O. Canadian Whisky stress an important fact. It is to our own advantage to maintain the high standard of excellence which has become the Seagram tradition. The quality of V.O. is our most valuable asset. It says more for our knowledge and integrity in one sip than we could express in a hundred sentences. ☐ Let us say merely that many people of discerning taste consider Seagram's V.O. to be the world's finest whisky. And that it will be well worth your while to try this world-famous whisky. Cui bono? Your taste will tell.

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Training in and for a Modern Foreign Service

by WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT

THE MOST NEEDED (and often most lacking) requirement for the initial selection of new officers and for their training is the ability to write a really useful staff analysis. That means a treatment of the topic which cuts deep to the underlying assumption of facts and values and one which shows the capacity to apply them to programs. Perhaps an even greater difficulty is to combine this capacity for analytical and logical writing with the creative talents of an imagination equipped with some literary style.

Le style c'est l'homme, of course, explains part of the difficulty. Such a combination of talents is rare enough in any part of the world. If the technological impact on stepping up the tempo of our civilization works out to increase pressures and tempos of responses, as Henry Adams showed it did in his memorable essay on "The Dynamo and the Virgin," the fashions in style may wind up in variations on the staccato and omniscient tones of TIME Magazine, or the somewhat supercilious whimseys of the NEW YORKER, as the fashionable "escapes" from "Federalese," "gobbledygook," and just plain dullness.

These initial flourishes may explain an emphasis on the need for restoring to its former status the written essay question into Foreign Service exams; and for setting a tone in the oral examinations that emphasizes the aesthetic and literary sides of life, without sacrificing solidity of character and judgment. The essay is now a set piece in the exams. But its correction is left to the discretion of the oral examining board. I urge that it should, as it used to, be employed to weed out unsuitable aspirants before the oral. The exam with essays used to do this quite effectively.

The prescriptions for admission to the Foreign Service which have been written into a long succession of Congressional and Executive reports and documents, including laws and Executive Orders, all attempt, however variously, to achieve a well-nigh impossible balance of virtues but cannot allow in written formulae for the defects of these virtues. A sterling and representative type of young American patriot, who is sufficiently broadminded to be passionate not only about the Atlantic Community, but about the fate of the new nations and an eventual rule of law for the world, is not easy to find. The concept itself contains possible ambiguities, if not contradictions almost as theologically subtle as the "non-antagonistic contradictions" devised by Soviet theoreticians as an escape hatch from doctrinal difficulties. As one takes a look at a representative sample of promising young Americans on a reasonably high level, such as the Rhodes Scholars, it becomes clear that there are in our fifty states of the Union very different degrees of cultural preparation for the ability to operate sympathetically in foreign cultures without being overwhelmed by any of them, but with a sufficient flexibility to keep one's roots in America and one's antennae tuned to the *atmosphère circumambiante*.

I BELIEVE there has developed in the past few years quite general agreement among knowledgeable officials as well as critics that the emphasis following the Wriston report fell too heavily on decreasing the number and influence of high Civil Service officials in the conduct of the affairs of the State Department. The judgment that this emphasis had been carried too far was one which even the chairman of that report and its principal author (President Wriston) shared. The fact seemed to be that civil servants had been in practice given the decided impression that to have a future in the Department such as they had previously enjoyed, they must perforce be blanketed into the Foreign Service. In the main this required spending at least the major part of their time on overseas assignment if they were to become anything more than second-class citizens, if not officials. There was supporting evidence for this interpretation. Promotions beyond deputy-director of offices disappeared among civil servants. That level was a rarity. Many of them resigned.

Undoubtedly the necessity of giving more breadth and carry to the Foreign Service proper was necessary in stimulating both attractive careers and commensurate rewards for those who would undertake its stern and exacting discipline. One or two of the recommendations of the previous Wriston Commission and their implications have still not been realized that would have helped in a compensatory way to raise both the tone and the morale of the Foreign Service. The first was in much larger and more discriminating use of scholarships for in-service training to encourage development of specialists. This training could be, in many fields, further developed in mid-career and in some cases by preparation of specialization at the outset of Foreign Service careers. The other was to assimilate the privileges of the civilian Foreign Service of the United States with the

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WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT, Harvard University Professor of Government, has been consultant to Secretaries of State since Cordell Hull's time. He was the author of the chapter "Secretary of State and Congress" in the American Assembly Report on "The Secretary of State," edited by Don K. Price (1960); editor of "The Political Economy of United States Foreign Policy" (1954). He was staff director of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the 80th Congress.

FEIFFER

Hello? Mr. Miles Toomuch, the jazz musician? This is the ***State Department—Bureau of Images*** *—Victor Veneer speaking. I'm calling, sir, in regard to the Attorney General's plan for improving our image abroad by sending over our intellectual and artistic* ***elite****—oh, yes, you are, Mr. Toomuch!—Well,* ***we*** SAY SO!

Anyhow, we down here at ***Image*** *just wanted to check you out on some difficult questions you might be asked on your trip—you know—by rioting students or something. For instance what would you say about our resumption of atmospheric testing?*

Oh, you'd say ***that*** *would you? And how would you handle divisive questions on race relations? —I see—. And about our Berlin, NATO, and Asian policies? —MMM—HMMM— Well, Mr. Toomuch, instead of all* ***that*** *couldn't you just* ***play*** *something on your horn? I mean isn't* ***music*** *truly the best communicator?*

Heavens, ***no*** *one is trying to suppress you, Mr. Toomuch, but it* ***is*** *sort of* ***your*** *image of our image against* ***our*** *image of our image, isn't it? And shouldn't important decisions on image be left in the hands of the public relations experts who may have access to classified publicity that you don't know about?*

Well, look, Mr. Toomuch, before we reissue you your passport why don't I send you our sample image sales kit, including pamphlets, film strips, and visual aids —all under the general title of ***"Operation: Good Guy."*** *We'd like you to have the right slant before you went abroad, sir.*

After all ***image*** is ***everybody's*** *job.*

privileges allowed to officers of the Armed Services. Of particular concern has been the matter of not retaining the overseas perquisites. This comparative disadvantage has made a stay at home without "foreign pay" a grave burden for Foreign Service officers' families back from the field.

On the other hand, the emphasis of present practice on producing just a top level of "generalists" who proceeded "up or out" to the level of an Ambassador's job seemed to many of the representative group gathered at the Arden House Assembly in 1960 not to fit the new and various needs of the State Department, or of the Foreign Service. That much was clear in the report on "The Secretary of State." In the first place, for reasons of politics which we seem unable as a nation to shake off, as well as for reasons of procuring men of the highest experience and calibre, a great many of the top posts in embassies are still filled from outside the Foreign Service. In the second place, to retire experienced and often quite capable officers at a relatively early age in terms of their diplomatic usefulness simply because there are no longer posts enough to go around in embassies, or for top-flight Washington assignments, seems too rigid a policy. It entails a severe loss of real experience and useful talents not easily replaced by more rapid promotions of less experienced Juniors. There should be more room at least near the top without this narrow peaking off of the promotions pyramid. Many officers are quite good at an FSO-2 or even an FSO-1 level who are not good bets for ambassadors.

This is not a service that has a limited number of battleships or divisions or bases to command. It requires a large expansion of administrative ability and the developing of experienced administrators who have shown this talent. This is a need felt both inside the Department and in the overwhelming burden of servicing, not only our diplomatic missions, but the other agencies of the United States which operate overseas in increasing and cumbrous numbers. Unless an embassy is provided with a first-class administrative supporting staff, capable of servicing all the elements of a USOM, the Ambassador will be deflected from his principal duties to assume, as he must if inadequately supported, accountability for budgets and the management and overseeing of programs.

NOT THAT programs are not in themselves a test of our foreign policies, in actions. This is a large part of the supreme test of the success of those policies, by affecting the behavior of others in critical ways. The job of program review and guidance requires the development by the Department of many more officers both in Washington and in the field who have had some experience in the operation of programs and in types of studies like economics and public administration, or fields of sustained specialization for difficult areas of intelligence. If these specialists are to be treated in the summary way that followed the implementation of the earlier Wriston report,* it will not only discourage the recruitment of civil servants for filling positions where continuity in Washington is essential for specialization. The lack of career rewards and training openings can prevent the recruitment as well as the development of specialists in the Foreign Service itself.

*On this point Chairman Wriston at the Arden House Assembly shared the general judgment expressed in the book on the Secretary of State.

The Armed Services for a considerable time suffered from a policy on promotions and "cutoff" points under that policy of "up or out" which also eliminated staff officers with special qualifications and program specialists at the peak of their usefulness. One had to be a "battleship admiral" for a while in the Navy to get on at all. Fortunately, as in the Air Force and the Army, a great improvement has been made in promotion policies through the expansion of the Logistics and Joint Chiefs' various mechanisms and through the Office of Naval Operations to take into account a much broader base of promotion and retainment. Perhaps at the present time the Services are more flexible in this matter than is the Department, if one takes into account the temptation of the recent opportunity to retire on an improved base of retirement allowances (12% over future prospects) which has so cut down by massive retirements the top levels of experience available to the Department.

One way of recouping these losses, and on a selective basis, is to make use of a device employed also by the Armed Services. That would be to keep these retiring officers in an active reserve where they are willing to assume the obligation to be on call for special assignments that don't affect their advantageous retirement status. Legislation and more active attention to the problem of keeping a flexible and useful reserve would greatly extend the capabilities of the Department. There need not be the same rigid requirements as in the Services for "summer training," but there might be permissive opportunities for the upper brackets of experienced officers.

AT THE time the original Wriston report was written, fruit of the formative and transitional years after the expansion following World War II, there was a strongly expressed hope that lateral entry into the Foreign Service might permit the refreshing stream of specialists to be incorporated which would be needed to supply an agreed lack. Experiences with the operations of lateral entry have been extremely disillusioning in this respect. The attraction of the Foreign Service has not proved to be sufficient, given the tendency to reward generalists rather than specialists by the assignment of higher posts and the lack of a career ladder, available on equal terms, for the specialists. The drying up of the Civil Service under the same wilting effect, therefore, becomes an even more serious blow to the kind of Foreign Service which today is essential to a modern state with the vast commitments overseas of the United States.

For that matter, the whole problem of restricting to the Foreign Service proper the opportunity for training, including the special training available through the Foreign Service Institute and a wide range of assignments to universities, has seriously affected the career possibilities of agencies which have what amounts to a large Foreign Service, e.g. AID.

Even those agencies which have a limited number of important posts abroad like Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and Public Health could certainly profit by a wider use of the Foreign Service Institute type of training in the way that the Armed Services do through their War Colleges. Some already do so, but within small limits as a rule. There is also a very serious and open question as to whether or not more of the training of the military for posts abroad could not in some manner be effectively combined (and not only for languages) with a more flexible type of instruction, with emphasis on cultural and regional specializations, through the Foreign Service Institute and through more assignments to appropriate universities. At the present time there is a preoccupation with sending people to universities to study economics under a quite disproportionate emphasis as compared to studies of cultural and political character, or even some types of business and public administration.

UNDER THE original Wriston report, there was a pious hope, already noted, that many more scholarships would be made available for assignments to universities, and that this would be on a basis of training needs broader than the Foreign Service of the State Department proper. Here again there has been a considerable disappointment in the attitude of Congress; though there has admittedly been a very important permissive legislative authorization for the detachment of officers in various agencies for university study with full pay which is not adequately used. This broadening effect is surely one of the objectives to which the Herter Committee on Foreign Service Personnel should give some study and strong recommendations.

The whole method of entry into the Foreign Service by a type of written examination, machine-corrected on I.B.M. (induced by reasons of economy, we are told), raises a question about the selection of the best candidates. Some of the questions which are now asked should flunk the examiners, in my judgment, if they expect the indicated type of answer to be graded on a strict right or wrong basis. It is not impossible to give an essay question a separate basis for correction; though the assembled examination (suitably gone over to prevent mistaken efforts to elicit black and white answers where shadings and reservations really test the quality of the mind examined) could eliminate the necessity for reading more than about a quarter of the thousands of papers which are annually put in on these examinations. The claim that it is not possible to grade perhaps anything up to 2,000 or 3,000 essays from a reasonably limited selection list runs counter to the working of College Board Entrance Examinations. To do so merely means the expenditure of more time and effort on the selection process. It can be argued that this is the best investment that the Department could ever make, since failure to root out "officers" who are well-nigh illiterate and certainly not effective and who may prove not to be able either to think or write, can be both expensive and an otherwise costly process in wasted time and opportunities.

It is true that oral examinations do offer a considerable protection; but the orals might be given to a substantially smaller number of candidates if more discretion in the effective use and grading of a required written essay question, with a strong increase of competence in the use of the English language, were possible. The Foreign Service standards on foreign languages are being steadily toned up and can be further improved by a more systematic use of language tapes and some definite selection and training for competence in exotic languages—possibly drawing on the roster and sustained training of reserve personnel for the services.

There is a very wide range of classically disputed problems of how to educate our future diplomats and Foreign Service careerists. Some of these recurrent issues raise an

annual crop of bills on Capitol Hill. One of the hardy perennials of this character is the legislation proposed for setting up an undergraduate academy for the Foreign Service, comparable to those of the Armed Services. I believe it is fair to say that there is almost no really extensive and reputable academic support, and very little support from people with any kind of Foreign Service experience in our own or other services, for this idea. The variety of experiences, knowledge, and interests which are useful for educational background to the young officers just entering a Foreign Service career can hardly be crammed into the type of course which is thought to be useful for military training and for professional types of specialization. The military academies themselves have found it necessary both to broaden their curricula and to send their graduates to ordinary universities, for cultural depth as well as for specialization. Fighting today is as complex as diplomacy, and indeed a complementary training, each for the other, seems required.

IT HAS always seemed to me, however, that we might usefully try extending and strengthening the present practice of a sort of probationary training during the first two years of Foreign Service assignments. This experiment should give what would amount to a year of graduate training with a common core of courses that went beyond professional items like drafting and protocol and consular training. It would certainly be a useful thing to have the assignments which are going to be made to administrative or security or intelligence specializations strengthened by some training in these areas of in-service disciplines which could be emphasized as part of this first year's curriculum. I should think that a much broadened Foreign Service Institute can be hoped for with the kind of educational tone that it now ought to develop under a director who has a maximum of broad and deep academic training and background, as well as Foreign Service experience. Surely the Institute can be expected to experiment very usefully in this direction. It could supplement its own extension, as well as regular training and refresher courses for reserve, as well as active officers, by assignments to graduate institutions easily available in the immediate vicinity of Washington or wherever necessary. The use of PL 480, or other counterpart funds, ought to open up overseas centers for specialists also.

Many of the advantages which are claimed for a Foreign Service Academy could, in part, be achieved by at least a year of this sort of training that would draw a new class of officers from several agencies together in a way that could have some real usefulness, both for getting to know each other as classmates and for developing some, but not too much, *esprit de corps.* (Not à la Lawrence Durrell!) I would hope that this could be combined in some degree with a limited period of practical testing of the ability to work in some area of the Department on programs of the breadth contained in Congressional presentations; or in the review of programs of other agencies which are intended to carry out foreign policies as judged by the Department of State. It is certainly not a happy thing to send a young man abroad without any real acquaintance with the working of Congress or of other government departments that he must be in a position both to assess and to represent abroad, even if he is only servicing them as the State Department now does in so many United States Overseas Missions.

If this kind of probationary period could be extended to the other agencies which have less tight discipline and career control, but still very extensive foreign services of their own, the numbers would certainly run into very large figures and the need for substantial library facilities and a real instructional corps, capable of directing applied research, would have to be anticipated. If coverage were at all broad in the agencies with overseas assignments, an annual number of something approaching a thousand entrants for some broad aspects of Foreign Service training might not be an exaggerated figure. This would certainly involve some radical changes in the present organization and functions of the Foreign Service Institute and some drastic revisions in its basic concept and staffing.

I have heard one of the wisest of my colleagues at Harvard, Professor Milton Katz, of the Law School, express an opinion that a proper Foreign Service corps ought to contain not less than twenty per cent, and might contain even more officers who were at any one time in some type of training, including in-service training for specialties or refresher courses.

That may be a high figure, depending on how loosely training is defined. A job is always a pretty sound way to get training—if one is able to learn. But the benefit of regular study periods, like sabbaticals, is not only for "refresher" studies. It is to make one better able to learn, on the job, what the job could and should be. Of course, all this need not be done by sending all officers to universities or even to the Foreign Service Institute proper itself. There are many types of language training and other specialties which can appropriately be studied in the field, some of them by correspondence or by audio-visual methods.

I feel certain that Mr. Christian Herter, the distinguished chairman of the latest committee set up to review these broad problems of personnel and management in the State Department, himself a former Foreign Service officer as well as a former Secretary of State, would be the first to caution against raising false hopes of solving these basic problems *in perpetuo* by another report, however well studied and wise.

MANY OF our problems in getting the best possible Foreign Service come from the nature of the American political system itself. They are also both the fruits and the test of the American educational system and the cultural background in which it is rooted. It is becoming clear to everyone by the sheer pressure of necessity that diplomacy is not a trade to be practiced only with the tools thought necessary by Lord Carnock, or skilled exponents of the ancient craft such as his celebrator, Harold Nicolson. Today programs are the immediate tests of policy. Though it remains true that words are also an important part of the presentation of actions, the new Foreign Service must contain, as was never expected of the old, officers at all levels who understand the art of making policies effective through programing and operation. In the last analysis, of course, the level cannot be raised higher than its source, measured by the leadership given through the President and the whole Government of the United States, with the backing of the American people—astonishingly available to skillful leadership, in spite of our much checked-and-balanced system.

The Shadow of the Rainbow

by JUAN L. GORRELL

THE RAIN STOPPED as if by prearrangement when we came to the end of the road. The hills stepped down from among the thunderheads, to become no longer an encircling wall but a beckoning horizon. Its hour of violence over, the valley stretched and relaxed. Soon the cloud curtain would part to reveal Mount Cayambe, white-helmeted to the shoulders, again mounting sentinel astraddle the equator, dominating all.

Under the mountain sprawled the Indian village of El Llano, a few dun brushstrokes at the bottom of the landscape, almost out of the picture. It was a village of no importance. Even the half-mile side road from the highway by which we had come stopped just short of it, at the main house of a hacienda whose back gate closed on the community's single street.

To Rufino, the student from an Indian normal school whom I was dropping there, El Llano was home, the focus of his hopes for the future.

When the rain stopped suddenly as we arrived at the village gate he looked pleased that I should leave the car with him, and walk with him into El Llano toward his father's house. He was pleased, I think, that I, too, should take the abruptness of the storm's end as an invitation, virtually a command.

NOW THE late sun shone low on the horizon wrapping the rainwashed surroundings in a golden film. I had a sense of seeing them in a dream into which intruded the twenty-year-old memory of a chromo, "The Ark after the Flood," that had hung on the wall of a New Hampshire Sunday School. Before me loomed Ararat, with the Ark resting on its summit: there flew the dove above the receding waters, and all was framed in a great round jeweled rainbow.

Reality returned slowly. Long seconds passed before Ararat became again the domed hill El Llano's street skirts on its way into Cayambe town; the Ark, a shepherd's lean-to on its top; the dove, a soaring hawk. The last of the rain drained down shallow gullies. But the rainbow remained to stir up anew the glad feeling which, nine years before, had made me certain that in this valley, by this village, contentment abounded.

"White people and people brought up in their ways," Rufino's voice broke in tonelessly, "think the rainbow is beautiful. They say it is a reminder of God's promise to Noah, and when it appears they are filled with hope.

"The Indians in my village, when they see a rainbow, are struck with fear. They say that where one appears you will find sickness, misery, even death. It is a constant terror to them because they come across it often as they go about their daily work. It lies in waiting in the spray of mill wheels, in the mists that float over irrigation ditches, above pools of stagnant water, in rivers and in marshes. They see it come out of the mouths of caverns; they face it deep in ravines and high in the *páramos.*

"In school the teachers tell us that rainbows are formed when the sun's rays are splintered as they pass through moisture in the air. The Indians have other explanations. They say the rainbow rises from the backs of a herd of swine of many colors, large and small, all squealing like newborn pigs. Some say the herd is made up of a hairless sow with eight hairless young; others, that the rainbow is the transformed blood of a *duende,* an evil spirit, that made an Indian woman his mistress and was beaten to a pulp by her jealous husband. We use the Quechua word for rainbow, *cuychic.*

"I will tell you a story my mother told me. It happened to her mother.

"One drizzly afternoon, grandmother went to look for herbs at the bottom of the canyon. She was standing by the spring in La Maresca, the one in the field nearest the bend of the river, when suddenly the sun broke out and a rainbow appeared. Imagine her surprise when she looked down and saw at her feet four baby pigs, fat and pretty, with luminous hair and their backs striped all different colors. They grunted and played in the water like real pigs, but suddenly, as grandmother looked on, they disappeared like magic into the mouth of the spring.

"Grandmother was heavy with child at the time. When the baby was born, he was very white, with hair as blond as the flame of a candle. He grew into a sensitive, intuitive child, very intelligent, but died young, of the black pox. Though grandmother was a woman of good reputation, the neighbors, with their vulgar tongues, whispered that the boy must be the son of some white man. Because she knew that was not true, she hit on the real explanation: The rainbow, the *cuychic,* had wrapped itself around the baby in her womb that day by the spring in the bottom of the canyon.

"The rainbow affects people here in different ways. I have seen many suffering from having been caught by it—*cogidos del cuychic,* we say. They are a pitiful sight. They lie prostrate, welts cover their bodies, their legs swell, and they suffer terrible pains. These are sicknesses no doctor understands. Only *curadores,* only men and women who know the old lore of the Indian, can cure them.

"Our parents teach us from our earliest days how to defend ourselves against the rainbow. If there are any stones near, we can throw them at it, to chase it away. Or we can make the sign of the cross in the air. If the *cuychic* comes very close, we can urinate into the air on it, to make it disappear. I have done all these things myself. And I have seen them done by men who make a show of laughing at the Indians' beliefs—when they thought no one was looking.

"I do not judge such things. Perhaps they reflect the Indian's ignorance. Perhaps they are only traditions. But perhaps, too, they are the sum of a people's experience."

Rufino stopped, picked up a pebble, and tossed it as though carelessly into the air in front of us. We walked on silently to his father's house. When I said I could not stay for a second gourd of *chicha,* he asked his parents not to insist.

THE RAINBOW was gone when I stepped into the street again. So was all feeling of gladness. Rufino had forged a chain of thoughts that weighed on me as I walked, as I drove away, and into the night. My mind played variations on the tired adage that one man's meat is another's poison. Even the symbols of one culture's hopes, I thought, can cast the shadow of fear on another. Where one people expects to find a crock of gold, another knows it will find sickness and death. The bridges of one nation's gods may be the emanations of another's devils. The idea oppressed me that men caught in transition between two unrelated cultures must be more tormented by the terrors of both than heartened by the good omens of either.

But the depth of shadows in the mind, as in the landscape, changes when night makes way for day. The next morning, I decided that Rubino had simply stated the facts when he spoke of the rainbow. It was I, not he, who was disturbed by their clash with what others accept as facts.

JUAN L. CORRELL, who wrote "Sarah Hamilton, Fermière à la Caroline du Sud," in the JOURNAL of February, 1960, is presently working on a book entitled, "In the Shadow of the Rainbow." This article is from the introduction to the book.

The Appeal of Communism

by James A. Ramsey

Few political movements of our time have been the object of so much intellectual curiosity as the one which first came to power in 1917 on the war-shattered remnants of a medieval autocracy. Forty-odd years of inquiry have uncovered many of the essential facts about this allegedly new and better way of life, and the reasons for acceptance or toleration of it by numerically large elements of humanity have been carefully probed by more than one generation of observers. Yet there are features of the communist character that continue to be hard to define, especially those relating to the persistence of ideological loyalty and discipline among a following often badly treated by its leaders.

The normal difficulties of analyzing a political philosophy which places a premium on concealment of so many aspects of its personality are compounded by the present-day schismatic tendencies of international Communism. Three main types of the latter now exist—Chinese, Russian and Yugoslav, and even those who adhere to one or the other of these groupings do not always find themselves in complete ideological harmony with their senior partner. Choosing the most virtuous of several alternatives is difficult enough for the initiates, and outsiders can be pardoned for not fully comprehending the doctrinal points distinguishing the pure from the adulterated. There are, nevertheless, certain features common to all varieties of Communism which mark them as a method of ruling quite different in origin and character from those systems predominating in the older and more traditional societies of the world.

It has frequently been asserted that Communism has its roots in conditions of political oppression and social inequity. There is much truth in this statement and Communists themselves would be the first to agree with a thesis which justifies their self-assumed role of refashioners of a corrupt order. Notwithstanding its general validity, such an explanation does some injustice to a major twentieth-century political phenomenon by placing an over-emphasis on its negative qualities. The persistence of a movement now in its fifth decade of active and vigorous life requires a broader look at the appeal it continues to present despite an unattractive nature and a voluminous catalogue of mistakes, past and present.

A strong asset of Communism is the positive attraction it exercises on individuals with a deep sense of inadequacy. Every state has an indeterminate number of citizens who are estranged from their environment as a result of economic poverty, social discrimination, and political, religious or racial persecution. To many of these persons, the communist message of an egalitarian future has a strong, magnetic quality. The doctrinal insistence that such an altruistic goal is realizable only under the guidance of a leadership devoted to this aim involves, to be sure, conditions not willingly accepted by all believers. It also sets limits, both quantitative and qualitative, to membership eligibility. Nevertheless, for those who agree to make the required sacrifice to an organizational idol, Communism provides a club with an atmosphere of solidarity, limited protective features, and a conspiratorial camaraderie.

The ideological bonds among individuals united by a sense of rejection are important to an assessment of the strength of a movement which has so many of its roots in an expatriate environment. People who feel that they do not "belong" tend to place themselves outside conventional society and to spurn the values and customs arising from the past development of their community. Communists now in power, having long been in a position of inferiority within their own societies, easily understand and reciprocate the sentiments of those politically-minded elements elsewhere who are outraged because they believe their legitimate demands for equal treatment have been unjustifiably neglected or ignored.

One of the interesting results of the communist thought process is the substitution of the acceptable by what is regarded as reprehensible in more firmly established social organizations. Substantive terms such as "Marxist-Leninist" and "Bolshevik" which signify opprobrium in most of the Western world do not have the same connotation to those who attach these labels to their persons. Krushchev himself, in one of his innumerable letters to Adenauer, has given us a useful example of the communist sensitivity to Western political concepts based on "good" and "bad" categories:

> I talked very recently with your ambassador who gave me a very strange explanation of this matter. [The 1960 trial of several Germans accused of subversive activities.] According to him, the members of the Committee for Defense of Peace whom the Federal Republic of Germany has been prosecuting are only camouflaging themselves under this Committee but in reality are members of the Communist Party. I do not know what they are by conviction—Communists or simply people of progressive views who think seriously about the national interests of their country. But, however that may be, what are members of the Communist Party—outcasts?

Many of those who take comfort in the communist message live in parts of the major continents where religion has been strong as an institutional way of life. The in-

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James A. Ramsey, a member of the Journal's Editorial Board, returned last year from a tour in Moscow.

creasing penetration of our technical world into these areas has frequently brought about a lessened appreciation of inherited values, particularly when the latter have demonstrated their inadequacy in providing solutions to the complexities of an unfolding industrial society. Communism, while offering a ready and not unworkable answer to these problems, also gives people who have been unaffected by the scepticism of the more sophisticated classes a substitute for the spiritual order they are in the process of abandoning.

Communists claim that they are building a new type of society, and their appeal, unlike that of other totalitarian ideologies of our day, is not restricted to favored racial or national groups. Its explicit rejection of the existing order combined with its proclaimed belief in the universal brotherhood of man offers solace to some of those who are embittered by the failure of their own environment to provide spiritual regeneration. The Communists' insistence that they alone possess the key to the mysteries of human development has strong religious overtones and satisfies what Robert Tucker has described in his "Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx" as the craving for an all-inclusive world-view on the part of some modern men who are no longer beholden to the precepts of traditional religion.

One of the features of Communism which exerts a considerable enticement for the less discerning is the concept of total planning of a nation's economy. Without first-hand experience of the deadening bureaucracy and other traumata a national planning effort creates, it is easy to be fascinated by the El Dorados of a completely rational use of resources, concentration of efforts on national goals, and equitable distribution of rewards. Although no social order has as yet fully solved these problems, Communist methods often appear to those unacquainted with the complexities of the present century the most efficient way to move quickly from the inherited evils of an imperfect system to the benefits of a more rational organization of human labor. These people generally fail to perceive that planning operations in communist states are coupled with high opportunity costs and undisclosed failures of a rather considerable amplitude. Nevertheless, the success of the U.S.S.R., as the major communist power, in building its economic strength is attractive to many of those who wish the same type of achievement for their own nations within a foreseeable future.

THE BOLSHEVIKS came to power in Russia in 1917 on the basis of a promise of land for the peasantry and an end to a hopeless military struggle. Since that time, advocacy of peace has been a constant of communist foreign policy. This proclaimed attachment to a worthy ideal has not prevented the Soviet and other communist rulers from using armed force against neighboring states when such an enterprise was considered to be in their interests and could be taken with good prospects of success. The Korean War represents perhaps the most extreme case of anticipatory military action of this nature. Despite occasional brinkmanship, however, no communist country has initiated a major world conflict. The U.S.S.R., as the leader of its bloc, is in a strong position to confirm a lack of such intentions at the present time by pointing to the devastations of 1941-1945 from which it has only recently recovered. Communist Chinese behavior towards the outer world, while more unpredictable, has so far also shown a certain restraint in the matter of ultimate conflicts.

Unfortunately, the past record of a major part of the non-communist world is not very good on the matter of keeping the peace. Although an analysis of twentieth century history is a complex undertaking, the fact remains that the two greatest and most destructive wars of our era have originated on the European continent as a result of the inability of the peoples inhabiting that part of the earth to adjust their disputes peaceably. Communists in general, and especially Soviet ones, have a strong feeling of rejection of a political order which, in their view, demands such sacrifices, and there is much sympathy for this opinion in other parts of the world where those who are called upon by the Europeans to participate in their quarrels consider that the latter have a too frivolous attitude towards the vital questions of national and individual survival.

ONE OF THE complications of our impatient and frustrated world is that moderation in political affairs is often less attractive than outspoken hostility. Resolute communist opposition to colonialism, for example, is to some groups more impressive than wearying attempts to reconcile the conflicting viewpoints of the European powers and the peoples of their crumbling empires. It would be unwise to assume that communist appeals are ineffective because they are advanced in intemperate terms. The messages originating in Eastern Europe and Asia are addressed to those who are willing to fight actively for a cause, a rather sizeable group of people inclined to approach problems with a doctrinaire bias. In certain respects, it would seem that the communist assessment of the twentieth century temper may be more discerning than ours. Fortunately for our side, the opponent has a less attractive solution which has so far not been offered with as much effectiveness as might have been expected.

Since no individual social order is capable of providing answers to all the problems troubling contemporary humanity, it is inevitable that many developing nations will draw from the various sources of knowledge and experience proffered them. Communist practices, in fact, contain useful lessons for these emerging societies both in terms of pragmatic accomplishments and unsuccessful experimentation. Some of the techniques elaborated by the scarcity economies of Eastern Europe to solve their urgent problems, for example, are not without value to countries whose populations may be living on the margin of existence.

Communism's global challenge will undoubtedly increase in intensity as Bloc resources multiply and more attention is focused on hitherto neglected regions. While it remains true that the best solution to the continuing contest between two opposing worlds is to provide something better than the egalitarian mirages Communism offers, the West must also have patience with the desire of novices to taste forbidden fruit. The wish to have a closer acquaintance with the communist world does not always imply rejection of Western values and, in those cases where it does, exposure to the mysteries of an occult order is quite often revealing and instructive to those who undergo the experience.

KLAY

MODELS

KLAY

by ANDOR KLAY

FOR FS LOUNGE, also Personnel Operations Division: A motto, combining realism and optimism—"Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased" (Daniel, 12:4).

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FOR UN DELEGATION: In the last 5505 years, there have been 14,718 wars; only 350 years without wars; nearly 8,000 peace treaties, 80% containing "perpetual friendship" clauses; 3,700 million people died; 100 billion dollar value perished. (From a Foundation study.)

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LET US JUST ONCE lodge a protest that is not "vigorous," against a violation that is not "flagrant."

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FOR FSI/LANGUAGES: Is there a more devastating phrase than the Italian "transito di cibo"? (Describes someone who, according to the meaning, exists only in order that food may pass through him.)

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FOR US and our allies: "People who have only enemies do not know what complications are; for that, you have to have friends." (Kennan, "Russia and the West.")

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FOR CONSULS: M. Daville, French Consul, and Herr von Mitterer, German Consul, at Travnik, a Bosnian town, in the early 19th century, "looked each other in the eye . . . there burst forth a flow of their common discomfort and discontent, out of the similarity of their plight and the hidden sadness of two fellow sufferers. Only the last lingering notions of duty and decorum prevented each of them from laying a hand on the other's shoulder." (Ivo Andric, "Bosnian Story.")

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FOR BIOGRAPHIC DIVISION: Ettore Pais states that the two Tarquins, Superbus and Priscus, were actually one person who never existed.

FOR FSJ EDITOR: Title virtuosity in THE ECONOMIST on the contents-summary page, "International" section: Prudence Please—Publicity Pitfalls—Politics on Probation—Price of Progress. In "Home" section: Reversals—Revolutions—Revelries—Reveries—Revisions—Revelations.

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VERY BASIC ENGLISH: Sign in a room at Hotel Evropa, Sarajevo (the hotel in which the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife spent the night before their assassination) reads: "For damages ist responsible the causer."

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FOR FSO's and their children: Proust lived in the room of his childhood till his death.

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FOR PROTOCOL: Possible form of address for wife of Prince Rainier of Monaco—"His Grace."

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FOR COURIERS: In 1834, Sir Robert Peel, hurrying from Rome to London, made the trip in 30 days. In 54 B.C., a letter from Caesar in Britain reached Cicero at Rome in 29 days.

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FOR STATISTICIANS: A man drowned while wading in a river with an "average depth" of three feet.

Calcutta

Yoichi Okamoto

EDITORIALS

To the Ladies

ONE MEMBER of the Foreign Service family whose familiarity with the heat in the kitchen is surely second to none is the Foreign Service wife. The JOURNAL is glad to note that the long struggle for more adequate official recognition of the important role she plays in representing America's interests abroad now seems to be meeting with an increasing measure of success. New regulations have been issued which provide for group instruction of adult dependents in a primary language at a post abroad under virtually the same conditions as Foreign Service personnel. Moreover, the Foreign Service Institute is establishing special classes for wives in French and Spanish and dependents are being welcomed, on a space available basis, to other language and orientation programs.

An important stimulus for this move was, of course, the series of round-table discussions sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women which culminated in a proposal that a special two-week training program for wives be established at FSI. While the Department has not yet acted on the specific proposal of the AAFSW, the new regulations constitute an encouraging step in the right direction.

Furthermore, the Department has asked Congress for authority to pay the travel expenses of members of an officer's family who accompany him on official business trips. This authority, which would normally be used only within the officer's country of assignment, would provide financial recognition of the representational benefits that can accrue to the government from such trips.

The JOURNAL applauds the Department's double initiative. and expresses its appreciation to the Secretary and Mrs. Rusk for their active interest in this field. While recognizing that many wives, particularly in the Washington area, will find it difficult to take full advantage of their new opportunities because of urgent family responsibilities, it hopes that all will strive to do so.

New F.S. Legislation and Regulations

ON JUNE 20, 1962, the Department forwarded to the Congress a number of proposed amendments to the Foreign Service Act. One proposal is of great significance, the introduction of a lump sum payment in advance for travel. Under the proposed system, the traveler would be responsible for making his own arrangements for travel and shipment of effects, but he would be paid an amount calculated in advance on the basis of previous experience and would receive a supplemental payment only to cover circumstances beyond his control such as strikes and accidents en route.

Such a system has long been used by other diplomatic services, and it has been under discussion in the Department of State for over a decade. The great simplification of administration and the substantial savings to the Government which would result from the introduction of a lump sum travel payment are obvious. The recent establishment of the Combined Airlines Ticket Office (CATO) and the Steamship Reservations Office in the Department of State building make the new system feasible at home, and reservations abroad have never been an insuperable problem. The JOURNAL endorses the new system and hopes that the Congress will act rapidly and favorably on this provision. It would also be desirable if the Department would liberalize the provisions with regard to the selection of packing firms so that the traveler would have true freedom of choice in the selection of a packer. Experience with some of the so-called "reliable" packers indicates that there is no substitute for responsible packers. The Department does not pay the insurance and repair bills but the traveler does.

We do not oppose, as such, the amendment to further reduce the number of positions receiving salary differential payments for service in Washington, but we cannot help noting that the question of salary differentials has historically been linked with that of housing allowances in Washington. As we recall the Department's previous position on these issues, the abolition of salary differentials was, in effect, to be "traded off" for the establishment of housing allowances, but only half of the exchange seems to have been consummated. We grant that the payment of differentials resulted in rather unjust inequities of income in some cases, made some positions more desirable than others without reference to the purely professional merit to be found therein, and on balance we are inclined to agree that differentials should be eliminated.

We see no reason why housing allowances cannot be instituted, however. We admit that the principal rationale of the overseas quarters allowance—representation needs—does not apply to the same extent in Washington, but the rationale for housing allowances in the armed forces applies equally to Foreign Service Officers, i.e. as a fringe benefit to compensate for a generally lower salary scale than that obtaining in non-government employment, to help offset the costs of re-location, and to assist officers in finding suitable housing quickly, both for reasons of morale and personal

EDITORIALS *(Continued)*

F. S. LEGISLATION *(Continued)*

efficiency. We urge the Department to pursue this question further with the Congress.

With respect to the amendment designed to eliminate home leave, prior to assignment in Washington, we see neither benefit nor detriment necessarily.

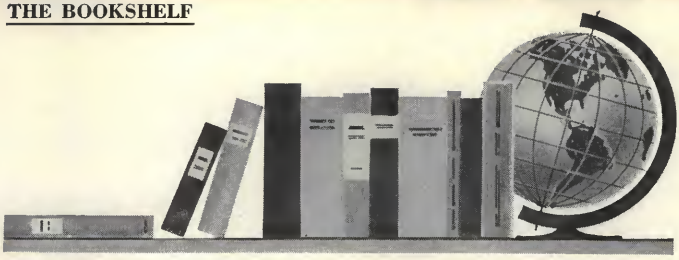
Clearly, the original legislative intent with respect to home leave was to "re-Americanize" employees prior to further service abroad. Accepting this assumption, home leave should not be necessary prior to service in Washington. Further, the Department has pointed out that travel to the home leave address will be paid, and annual leave can of course be used for purposes of rest and recuperation either abroad or at home. We also note that the Department intends to grant home leave in any case after completion of hardship tours and we ask our readers to bear in mind that the amount and timing of leave to be taken will, as always, be subject to "negotiation" between the incoming officer and his supervisor. The effect of this amendment would simply be to strengthen the supervisor's hand somewhat since the Department would no longer be under obligation to grant home leave in all cases.

"Training in the Foreign Service"

THIS STIMULATING article, written by William Yandell Elliott, Consultant to the Secretary and one of the academic world's renowned figures, contributes greatly to the conversation within and without the Foreign Service on ways to improve and strengthen its ability to conduct foreign affairs in the crucial years ahead. Dr. Elliott touches on many facets of the arguments, old and new, regarding selection, training, selection-out, the Wriston Program, and the role of the Foreign Service Institute. He raises questions, and suggests alternative answers. There is much here to consider.

The Editorial Board of the Foreign Service JOURNAL hopes that this article will stimulate a much-needed general response to the problems and questions which Dr. Elliott raises. One of the major functions of the JOURNAL is to provide a forum for the development and dissemination of varied points of view on the issues of concern to the Service. A number of articles and letters to the editor have already added to the dialogue. We would welcome more.

"Hodges, when the President mentioned the value of dissent, he wasn't referring to you personally!"



Friends and Enemies

MOST PEOPLE read a book for either one of two reasons; who the author is or what he has to say. This short report by the Attorney General on his recent trip to Japan, Indonesia and Berlin is worth reading on both accounts. The author modestly disclaims any intention of setting forth either a travelogue or the inside story on American foreign policy. His stated objective is simply to report on the kinds of questions that were asked of him and the kinds of problems that are troubling people in the lands he visited. Appropriately, therefore, the book presents more questions than answers. However, Mr. Kennedy also sums up some heightened impressions of our own country which he feels point in the direction in which the answers should be sought.

Most Foreign Service officers will already be aware of the haunting questions which the author is attempting to bring before the general public via this book. However, even the most experienced diplomatist or politician can profit from its perusal. The value of the book to those professionally concerned with foreign affairs would be even greater if the author had felt free to write more candidly of what he disliked as well as what he liked about his journey. However, there are obvious reasons why it might be impolitic for him to do so. In any case, the author's vigorous prose style makes for easy reading and his quick instinct for the jocular provides more than a few unexpected chuckles.

—EDWARD L. KILLHAM

JUST FRIENDS AND BRAVE ENEMIES. by Robert F. Kennedy. Harper and Row, $3.95.

Propaganda, Policy and the Peace

A CAUSE and effect alike of the country's newly heightened interest in our propaganda effort abroad, I think, is the spate of books on the subject the last few years have produced. We have had many thoughtful analyses—from practitioners and professors—of both our own and of our opponents' propaganda. The three books considered here fall into the second category.

Most useful to our practicing propagandists (and to Foreign Service officers in general) will be R. H. Shackford's handbook on the Russians' use of the Hitlerian "big lie" technique. A Scripps-Howard foreign affairs writer for thirty years, who combines considerable legwork with great clarity of style, he has collected under seven major headings the more glaring Russian lies of recent times and has set them off against the truth. In his foreword, he makes the point—explicit in communist dogma, oft forgotten in the West—that for the Communists truth has no objective existence since, the great end justifying all means, truth is simply what the Soviet leaders believe will be useful to the party. Well organized, and with an index, Shackford's volume belongs on the desk of everyone whose business it is to counter communist lies.

Donald Dunham, in his work, sets out to prove the thesis—which, indeed, scarcely needs proving—that the ultimate target of the Kremlin's propaganda is the U.S. mind and will. A onetime U.S. cultural-information officer who watched the communist takeover in Rumania in 1947-48, Dunham offers much evidence of this, some of it first-hand. But the material is not very well evaluated, processed, articulated; and, all too often, he does not give his source. Also, perhaps because of the emotional impact of his experiences in Rumania, his picture is all black-and-white; there are no grays. Be it added that he provides six useful appendices, among them one about TASS, the Soviet news agency.

Professor Theodore Kruglak devotes his entire book—the most scholarly and the best-documented of the three—to TASS. Fruit of much research in Europe and the U.S., it is chiefly for the specialist. But there are points of general interest. For instance, Kruglak observes at the outset that TASS is officially "attached to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.," so that there is no question that it is an outlet for Soviet propaganda, domestic and foreign; and he concedes that TASS men have in the past dabbled in espionage. But he notes that for almost forty years TASS (with its predecessor agencies) has "managed to live peacefully with its American opposite numbers," with which it has news exchange arrangements; he observes that since the Geneva conference of 1954 it is much less secretive about its operations; he believes it now no longer engages in espionage, lest it endanger its position abroad. He reports its growing professionalism, its gradual movement toward Western standards of journalism (his detailed study of the training of TASS men will bear close study in AP and UPI). And he concludes that there are "benefits for the West" in this trend, especially "if we look on the opening of the TASS lines of communication as essential to the free flow of news;" he sees hope that if the trend continues "the two faces of TASS will become one."

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET LIES, by R. H. Shackford. Public Affairs Press, $4.50. *KREMLIN TARGET: U.S.A., by Donald Dunham. Ives Washburn,* $4.50. *THE TWO FACES OF TASS, by Theodore E. Kruglak. Minnesota,* $5.00.

"You don't have to buy a big, expensive, teaching machine to learn by the step-by-step, programed method. There is a cheap portable device that works on the same principle. It's called a book."—*Joe Hart* (reprinted by permission from CHANGING TIMES, the Kiplinger magazine).

St. Anthony's Monastery, Egypt
J. J. Halsema

The African Book Parade

by PATRICK O'SHEEL

WE HAVE COME to appreciate certain secondary facts about the "emerging peoples" of Africa. The parade of new nations has had a sudden political impact. We know an era is dead, a new one begun. We conjure with frail indices of independence, stability, alignment, development. Yet we are uneasy.

We are bound to welcome it, but without precedents for such a wholesale transfer of power we have trouble projecting its likely consequences. We are confronted with nations and peoples whose very names and personalities only yesterday were passive because they were "subject," within the realms of our European allies.

From what, in a word, besides colonial rule, have these peoples emerged? Beyond their votes at the UN, apart from the overlay of vital statistics, under the surface print of European forms —what have the Africans brought through which is distinctively theirs, and what is to be expected of them now?

A remarkably provocative assault on these very large questions is set forth in **Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture,** by Janheinz Jahn (Grove; $5.50). The pretensions, the playing at God, which have gone into most Western reports and evaluations of African culture are left in tatters by Herr Jahn, by virtue of a broad synthesis which he has drawn together, in time and place, of African values and concepts, African culture, religion and philosophy. Jahn's syntbesis has already drawn critical wails from some anthropologists; but then, anthropologists as a rule prefer purism in small compass, and those who attempt expansive work are customarily set upon by their colleagues with all the fury of pre-tribal enmities.

Jahn does not preach; he offers "a beginning, a first attempt to sketch neo-African culture as an independent culture of equal value with other cultures." Unless the reader interested in Africa is already very well begun in his appreciation of the deeper values of African life, tbis book will come as a revelation—not of certainties and final answers about the various aspects of African culture, but of the existence, historical continuity, vitality, creativeness and force of tbat culture.

The book does not sidestep—in fact it wades into—the effects of the encounter between African culture and Western civilization. "The new African culture" is a product of that encounter, but its authenticity is drawn from underlying principles of African philosophy which have by no means given way before the fancied superiorities of European thought and expression that came with material and power superiorities. In certain forms of vital expression—music, the dance, sculpture, in particular—the encounter has greatly enriched the West, as Jahn develops wonderfully in these pages.

Using African sources, the author, at the price of simplification which he acknowledges, opens a penetrating line of insight into NTU, the principle of universal force which animates a great body of African religious and philosophical belief. Its manifestations are Muntu (human being), Kintu (thing), Hantu (place and time) and Kuntu (modality). These concepts may appear formidable, but Jahn animates and illustrates them effectively. In the end—after lively examinations of African verbal magic, modern literary evolution and Afro-American "blues"—Jahn suggests that African culture is specially a culture of the "how" of life, the Kuntu, while Western culture is obsessed by the "thing," the Kintu. But as the "how"—the creative attitude —is for them of higher value than the culture of things, the Africans are well equipped to accept technological development without being consumed by it, and to continue offering to the non-African world fresh endowments of style and meaning for the use of the endless things that often *do* seem to consume life in the West.

Muntu is a positive, an optimistic book. Some will find it overly so, but like as not they will be reflecting the long-cultivated, often arrogant, Western presumptions about Africa.

From such a foundation it is possible to get at the force of African nationalism as it is expounded by Mamadou Dia in **The African Nations and World Solidarity** (Praeger; $4.85 cloth, $1.85 paper). A scholar and economist, a socialist free of Marxian blinders, Dia is Prime Minister of Senegal and was one of the architects of the short-lived Mali Federation. That federation was to herald the African "solidarity" of which Dia writes; its sundering is dealt with in an epiloque to this book.

Dia keenly strips away the fallacies of formula-thinking about Africa, and

African River *by Howard R. Simpson*

upbraids the *a priori* anticolonialists for their "pigheadedness" and their blindness to the harsh neo-colonialism found in Eastern Europe. "The facts will drive the phrasemongers into a corner," he says in insisting on the need for both intra-African, and African-European, cooperation. He takes a steady view of the dependence of African economies that is so marked a fact, and problem, for newly independent nations, and advocates a concept of "mutual development" between nations of goodwill.

Reading Dia one keeps expecting plans, proposals, programs. Instead the author is content with clearing away deadwood and setting up a loose framework of concepts. These are themselves not always clearly realized, but they argue for a true African vocation through self-development, which must find necessary and constructive links to all civilization. It is refreshing to find an advocate of national culture who proclaims it to be "valid only when it is an opening, a comprehension of others, a dialogue." The translation, by the way, is the work of the American Ambassador to Niger, Mercer Cook.

It is but a short step from Dia's cool tower to the heated political arena shown to us in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's **I Speak of Freedom** (Praeger; $4.95 cloth, $1.95 paper). Although subtitled "A Statement of African Ideology," the book is in fact a collection of Nkrumah's speeches, not an ordered analysis or doctrinal thesis but a sometimes repetitive and didactic record of a forceful, practical and gaudy African politician who sees himself as Ghana's messiah and, in fact, as the black hope of all Africa. Nkrumah's is a voice that carries, and what he has to say deserves careful attention, especially on such key topics as party organization, centralized political control and the Nkrumah version of a socialist society.

Other African political voices are given a forum in **Africa Speaks** (Van Nostrand, $4.95), a collection of statements from leaders in sub-Saharan Africa, edited by James Duffy and Robert A. Manners. Included are Mboya, Nyerere, Touré, Nkrumah, Olympio, Lumumba, Welensky, Todd, Nkomo and Galvao, among others. Have you a friend who oversimplifies about Africa? This book is a telling rejoinder.

The reader looking for a general political guide to up-date Gunther might well try **The New Face of Africa South of the Sahara** (Longmans, $5), by John Hughes, African correspondent of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. And the man who must keep track of African personalities will want to have Ronald Segal's **Political Africa, A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties** (Praeger, $12.50). There is a sprinkling of errors in the book, but it fills a big hole in the reference shelf.

Books on individual countries are steadily appearing. Some of the good ones, albeit on the scholarly side, are: **The Political Kingdom in Uganda,** by David E. Apter (Princeton, $10); **A Modern History of the Sudan,** by P. M. Holt (Grove Press, $5.95); and **Political Change in Morocco** by Douglas E. Ashford (Princeton, $8.50).

And if you would like to know how you yourself might have reacted to the Sharpeville riots, try **The Tragedy of Apartheid** (McKay, $4), an on-scene report by Norman Phillips, foreign news editor of the Toronto STAR.

Finally, the pleasure of looking back at pre-colonial West Africa has become available in **Barth's Travels in Nigeria** (Oxford, 38 sh.), edited by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene. The editor has extracted from the unique and monumental journal of Heinrich Barth's travels in Nigeria in 1850-55 and provided a most interesting introduction covering the dramatic career of this intrepid explorer. A real find.

De Gaulle and Algeria

A PRESCIENT observer has put between hard covers some of his previously published newspaper comments about President Charles de Gaulle and the Algerian problem.

C. L. Sulzberger of the New York TIMES describes de Gaulle's Algerian test thus: to give up peacefully the empire he had restored to France a few years earlier and to create a Gallic sort of Commonwealth. His domestic task was to reduce communist strength in France, fragment the political Right, and restore civilian authority and discipline over the army.

Beginning with the events of 1947, the book describes de Gaulle's analyses of the developing North African crisis and his battles to resolve the Algerian war.

In the course of the chronological commentary, Sulzberger puts the record straight on several counts, including the malicious rumor that the United States was sympathetic to the French "Generals' Revolt" in Algeria in April, 1961. He attributes the source of that canard to an IZVESTIA article.

The account also reveals in retrospect a considerable amount of foresight. In a column dated February, 1962, Sulzberger foresaw the possibility of a post-independence split within the Algerian nationalist front, and suggested that the only Algerian with a dynamic potential, other than those then in power, was Ahmed Ben Bella.

In splicing together excerpts from old newspaper columns, Sulzberger sometimes leaves the reader adrift because the column was commenting about an event without fully describing the event itself.

Despite these technical lapses, the book is a sound analysis of the Algerian problem.

Algeria aside, there is the bonus of a rare insight into the character of de Gaulle. There also are Sulzberger passages on Franco-American differences, on the French political Right, on de Gaulle vis-à-vis Khrushchev, and quotations from de Gaulle on the subject of the French Army. the character of man, the cold war, on mediocrity among statesmen, and on NATO.

All in all, a useful, readable performance.

—DONALD M. DAVIES

THE TEST: De Gaulle and Algeria, by C. L. Sulzberger. Harcourt Brace & World. $4.95.

American Business Abroad

AN EXCELLENT analysis of the problems faced by American businessmen abroad is provided by the recent book of Thomas Aitken, Jr., an educated, observant advertising executive who has recently returned from fourteen years in Latin America. His observations are full of wisdom and are highly readable.

Some three thousand U.S. companies are now operating in foreign countries. They are as much a projection of the American image as our diplomatic establishments. They share many of the same problems. Indeed, some of their problems *are* our problems. This being so, this timely and acute analysis of the problems and the men who contribute so greatly to the image of America abroad, can be recommended to every Foreign Service officer.

—R. SMITH SIMPSON

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS, by Thomas Aitken, Jr. Harpers, $4.00.

THE BOOKSHELF

Further Thoughts on The Unthinkable

HERMAN KAHN's massive book "On Thermonuclear War" has been discussed by many and probably thoroughly read by few. However, among those few have been many government policy makers, both military and civilian. Based on the reaction to his book and his talks on this unthinkable subject, Mr. Kahn has now written a considerably simpler guide to the military and political facts of today and tomorrow.

If one has not read "On Thermonuclear War," one should first get his feet wet on the present volume. If one has read what Mr. Kahn refers to as OTW, it is probably not necessary to read TATU, although it does contain some new material and some clarification of old material.

Kahn is the archetype of the civilian strategist, a species looked upon by the professional military officer in much the same way that a Britisher looks upon a drinker of Scotch and ginger ale. Furthermore, his quotation of Albert Wohlstetter's paraphrase of Clemenceau, "Peace is too important to be left to the generals," will not further ingratiate Kahn, or Wohlstetter, to the military. Nevertheless, what Kahn is doing for strategy badly needs doing. There has been a tendency for some military officers to consider thermonuclear weapons as simply bigger bangs. As Kahn points out, they are infinitely more than that and we must think about exactly what they are and what they do—not only to military tactics but to military and to national and international strategy.

One may well argue with Kahn's reasoning on certain points—and one should. I think Kahn is pleased when he stirs up an argument. He admits that he does not have all the answers and challenges the reader to produce better ones. Occasionally it must be admitted, Kahn's writing is completely elusive.

Kahn believes we must think about thermonuclear war, the ways it may come about, the ways it may be fought, and the ways by which we may best survive it. He believes that such thinking may also lead us to seek honorable and safe ways to avoid war—for Kahn does not belong to the nuclear-war-can-be-fun school.

As to deterrent strategy, Kahn does not think it is very effective to say to the Soviets that we consider thermonuclear war to be utterly unthinkable but if they interfere with our Berlin rights we will ultimately wage thermonuclear war if necessary to protect those rights.

Herman Kahn does not believe international politics can continue in its present vein for centuries. Nuclear weapons will fall into less careful hands and the chances of a thermonuclear war will rise spectacularly. Kahn describes the theme of his book as, "How do we come to grips with the problems that modern technology and current international relations present to us?" As he says, no one book on such a complicated subject can be comprehensive or wholly systematic. However, if this one book serves as a primer for thousands who otherwise will not think about the unthinkable, it will have served its purpose.

—ALBERT W. STOFFEL

THINKING ABOUT THE UNTHINKABLE, by Herman Kahn. Horizon Press, $4.50.

An Assessment of Marxism

ROBERT TUCKER, one of our more astute observers of Soviet affairs, has gone back to the 19th century for a fundamental look at the evolution and meaning of Marxism. His conclusion is that Marx was not a social scientist but a myth-maker who fashioned a tale of struggle between constructive and destructive forces for possession of the world.

The author finds the theoretical basis of Marxism in the thougbt of the early 19th century German philosophers Kant, Feuerbach, and Hegel. Tbis trio, most particularly Hegel, carried out a revolt against Western philosophy which had traditionally seen man's role in the world as one subordinate to a supernatural authority. Hegel's close identification of man with God called implicitly for a new social order enabling man to realize his earthly destiny.

Marx's elaboration of Hegel's thesis was based on a visionary *Weltanschauung* and, most unfortunately for later generations, a doctrinaire, unrealistic view of the relationsbips between the different elements of human society. Marx saw classes and groups only in terms of opposition to one another, and as a result was unable to comprebend the problem of freedom in society. His belief in the necessity of fashioning the fully integrated individual man by doing away with his inherited shackles led him to maintain that society itself could be similarly transformed into a "vast association of the whole nation." This is an illusion which persists to this day and has lain at the root of Marxism's popular appeal to dissident idealists of all nations.

Mr. Tucker's book, although written for the professional, is a thought-provoking study which should have a wide field of interest. It contains much that is useful for an understanding of tbose states in our world which base their philosophy of government on tbe Marxist ideal.

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

PHILOSOPHY & MYTH IN KARL MARX, by Robert Tucker. Cambridge University Press, New York. Cloth, $5.50; *paper,* $1.75.

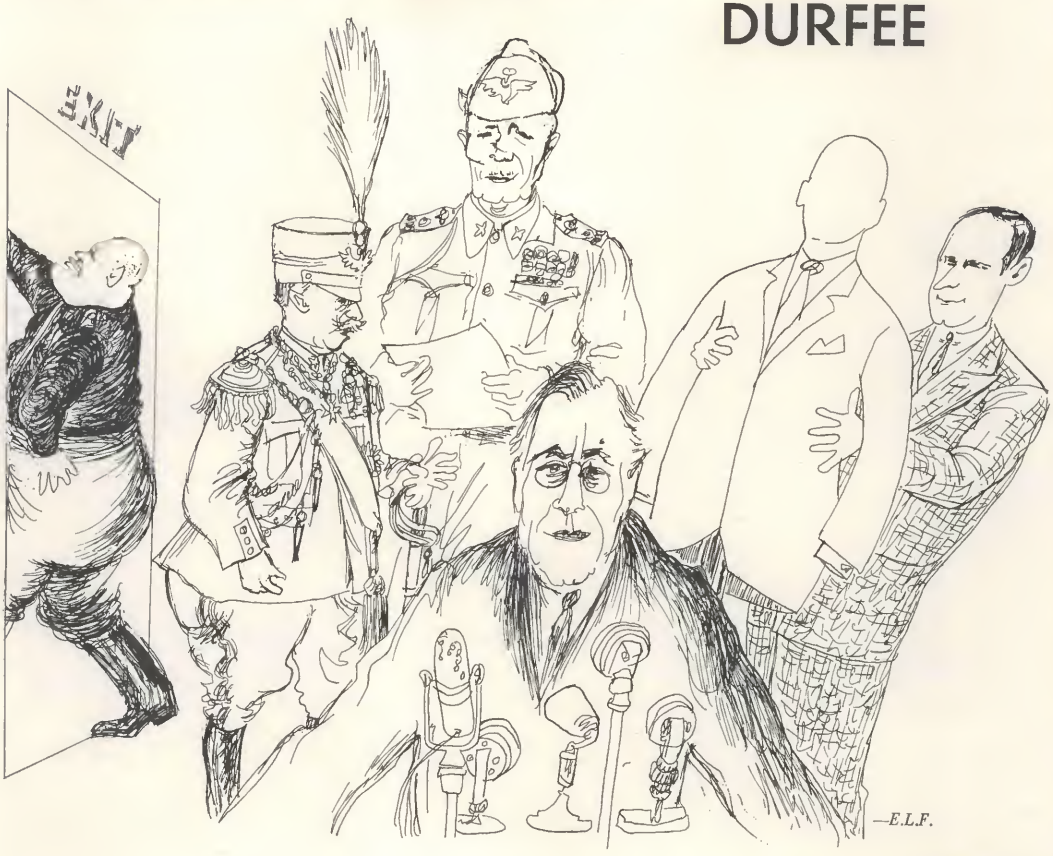
To Read the Viking Sagas

ON PAGE ONE we learn tbat Icelandic nouns come in four cases, three genders, "weak" and "strong" subdivisions and further subdivision into various types (not forgetting tbe exceptions)! Anyone who has the temerity to press on discovers that this historical curiosity of a language has rougbly the same relationship to modern Scandinavian as what we speak has to Chaucerian English. A Dane, Swede or Norwegian can, tberefore, manage to distill some glimmers of meaning from an Icelandic newspaper. Anyone else who has an irresistible urge to read the Viking Sagas in the original or communicate with a "backwoods" Icelander would be well advised to apply himself to tbis little book, which is the most recent and probably best "Icelandic teach yourself" manual. FSI should certainly have a few copies in its inventory for the benefit of tbe occasional officer assigned to Reykjavik.

—JAMES K. PENFIELD

TEACH YOURSELF ICELANDIC by P. J. T. Glendening. The English Universities Press Ltd., London, $3.50.

THE SHORT UNHAPPY LIFE OF JOHN DURFEE



by TED OLSON

THIS IS the story of a little man who wasn't there. Yet for a few days he shared the headlines with Benito Mussolini, Victor Emmanuel III, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Conferences were summoned at the highest governmental levels to discuss him. Feet fidgeted on executive carpets; fists smote mahogany desks. Clarifications and disavowals limped, as usual, far in the wake of the hue and cry.

All on account of John Durfee. That was his name—a solid, comfortable, confidence-inspiring, homespun American name: it had been carefully chosen for exactly those qualities.

The time was late July, 1943—in the fourth year of the Second World War, the second year of American participation. On the European fronts, after the long, bleak succession of disasters, great and heartening events were happening. The Germans were in retreat in Russia. The Axis forces in North Africa had surrendered. Allied armies were sweeping through Sicily. Mussolini had just made a hurried excursion to the Brenner Pass to confer with his partner in crime; it was easy to deduce that he had gone to beg help in repulsing the attack on southern Italy that everybody knew was imminent.

ON SUNDAY evening, July 25, the Rome radio interrupted a musical program to announce that King Victor Emmanuel had accepted the resignation of Benito Mussolini and had appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio as head of government. Minutes later, the sensational news was ricocheting over the world, and tens of millions were wondering what it portended.

As a member of the OWI staff in New York, TED OLSON was an interested spectator of the events he recounts.

For those who shaped American policy and those who expounded it to the people of other countries the meaning of the Duce's fall was more than a matter of idle speculation. In the New York headquarters of the Office of War Information, the nation's propaganda agency, there was, indeed, little time for speculation. OWI was broadcasting around the clock to audiences in many countries, hostile, friendly, and neutral. It sent out voluminous newsfiles to its representatives in allied and neutral capitals to be placed in the local press. It could not add anything factual to the sensational news from Rome, but it would be expected to report the impact of that news and the interpretation placed on it in the United States.

How it discharged that obligation the readers of the New York TIMES learned thirty-six hours later in a front-page story, headlined:

OWI Broadcast to Italy Calls Ruler
'Fascist' and 'Moronic Little King'

"In presenting 'typical unofficial reaction' to the events in Italy," the TIMES reported, "the OWI employed the device of quoting an imaginary 'American political commentator, John Durfee.' According to 'Mr. Durfee,' it was announced, the United States will continue the war irrespective of whether Signor Mussolini, Marshal Badoglio, or 'the Fascist king himself' rules Italy. The OWI also quoted extensively from a Sunday night radio speech by Samuel Grafton, columnist for the New York POST. It was Mr. Grafton who described King Victor Emmanuel as 'the moronic little King'."

One may wonder how many TIMES readers would, by themselves, have found anything objectionable in these references to the sovereign of a country with which we were at war. But to the TIMES' Washington columnist, Arthur Krock, the OWI commentary was "surprising" and disturbing. It might, he pointed out, inhibit the use of the King, the Crown Prince, and Marshal Badoglio "to provide a bridge to democratic government" in Italy. "It must be assumed," he continued, "until or unless there is proof to the contrary, that the line taken by OWI is official and was laid down by persons of high authority."

The phrasing radiated skepticism, and next morning the TIMES was able to disclose that its assumption had been too charitable and that OWI had been properly chastised—by none less than President Roosevelt. At his press conference, he had denounced the offending broadcast, said that neither he, Secretary Hull nor OWI's own director, Robert E. Sherwood, had been consulted on "hewing this line of major foreign policy," and added that "Mr. Sherwood was taking vigorous steps by way of reprimand."

The quotes are the words of the TIMES; in those days direct quotation of the President was not ordinarily permitted. It is difficult, therefore, to know whether the TIMES was paraphrasing Mr. Roosevelt or was adding its own interpretation when it went on to say, with indignation vibrating through the printed lines:

"The President made it clear that once again a group of administrative employes had made and carried out a 'foreign policy' of its own—in this instance at the risk of imperiling the most difficult of international negotiations and the lives of Allied fighting men as well."

Up to this point it had been a TIMES exclusive. Now other newspapers moved in for the kill.

The New York WORLD-TELEGRAM of July 29 devoted to John Durfee what might have seemed a disproportionate amount of space, considering that there was a war on and his was a very obscure role in it. There was a roguish photograph, spread three columns wide across Page 1, showing Durfee at his typewriter—hat, coat, gloves, but no visible flesh inhabiting or supporting them. There was an obituary, datelined "Shangri-La." There was a piece by Thomas L. Stokes wondering why, in a nation of 130 million, many of them literate, OWI had to make up a man to speak for America. There was an editorial growling that "the whole thing smells of dishonesty," and demanding that OWI's overseas division be turned over to the State Department, "which seems to know a little more about American foreign policy than the OWI."

It was all very funny, and perhaps it provided necessary comic relief in a time of almost unbearable tension. But to the men conducting the country's wartime propaganda it was not funny at all. The President's brusque repudiation of OWI had seriously undermined its authority. The suspicions of everybody who felt vaguely that propaganda was a dirty word and a dirty business, and that the United States shouldn't stoop to it, had been fortified—and that "everybody" included a sizable fraction of the Congressmen and Senators who passed on OWI's budget. More serious, OWI's authority had been undermined abroad as well as at home. If the Office of War Information did not speak for America, who did? If we were not fighting Fascism in Italy, and elsewhere, as we had proclaimed, what were we fighting for?

It is time now to look behind the news stories and try to find out exactly what did happen.

When James P. Warburg, OWI's Deputy Director for Propaganda Policy, reached the New York offices that fateful Sunday afternoon, the first flash had been supplemented by additional details. They reflected the confusion that was understandable in the situation. Though the Rome radio had declared resoundingly: "With the fall of Mussolini and his band, Italy has taken the first step for peace," the King, in announcing the appointment of Badoglio, had called upon his people to support the new government in carrying on the war, and the aging marshal himself had proclaimed: "The war will continue."

This, to Warburg, seemed significant, and possibly ominous. Something tremendous had certainly happened. The senior and lesser of the Axis partners had fallen; the consequences were bound to be fateful. But the Axis itself remained; Italy was still in the war. It might be wise to sound a note of caution.

This was the tone of the special guidance that Warburg drafted for OWI's operating bureaus. The news was to be treated "coldly and without jubilation." There was no evidence yet that Fascism had been extirpated. We must not let ourselves be deceived, or distracted from the agreed objective of the grand alliance: unconditional surrender.

by Ted Olson

Meanwhile OWI monitors had reported a disquieting development. The first BBC broadcasts on Mussolini's fall were taking quite a different line. "The British were, in fact, treating the news with great jubilation," Wallace Carroll—then OWI Director in London—recalls in his book "Persuade or Perish." "They were . . . saying, or implying, that Mussolini's resignation meant the end of Fascism, and that the Italians and Allies now had one common enemy—Hitler's Germany."

Warburg and his colleagues felt that this was a little premature. (Events would seem to have justified their caution: it took six more weeks of hard fighting to knock Italy out of the war.) A cable was rushed off to London explaining how OWI was treating the story. But cables, even with the highest priority, take time to code and decode. Carroll continues: "This divergence would have been straightened out early on Monday when I received Warburg's code cable . . . but to head off the BBC from what was considered a dangerous line that Sunday night, the New York office sought to make the American position clear in an English-language broadcast beamed on the British isles."

That broadcast was the one the TIMES overheard and found "surprising." It quoted the New York POST columnist, Grafton, whose regular Sunday night broadcast fortuitously conformed to the OWI guidance; it also quoted "the American political commentator, John Durfee," as saying:

"The American people have pledged themselves to fight Fascism until unconditional surrender. The war will go on, irrespective of whether it is Mussolini, or Badoglio, or the Fascist King himself who usurps power. Our fight will go on until the unconditional surrender of Fascism."

So we come back to the hero, or villain, of the piece. Who was John Durfee?

He was, as the press divulged, a fiction. But he was a fiction with a mission, and a highly important one. His weekly commentary was in fact a paraphrase of the political section of OWI's central directive, and OWI outposts had been so informed by classified cable. They were advised that Durfee would give them the policy line far faster than it could be conveyed in cipher—and in a form that could be handed immediately to their Allied opposite numbers, without paraphrasing.

Durfee was a very young man to bear that weight of responsibility. He had been born only a week or two before, in preparation for exactly the kind of emergency that now confronted OWI.

There was, of course, a flesh-and-blood reality behind the homespun American pseudonym. The real John Durfee was James P. Warburg himself—financier, poet, pamphleteer, early New Deal counselor, later New Deal critic, brilliant, strong of conviction, and anything but homespun. He was to leave OWI a few months later, a casualty of the policy conflicts that the Durfee affair dramatized.

It is important to note that the Durfee commentary, and the Grafton column that supported it, were broadcast only in English and were beamed only to Great Britain—not to Italy, as the TIMES reported. They were addressed not to the Italian people, but to the policy-makers of the BBC and the British Political Warfare Executive.

(Continued on page 42)

Service Glimpses

1. Niedzica Castle, Poland. Posed in front of this historic 14th Century castle, after a session of the Carpathian Area Consular Conference, are, front row, Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. Ross Titus, Miss Ellen Johnson; second row, Mr. Titus, Mrs. William Woessner, Mr. and Mrs. J. Theodore Papendorp; back row, Mr. Davis, Mr. Woessner and Dr. Schmidt (of the castle staff). All participants were from the Embassy at Warsaw except the Papendorps who journeyed from Budapest.

1.

2. Karachi. Two American Boy Scouts celebrate by riding a camel during the Independence Day observance sponsored by the American community, with some 6,800 Americans and Pakistanis joining in.

3. Evere. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur, II, takes his turn at bat during the second annual game for the "Waterloo Cup" between the Japanese and American Embassies in Brussels. The catcher is Mr. Hideo Tanaka of the Japanese Embassy and the umpire, Major General Tom V. Stayton.

4. Evere. After the game, Ambassador MacArthur, team captain, accepts the cup and the congratulations of Japanese Ambassador Takeso Shimoda. The American Embassy won 20-5 on the strength of heavy hitting by Assistant Army Attache Col. Edwin Pike.

5. Kabul. Ambassador John M. Steeves participates in a holiday parade and horse show, with FSO Frank Reed, who was responsible for arrangements for the celebration.

6. Amman. Ambassador William B. Macomber, Jr. (at microphone) presents eight basketballs to Frères College, Bethlehem, on behalf of the Tenafly High School, New Jersey. In return the college presented numerous handicraft gifts to the New Jersey school.

7. Amman. Following the ceremony, Macomber's Bombers played the college team and Captain (Ambassador) Macomber sparked his joint State-USIS-AID team to a 26-23 victory. Robert T. Curran, USIA, (dark shirt) leaps for the rebound while Harley Roberts, AID, watches.

2.

Current Photos of Our Vigorous Ambassadors at Play

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

JOHN DURFEE *(Continued from page 39)*

It is difficult to understand why a few American newspapers should have become so indignant over the epithets applied to the Italian King and his First Minister. Harsher words had been spoken of them before. The TIMES, in the same issue that unmasked Durfee, said editorially that Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship "has been replaced by a military dictatorship resting not on the will of the Italian people but on the shadowy authority of a puppet king." Badoglio's "primary claim to fame," it recalled, "rests on ignoble defeats," and his new government had imposed martial law "to prevent a free expression of the people's will and to protect the Fascist gangsters from the popular 'recriminations' awaiting them." The diction is more stately than Grafton's, but the substance is not significantly different, and the TIMES comment conformed admirably if unwittingly to the OWI guidance.

What of the graver charge that OWI had "made and carried out a 'foreign policy' of its own" without consulting any higher authority?

President Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Robert E. Sherwood cannot be called to testify. But Warburg recalls that he read the special guidance to Sherwood by telephone and obtained his approval. It represented no departure from the most recent OWI Italian directive, which stated that Fascist leadership included the House of Savoy as well as Mussolini and his crew, political and military. That directive, like all OWI directives, had been approved by the Planning Board in Washington, which consisted of representatives of the State Department, the armed services, and OWI.

Whether the special guidance was explicitly cleared by members of the Planning Board is doubtful. The United Press quoted Sherwood as explaining that "his aides in New York had unsuccessfully sought guidance on the Italian 'line' Sunday night. 'It was a nice summer evening and it was Sunday,' he said. 'We couldn't get anybody on the phone,' " In any event, the Planning Board, after investigating, agreed that the guidance was entirely in conformity with current directives, and exonerated the New York office of any misdoing.

"One other thing, Hodges—try circulating a little more at receptions. It's all part of the job, you know."

by Ted Olson

If indeed there had been a break in liaison, steps were taken immediately to mend it. Mr. Sherwood emerged from a conference with Secretary Hull on Wednesday with the promise—according to the TIMES—"We won't be caught off base again." Hereafter OWI would refer "anything the least bit controversial" to the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The "line" that he brought out of the meeting does not seem significantly different from the original guidance: "No epithets, but no blinking the fact that he [the King] supported the Fascists and did not kick out Mussolini until it became apparent that he would not get any more help from Hitler," and that Badoglio "made no secret of his Fascist identification."

In a radio address that night President Roosevelt declared: "We will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of fascism to remain." The passage was written into the speech at the insistence of Sherwood, to correct any misconceptions that might have been created by the President's repudiation of the OWI's Sunday night broadcasts. Britain, too, was back on the tough line. Prime Minister Churchill had told Parliament the previous day that the Allies would accept nothing short of unconditional surrender and warned Italy that if she delayed in breaking her alliance with Germany she would be "seared and scarred and blackened."

John Durfee did not seem to have been so far off base after all.

What was all the fuss about, then? Why had the President of the United States publicly rebuked the government's authorized propaganda agency for saying something which, stripped of the perhaps unfelicitous epithet "moronic," was entirely consonant with American and Allied policy?

We venture now into the quicksands of speculation. What follows is deduction, surmise, guesswork.

The Durfee affair was, I am persuaded, largely if not wholly a creation of the newspapers. The accounts of the Presidential press conference suggest strongly that Mr. Roosevelt was deliberately baited into chastising the OWI, by questions devised to evoke the kind of answer he gave. This was not difficult to do. Wallace Carroll writes: "It was a curious fact . . . that the President who established the Office of War Information never knew what it was doing . . . In his own right, Roosevelt was a great propagandist . . . but he did not understand the systematic use of propaganda in total war."

The hostility of the newspapers has a number of explanations. Carroll thinks the press "feared—or professed to fear—that the government was entering the news and publishing business." That is certainly part of the story, but by no means all. Another factor was the chronic suspicion of the press toward any government agency it suspects of trying to spoonfeed it with official pablum. It was the domestic branch of the OWI that the press knew best, and the suspicion carried over to the overseas operations. (There were also those editors who, like a good many Congressmen, thought OWI had been set up to publicize President Roosevelt and perpetuate his reign. It was soberly argued that a pamphlet in Arabic, distributed in North Africa to familiarize Moors and Berbers with the face and philosophy of the

President of the United States, was furtively a Democratic campaign document.)

OWI did all too little to correct these misconceptions. Its reluctance to tell what it was up to was soundly rooted in security, but one wonders whether it might not have been possible to take responsible editors into its confidence to some degree. Newspaper men regard secrecy as an abridgement of their constitutional rights and a challenge to their ingenuity. The Times would hardly have started eavesdropping on OWI's broadcasts and gleefully telling the world what was wrong with them had it realized that the exploit was comparable—in irresponsibility if not in tragic potential—to publishing the plans of an Allied offensive just before H-hour.

Anyway, John Durfee was dead: on that point the World-Telegram was right. He died amid catcalls and Bronx cheers, but I like to believe that in his modest way he died a hero. He had averted an embarrassing discrepancy between British and American propaganda at a crucial period of the war; that alone would have justified his brief existence. He had exposed the urgent need for tightening up policy and propaganda liaison, not only between New York and Washington, but between Washington and London and between London and Allied headquarters in North Africa. It was partly because of the "moronic little King" incident that joint British-American committees were established shortly afterward in London, Washington, and New Delhi to coordinate Allied propaganda in future emergencies, with authority to issue directives binding on the theater commanders and the propaganda agencies of the two governments.

His story is worth retelling because it holds lessons we need to keep in mind. The Durfee affair posed, in dramatic form, the basic problem in the conduct of foreign information in war or peace: that of integrating policy and propaganda so that there can be no divergence in crucial moments.

Policy formulation is, and should be, a cautious and deliberate process. Propaganda often has to shoot from the hip. On that eventful Sunday there was no adequate mechanism for swift consultation and decision. There was no contingency plan ready to be pulled from the files. Nobody, apparently, had ever thought to ask: "What do we do and say when Italy starts to come apart?" If President Roosevelt had decided that it might become expedient to strike a deal with King Victor and Marshal Badoglio, or at least that the door should be kept open, he had neglected to tell Sherwood or Warburg. And, worst of all, there were suspicion and jealousy instead of confidence and the habit of collaboration.

If, nineteen years later, we have achieved a clearer understanding and wider acceptance of the propaganda instrument, a general recognition that policy and propaganda are inseparable, and a system of coordination that works pretty well (the U-2 affair showed it was still not perfect), some of the credit belongs to the late John Durfee. May he rest in peace.

CHANGING YOUR POST?

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Foreign Affairs

"Scapegoats"

by ANDREW BERDING

▲ AS THE American people become better informed and ever more interested in our foreign relations they will be less inclined to blame our diplomats for the fact we are compelled to live in an age of danger or uncertainty. Often our Foreign Service is held responsible that peace is so uneasy, defense so burdensome, talk of war so prevalent. The State Department and the Foreign Service have been scapegoats upon which the blame for any failure abroad could be heaped. Better information will reveal the basic forces at work in the world, many of them outside our diplomatic control, the heavy problems we face and the intensive effort expended in meeting them.

Also, as the American People become more widely informed, the stature of the Foreign Service will rise in their opinion. Probably no segment of our public dependents has been treated so niggardly and disparagingly throughout our history, until recent times, as our officers serving overseas. Only the American Indians have fared worse. *p. 135*

The Department's Constituency

▲ HOWEVER valid this complex (due to lack of a constituency) may have been a quarter century ago, it is no longer so. The Department of State does have a constituency and it is ever acquiring a larger one. Partly this is made up of the hundreds of thousands of persons who now demonstrate an active concern in our foreign relations. Nearly every large or medium-sized American city has a foreign affairs council, committee or group which meets to discuss foreign affairs, listens to speakers on foreign policy topics, and subscribes to foreign affairs publications. Partly it comprises the families and friends of the vast number of our military overseas who want our foreign policy to succeed lest their relatives be involved in war. Partly it is formed of the many scores of thousands of Americans who have some contact with foreigners who come here under exchange programs, whether governmental or private. . . .

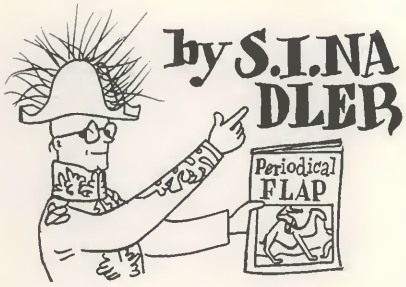
As Foreign Service officers realize this fact they can become more confident of their standing among the American people and more encouraged, however remote their assignment, to carry out their tasks with greater verve and effect. *p. 141*

Needed: "The Long, Calm View"

▲ OUR PARTNERS in pursuance of our foreign relations should be patience and coolness, firmness of will and enlightenment of purpose, and a disposition to make the sacrifices required to maintain our world position. The struggle against the global ambitions of the communist elite in Moscow and Peiping might last even half-a-century. This calls for the long, calm view, a national temperament that refrains from despair and denunciation over temporary setbacks and rejoicing and boasting over temporary advances. There is far more to foreign policy than crises, though the American people often view it in this guise. *p. 249*

Reprinted from FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND YOU*!, by Andrew Berding (Doubleday)*

The Ambassatainer



IN THIS ENLIGHTENED year of 1984, it is difficult to believe that, as recently as the 1960's, our ambassatainers abroad were still known as *ambassadors*. They still went through the motions of practicing the defunct art (some called it a science) of diplomacy, of which the death knell had been sounded a century before by Samuel Morse's invention of the telegraph. The development of radio communications and the advent of jet air travel brought the end closer. And the perfection of the satellite-relay-television-phone in 1971 drove the last nail into diplomacy's coffin. Even in the 1960's, however—as millions of words daily were radioed out of Washington and as heads of state and prime ministers tooted around the world, the *ambassador* had really little to do except carry telegrams to the foreign ministry, maintain good relations with the best hotels, and make a brief speech on July Fourth.

A few of our far-seeing *ambassadors* as they were then still called, did anticipate the new role they or their successors were to assume. Some donned local costumes and joined in native festivals. Others learned to sing indigenous ballads. In 1969, *Ambassador* Axel Coggwheel, who represented the United States in Degradia, was permitted by the Degradian mobs to throw the first stone at the start of the anti-American season. (Coggwheel was actually recalled and sacked for this, which gives some idea of how far we have come in how short a time!) These were the few who realized that diplomacy was extinct and that there was a new job to be done: A country's chief representative was no longer to represent his country; he was to blend with the local scene, becoming more French than the French, more Japanese than the Japanese. His despatches were no longer to be written as if by an impartial political observer, but, rather, as if by an enthusiastic press agent. Most important of all, however, he was supposed to be entertaining, whether by coining epigrams (in the local tongue), playing the tuba in the national symphony, juggling, or whatever. The derivation of the title *ambassatainer* is as obvious as it was inevitable.

While there were, as noted, a few far-seeing *ambassadors* (how quaint the term now sounds!), there remained the great majority of members of what was known as the *Foreign Service*, who clung to the notion that diplomacy was neither dead nor dying but was, instead, suffering a temporary decline reflecting the personalities of those who happened then to be the various heads of state. The real turning point, it is now generally agreed, came when Irene, young second wife of Archie Thrombosis, our *Ambassador* to the small but strategic Kingdom of Regalia in 1966, did an unscheduled—but expert—strip tease at the close of a state dinner, while Archie played the bongo drums. Next day, she was decorated by the King and the United States was given half the kingdom's territory for rocket-launching sites.

(It is ironical to recall that *ambassadors*, unlike our modern ambassatainers, did not have agents. Following the performance of Irene Thrombosis, she and Archie, with just

S. I. NADLER, who recently returned from three years in Argentina where he was Counselor for Public Affairs, is currently assigned to USIA's Policy Staff. He has served in Tientsin, Singapore and Taipei.

an average agent, could have got themselves a four-year split tour on the Rome-Paris-London circuit, had today's system then prevailed.)

It was also in 1966 that the historic Epitome-Ayudante Incident occurred. Zenith Epitome, a career Foreign Service Officer, was our *Ambassador* to the Republic of Grell. He had conducted long, arduous, and secret negotiations with the foreign minister, finally obtaining the desired agreement from Grell to patch up its century-old border quarrel with neighboring Grill. The flush of victory lasted only the half-hour required for a *niact* to reach him from Washington in reply to his informative telegram. He then and thus learned, for the first time, that the President, on the advice of Special Assistant John Ayudante, had discarded previous policy and had prevailed upon the President of Grell to sever diplomatic relations with Grill. *Ambassador* Epitome resigned and took the whole matter to the Supreme Court, ably represented by the famous legal firm of Hugh and Crigh. In a five to four decision, the Court ruled against Epitome. As pointed out in the majority opinion, it was hardly logical to expect an *ambassador* on the spot to arrive at reasonable conclusions and make valid policy recommendations. This was, rather, to be expected of a Special Assistant, who—unfamiliar with the area concerned—did not have his mind cluttered with facts. A few days later, the Senate and House Appropriations Committee took away all funds of the State Department, the Foreign Service, and the Information Agency, except those relating to consular activities.

By Executive Decree, the Foreign League of American Personnel (FLAP) was established. The Decree specified the nature of the audition to be given each prospective ambassatainer and limited the non-entertainment functions to the obtaining of hotel reservations and transportation for important visitors, maintaining a commissary and providing shopping services for said visitors, and briefing U.S. correspondents (defined as anybody carrying a portable typewriter or able to prove possession of sufficient funds to rent one for fifteen minutes).

Training at the Foreign Service Institute

by CARL W. STROM

HOW SHOULD the officers of the Foreign Service of the United States be educated and trained?

One answer to this question favors the establishment of a Foreign Service Academy at the undergraduate level along the lines of West Point and Annapolis. Another advocates the selection of new officers by examination from among graduates of the colleges and universities of the country with a program of in-service training following their entry into the Service.

The Department of State has consistently supported the second of these plans. In view of the numerous bills that have been introduced into every session of the Congress for several years for the establishment of an Academy, the Department has recently made a thorough review of the pros and cons involved and has concluded that such an Academy at the undergraduate level would not be in the public interest. This study has convinced the responsible officers of the Department that a graduate level Academy would be almost as unwise.

The Department's position is based on the belief that people who are to represent the United States abroad during their working lives should reflect the innumerable aspects of American life in the variety of their preparation and education. To achieve this purpose, the Department wishes that prospective Foreign Service officers should remain in the main stream of American life during their formative years and preferably have some experience of adult living in the United States before taking up their assignments abroad. This purpose would be inhibited by segregating prospective officers in a Foreign Service Academy at an early age and inducting them into the Service immediately after finishing their studies. Actually, the last class of Foreign Service officers selected from among college graduates averaged 26.5 years of age, while a recent class averaged 28.0 years. Many had had post-college experience in graduate school, teaching, business and military service.

Furthermore, it is very doubtful that a Foreign Service Academy, whether on the graduate or undergraduate level, could furnish the broad facilities for pre-Service training that are available in the colleges and universities. In them, prospective officers are afforded the greatest diversity of intellectual and social experience. In the past this environment has produced young men and women with the great variety of background skills, independence of thought, and wide range of outlook that is needed by the Foreign Service. It is the Department's belief that people of this kind are more likely to be produced in the future by the colleges and universities than by a single Foreign Service Academy.

In opposing the establishment of an Academy, the Department does not overlook the continuing need for training. However, it believes that the unprecedented needs of the Foreign Service of today and tomorrow for a wide variety of specialized skills can best be met by careful assignment of all of its officers to needed training at intervals during their service.

The Congress expressed its agreement with the Department's position when in 1946 it authorized the establishment of a Foreign Service Institute "to furnish training and instruction to officers and employees of the Foreign Service and of the Department of State and to other officers and employees of the Government for whom training and instruction in the field of foreign relations is necessary and . . . to promote and foster programs of study incidental to such training."

PRIOR TO this action by the Congress, training for the Foreign Service had been of a rather sporadic character. Successive steps were: provisions for student interpreters in Chinese, Japanese, Turkish in 1902; establishment of a brief course for consular officers in 1907 and of a similar course for new diplomatic officers in 1909; the establishment of the Foreign Service Officers' Training School when a consolidation of the Consular Service and the Diplomatic Service was effected by the Rogers Act in 1924; assignment of officers to university graduate study of economics beginning in 1936; and the broadening of university assignments at about the same time to include a considerably greater range of language and area studies.

The establishment by Departmental order of the Division of Training Services in April 1945 may be regarded as a preliminary step to the founding of the Foreign Service Institute in anticipation of the enactment of legislation then

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Mr. Strom, Iowa and Queen's, '24, entered the Foreign Service in 1935, was appointed ambassador to Bolivia in 1959 and was director of the Foreign Service Institute until retirement earlier this year.

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being drafted. This Division set up experimentally a pattern of organization and programing that was later inherited by the Institute.

The Institute was formally established on March 13, 1947. The first Director was William P. Maddox (Maryland and Hertford, '22). The broad scope of its Congressional charter lifted it out of the pattern of the usual training division of an executive department and did, in fact, give it a unique position in the structure of the Federal Government. The report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the Foreign Service Act of 1946 described the Institute as "comparable to the Army and Navy Command Schools and staff colleges." However, it corresponds more properly to the combined training establishments of any one of the armed services.

The five stated in-service training goals which the Institute strives to attain are: a general introduction to the Foreign Service and to its operations for all new junior officers; preparation where necessary in the language and culture of the country of the next assignment for all officers; preparation where necessary in the function to be performed in the next assignment for all officers; broadened awareness of the world situation for mid-career officers; and deepened understanding of national security affairs and of policy formulation for selected officers at the senior level.

As at present organized, the Institute consists of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, the School of Foreign Affairs, and the School of Languages.

The Senior Seminar was started three years ago, primarily to meet the needs of the Foreign Service for senior training. The Seminar runs for a full academic year and is designed to prepare senior officers for the highest positions of responsibility in policy recommendation and execution, coordination, planning and administration at home and abroad. In many respects it parallels the courses given at the war colleges.[1] In speaking at the graduation exercises of the first Seminar President Eisenhower said, "I should like to voice my own tremendous interest in this school and my support for the idea that a few of our officers should be taken out from the normal activities of their offices no matter where they are and be given this opportunity." President Kennedy received the Third Seminar in April of this year and added his endorsement of this type of training.

The very large number of distinguished citizens, besides Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, who have addressed the Seminar includes Secretaries of State, members of both Houses of Congress, judges, heads of United States agencies and local governments, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, university professors and leaders in the fields of business, labor, religion, and the arts and sciences.

The School of Foreign Affairs is charged with all of the training given at the Institute other than language training and the Senior Seminar. It has four departments: Career Studies, Special Functional Studies, University Training and Area Studies, and Inter-Agency Seminars.

The curriculum of the School is as extensive as the needs of the Foreign Service are varied. The courses range in length from the eight-week Basic Officers Course and the Mid-Career Course lasting twelve weeks, to a three-day course for junior supervisors. They vary from a broad consideration of basic problems in numerous seminars and in the courses devoted to career development to technical instruction in such fields as executive management, administrative operations, budget and fiscal work, and consular work. The instruction in consular operations includes correspondence courses in citizenship and visa work in which 500 American and alien employees are at present enrolled.

During the last fiscal year, 31 separate courses were given in this School at least one time each. The two-week Seminar on Communist Strategy was, for example, given twelve times. During the year, 6,751 students took at least one course in the School of Foreign Affairs, 4,182 of them from the Department of State and the Foreign Service and 2,632 from other agencies of the Government.

The School of Languages has the problem of improving the language competence of the Foreign Service. Basic to its task is the fact that during the last few years 76 percent of the newly appointed Foreign Service officers whose qualifications have been judged to be adequate in other respects have lacked the minimum required level of foreign language proficiency. The second element has been the reduced usefulness of English even in the advanced countries. At present, especially in countries that have labor governments, members of governments are chosen from a much broader segment of the population than formerly when knowledge of some foreign language could generally be assumed in a high-ranking official. The withdrawal of European colonial powers from many countries has further reduced the usefulness of English and other European languages in many areas.

Moreover, there are circles other than governmental which must be taken increasingly into account at present and whose members are generally limited to their own language. The new post-war diplomacy has taken on a "people-to-people" character that involves much wider contact between Embassy officials and people of all walks of life than ever before. This is especially true in our information and aid programs. In working in these programs, effective representation of our country's interests requires a knowledge of the language used by the people.

In language study, the School of Languages has broken

"But just how long has *he been teaching here?"*

(1) Oxonians will note with pleasure that Andrew V. Corry (Montana and Merton '27), directs the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy.

new ground in association with a few of the major universities of the country. At the end of World War II the Institute was able to obtain the services of scholars who had played leading roles in the development of language training methods for the Armed Forces during the war. The method they developed, commonly known as the audio-lingual method, has become quite well-known in educational circles. In this method as applied at the Institute, native speakers work under the close supervision of linguistic scientists with the objective of developing speaking and reading proficiency. This is achieved with remarkable success when students can be assigned to full-time study.

Full-time study consists of six hours of instruction daily, five days a week, with private study besides. In four months of such intensive application many students are able to attain a working level of proficiency in Western European languages such as French, Spanish, German, Portuguese and Italian. Courses in such languages as Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Finnish, Hungarian and Greek run for ten months. In languages that have particularly difficult writing systems, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, the initial training period is from 18 to 24 months. The program of language instruction in the Foreign Service has expanded to the point that currently 5.4 percent of officer time is, on the average, devoted to attending foreign language classes.

The results, as far as Western European languages are concerned, have been good, although not entirely satisfactory. At present 66 percent of all officers assigned to French-speaking posts have the professional level of proficiency in French. The figures for German and Spanish are 63 percent and 79 percent respectively. An additional 14 to 20 percent are approaching this professional level. The Department is now able to carry out, with few exceptions, a policy of sending no one to a French-, German- or Spanish-speaking post who does not have at least a minimum working level of proficiency in the language.

The posts in the Far East, South Asia, Near East, Africa, and Eastern Europe, where the more esoteric languages are used, are not as well staffed with language-qualified officers. While there is a general shortage of officers qualified at the professional level in these languages, there are now few posts where there is not at least one officer with a working level of proficiency in the local language. For example, at Phnom Penh there are currently three Foreign Service Officers with a working knowledge or better in Cambodian. There are two who speak Amharic at Addis Ababa; one, Tamil at Colombo; three, Arabic at Cairo; eight, Indonesian at Djakarta; ten, Japanese at Tokyo; eight, Thai at Bangkok; seven, Vietnamese at Saigon; twelve, Chinese at Taipei; and seventeen, Persian at Tehran. In Moscow, the officer who does not speak Russian is an exception.

During the last fiscal year, 922 persons from eight agencies of the Government received full-time language instruction in 24 languages in the School of Languages of the Foreign Service Institute and at its three field schools in Beirut, Taichung (Formosa) and Tokyo. In addition, the Institute conducted part-time language classes, usually one hour a day, in Washington and at 197 embassies and consulates abroad. In this

program 6,516 persons from twenty Federal agencies were engaged in the study of 53 languages.

On September 4, 1961, the Congress amended the basic legislation of the Institute, broadening its authority to provide training for members of families. At the time this is written plans are being made for giving these persons orientation and language study prior to their going abroad.

Roberta from Down Under

by Frank S. Hopkins

THIS IS the story of an Australian camel, at this writing on its way to America. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it is the story of a camel quest—a 20,000 mile world-wide quest—in the course of which many famous and prominent people became involved. It is also the story of James T. Carter of Victoria, Texas.

Mr. Carter presented himself at the Melbourne Consulate General some months ago. He said he was looking for a camel—an Australian camel—to take back to Texas with him.

And why did Mr. Carter want a camel? For an historical pageant to be held in Victoria, an industrial town of 35,000 in South Texas, where Mr. Carter is on the staff of the Victoria ADVOCATE.

The story, said Mr. Carter, really begins at the time of the Mexican War, when the United States Army decided it would need camels in order to haul its artillery and baggage trains across the dry plains of northern Mexico. A shipment of 62 Egyptian camels was accordingly imported, and when the camels were unloaded in Texas—near Victoria, naturally—they were signed for by a certain Lieutenant Robert E. Lee, U.S.A.

Perhaps this incident has been overlooked by national historians, but not hy those of Texas, and certainly not by Mr. Carter. The pageant would not be complete, he decided, unless Victoria could import a camel for the occasion, in commemoration of that scene on the beaches of Texas.

So Mr. Carter set to work. Contributions were secured from 30,000 Texas school children, and Mr. Carter was in business.

From Governor Price Daniel in Austin he secured an elaborate certificate, pronouncing him a Round-the-World Goodwill Ambassador for the State of Texas. He also supplied himself with a large scroll, made of the best Texas cowhide, and on the upper part of this cowhide scroll he inscribed a map of South Texas and obtained the signatures and seals of the Mayors of Victoria and of the other five local towns involved. Space was allowed below for the signatures of notables around the world desiring to send their good wishes to the historical celebration.

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS, Consul General at Melbourne, has contributed a score of articles to the JOURNAL over the years. This one is in a lighter vein than his recent "Planning for Foreign Policy Leadership."

Notice

In order to cope with increasing demands and to meet the higher costs of operating the Association and producing the JOURNAL, the Board of Directors has increased annual membership dues, effective October 1, 1962, from $10 to $13 for Foreign Service Officers in Class V and above as well as for Foreign Service Reserve and Staff Officers of corresponding grades. The rate for Associate members who have retired from active duty will be $10 a year.

This increase, reluctantly made, is the first change in membership rates since 1952. It will enable the Association to institute needed adjustments and to perform more effectively for the benefit of its members. In addition, the increase will allow the JOURNAL to produce a better publication with greater appeal to its readers.

CLASSIFIED

Armed with these documents, Mr. Carter flew off to Washington, where he obtained, as the first signature on the goodwill scroll, that of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Then, in rapid succession, he obtained the signatures of other notables, including David Ormsby-Gore, Ambassador of Great Britain; Hervé Alphand, Ambassador of France; Sir Howard Beale, Ambassador of Australia; and the Mexican and Spanish Ambassadors. These last were apropos, he explained, because of the roles their countries have played in Texas history. And then, naturally enough, Mr. Carter breezed over to the White House and got the signature of John F. Kennedy.

While in Washington Mr. Carter had a long negotiation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, which resulted in his obtaining a permit to import a foreign camel, providing it came from a country certified as free of foot-and-mouth disease. According to Mr. Carter, this restricted him to four countries—Iceland, Norway, New Zealand, and Australia. Due to the paucity of camels in the first three countries, they were unlikely sources of supply. But Australia still has hundreds of camels, which have thrived in the deserts of the Outback since they were imported by early settlers.

So Mr. Carter boarded a plane for Australia, by way of Europe and Asia.

In Madrid, he stopped off long enough to get the signature of the Spanish Foreign Minister on his cowhide scroll. In Paris he collected the signature of U. S. Ambassador James Gavin. Then on to London.

"Ambassador Bruce never stopped laughing the whole time I was in his office," Mr. Carter told us. "But he signed my scroll. Then he took me over to 10 Downing Street, and that was where I got this signature from Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. Mr. Macmillan seemed to think it was rather amusing too, but he signed."

Next stop was Kuwait. The Sheik of Kuwait, Mr. Carter explained, had offered him a camel—a fine Arabian racing camel. Mr. Carter regretfully couldn't accept his camel, but he thought he ought to thank the Sheik. So he did, and also collected a signature, this time in Arabic script.

Then on to Karachi, where Mr. Carter looked up Vice President Johnson's Pakistani camel-driving friend, whom he found living in a slum, but with a fine new Ford truck parked in front of his door. On the scroll Mr. Carter acquired a beautiful scrawl in Urdu. Thence, to Melbourne, capital of Victoria.

After hearing Mr. Carter's appealing story, we took him to lunch at the exclusive Melbourne Club, members of which own a large share of all the cattle and sheep stations in Australia. There Mr. Carter was an instant sensation. His cowhide scroll was examined with admiration, and he was bombarded with innumerable suggestions for acquiring Australian camels.

Next we went to see the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, who is also chairman of the Victoria Promotion Committee. Mr. Carter's fame had preceded him, as the Lord Mayor, Councillor Maurice Nathan, had a letter regarding this

by Frank S. Hopkins

project from the VPC's New York agent. The Lord Mayor instantly promised to provide the camel, and confirmed the offer in a friendly telegram to Victoria, Texas.

In the next few days a camel was located, a real Victorian camel, living at Diamond Creek, near Melbourne. Reluctantly, because male camels are too cantankerous to fly in airplanes, Mr. Carter accepted a two-year-old female. She was christened "Roberta E. Lee" and was formally presented by the Victoria Promotion Committee in a ceremony at the Melbourne Zoo, in which Roberta was draped with Australian and American flags.

At this writing, Roberta, after a long quarantine in Hawaii, is en route to Texas. She was last reported biting a piece out of Mr. Carter's ear. The entourage will walk the last forty miles to Victoria from the tiny seaport town of Indianola where Robert E. Lee unloaded those first camels so long ago.

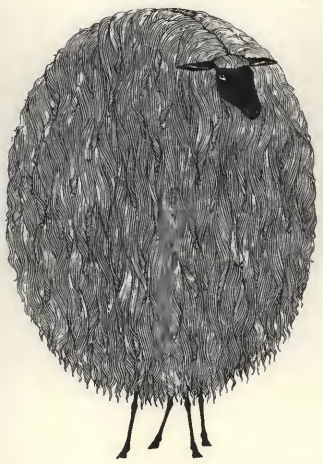
AFSA MEMBERS:

Your Entertainment Committee has been busily lining up luncheons and speakers for the season. The Foreign Service luncheons will again be held at the Shoreham Hotel at 12:30, once each month.

To be noted in the little black book: all, except the May luncheon, will be held on the last Thursday of the month! May's luncheon will be held on the third Thursday of the month.

Come early and bring other members: we plan to have some fine speakers for you again this year.

—A.A.



"The Sheep," a woodcut by Jacques Hnizdovsky and a Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) Purchase Award Winner, 1961, was one of the exhibit of "Contemporary American Prints" shown in the Exhibition Hall of the Department in early August. The prints were from the Fendrick Gallery and a percentage of the proceeds from the sale of copies benefited the American Association of Foreign Service Women's Scholarship Fund. Sheila Isham, wife of FSO Heyward Isham, was represented in the exhibit by her "Incandescent City."

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.

New Promotion Procedures

THE NEW promotion procedures are intriguing, to put it mildly.

It would be interesting to know why it was considered necessary to reduce the time-in-grade requirement to six months, thereby making everyone eligible. If the object of this change is to propel genius and leadership rapidly to the fore, it would seem that machinery for this already exists in the recent provision for spot promotions for especially meritorious service. Curiously, this change also seems to partially nullify another change designed to reduce the work of the Boards, inasmuch as it will increase the number of eligible officers by about seven hundred.

The latter change is causing some uneasiness, based on a feeling that unless the vaguely-described "top grouping" is fairly sizable in relation to the number to be promoted, many deserving officers run the risk of not being considered by the full Board. They could thus be put in a huge "gray zone" for up to three years. Conversely, inclusion in the "top grouping" can be based on selection by only one Board member, resulting, in effect, in the possibility of "promotion by the few" unless the "top grouping" is considerably larger than the number to be promoted.

With the competition being what it is, the trend in the past few years has been in the direction of longer time-in-grade and many a good officer, particularly in the upper classes, has failed to make the promotion list after four, five, or even six years in class. And what about those officers who already have seven or more years in class? Are they to be eased out under the ten-year rule with their files unread by the full Board during their final years?

Not many years ago promotions were based largely on first-hand knowledge. In recent years, however, Boards have been instructed to make their judgments solely on the basis of the written performance record. This places tremendous emphasis on efficiency reports and is a powerful argument in favor of an officer's file being read by as many Board members as possible.

Of course we have a cumbersome promotion system. We also now have a big, cumhersome FSO corps, as a result of integration.

No one will deny that the promotion system should enable the best officers to rise rapidly to positions of influence, nor that the Boards should not be required to sit for nearly four months if they can do their work equitably in less time. It remains to be seen, however, whether these changes will accomplish both goals, and whether they will really enhance the merit system of promotion in the Foreign Service.

WAYNE W. FISHER

Paris

For a Self-Rating Requirement

IF A REVISION of the rating form is under way, I suggest that consideration be given to incorporating a self-rating feature, perhaps via some such requirement as this: "Explain in a statement of not more than two hundred words what you consider to be your strongest and weakest points as a Foreign Service officer."

Such a requirement would make all of us sweat, but why not? Looking honestly at one's self is tough but I would suppose vital for self-improvement, since no amount of external criticism is meaningful until it has been accepted and fitted into a person's view of himself. The self-rating requirement suggested would serve usefully to bridge the gap between internal and external criticism.

The rating officer would, of course, continue to make his own appraisal of weak and strong points. and the two appraisals might well differ substantially. So much the better, hecause from the very difference of appraisal would arise a greater opportunity for fruitful (and frank) discussion between rater and ratee of the really important question: How good an officer is Mr. X, and how can he become better? In terms of value to the officer being rated, a system of double appraisal and "confrontation" on his strong-weak points might well become the most useful part of the whole efficiency rating procedure.

SCOTT GEORGE

Oslo

Allwardt Scholarship Fund

DEATH came suddenly for Reinhold H. Allwardt on August 12, 1962. During his twenty-three years of service in the Department Reinie made a host of friends and was happiest when doing something for others.

He is survived by his widow, Ethel, and his daughter, Diane. Reinie's fondest hope was for Diane, a top student, to have a college education.

Several of Reinie's friends have made inquiries concerning the estahlishing of a scholarship fund for Diane and the publication of this letter in the JOURNAL should reach others who might be interested in contributing to such a fund.

Anyone wishing to commemorate Reinie in this manner may send his check to Charles F. Hawkins, Financial Management Staff, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

JOHN N. HAYES

Director, Office of Cultural Exchange

Washington

More on Roberta

THANK YOU for letting me see the galley proof of Frank Hopkins' fine story about my world-wide camel quest. It was one of the great privileges of my trip to receive kind assistance and attention from many members of the Foreign Service in several countries, but Mr. Hopkins' full-fledged cooperation in every way was a highlight.

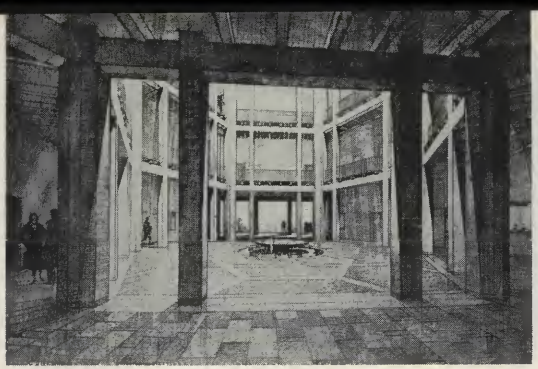
The only fact I can think of to add is that I finally brought the camel the rest of the way home to Texas from the Los Angeles quarantine station, arriving here May 20, after retracing the original U.S. Army Camel Caravan trail of a century ago.

This historic event was performed by towing the camel overland in a trailer from Los Angeles to Victoria, Texas, via San Bernardino, Kingman and Flagstaff, Arizona; Albuquerque, New Mexico; El Paso, Fort Stockton and the site of the original camel caravansary at Camp Verde, near Kerrville, Texas, and San Antonio and Victoria.

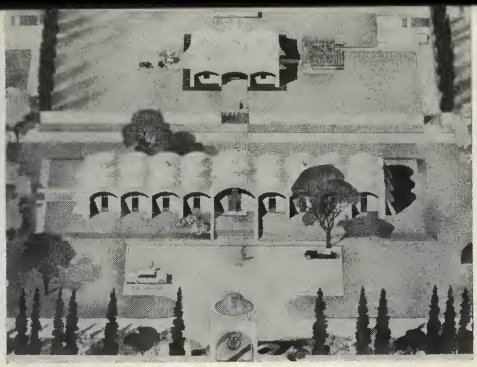
En route, a correspondent for the Arizona REPUBLIC asked why, since the camel trail of a century ago was being retraced, I wasn't riding the camel. My answer, duly published in that newspaper, was: "I ain't that historic."

JAMES T. CARTER

Victoria, Texas



Consulate General Office Building, Algiers, Algeria
Architect: John Lyon Reid, FAIA



Consulate Office Building, Consul's Residence, Staff Housing, Tabriz, Iran
Architect: Edward Larrabee Barnes

Ghetto-type Quarters for FSO's?

With the Department and Foreign Service apparently still in the throes of reorganization it might be a good time to stir up some thinking about ghetto building, and the general trend toward more and more government-supplied quarters.

In spite of all the criticism of recent years, ghettos continue to be constructed all over the world. Outside the Service, in fact, it is commonly believed that the Foreign Service officer enjoys that sort of communal life and that he is the perpetrator of the trend. I am sure that a census of FSO opinions on the subject would show at least ninety percent opposed to living in government housing projects. Not only does it reduce the officer's effectiveness at a post and generally make his job more difficult, it makes his personal life miserable. The monotony of seeing the same shiny faces night and day, the family feuds which inevitably occur living in such close quarters and which then spill over onto office relationships, the jealousies over real or imagined favoritism in the allocation of furniture, the general drabness of socialized life —all of these things contribute to the misery of ghetto living.

There are probably instances where the construction of government quarters is unavoidable if the employee is to have a place to live. In those unavoidable instances is there no alternative to building ghetto-type quarters? The usual FBO argument is that leasing or constructing individual houses or single apartment units scattered around town is too costly. Of course we must always be cost-conscious but, on the other hand, cost cannot be the only consideration in carrying out our foreign relations. If it were, we could save more by simply closing down all overseas posts!

Obviously, we can justifiably spend money to improve the effectiveness of the service and we do. We spend money, for example, on things such as the "Mid-Career Course." Does it contribute more toward improving the effectiveness of the Service than non-ghetto housing?

Bearing in mind the above considerations, I would like to suggest something along the following lines as a staff housing policy:

1. That in general, the construction of government quarters should be discouraged.

2. In those cases where no available housing exists, a determination should be made as to whether the shortage is of a temporary or a long-term nature.

3. Where the housing shortage is considered long-term, individual units, scattered about town, should be built or leased.

4. Where the housing shortage is considered temporary (due to war destruction, moving of the capital or whatever) ghettos might be built if costs are impressively less but only on a temporary basis.

5. Ghettos built to fill temporary housing needs would automatically be sold after five years unless a contrary recommendation is made by the Ambassador, endorsed by the Secretary of State and approved by the Bureau of the Budget. Such a recommendation could be based only on the unavailability of housing and extensions of the five-year limitation would be for a maximum of two years.

6. In no case should government quarters be furnished, with the possible exception of bachelor's quarters. The Foreign Service family, after all, should also be entitled to the joys of "home-making" and the measure of self-expression home-making affords.

7. All existing ghettos should be reviewed in light of these general criteria with a view to determining whether or not they could be disposed of immediately.

This policy may not be the most feasible, the most efficient nor the most definitive way of reversing the trend toward ghetto life in the Foreign Service. But it does seem to me that something will bave to be done before the situation gets completely out of hand. There are rumors now to the effect that groups in Washington are studying plans under which not only housing and furniture would be government-provided but also linens, glassware, cutlery and even automobiles. Isn't it strange that a country which stands before the world as an example of the benefits of private enterprise and individual liberty should wish to send its representatives abroad under conditions of the most socialistic regimentation imaginable?

John Krizay, FSO
Rio de Janeiro

A Reply from FBO:

The Office of Foreign Buildings is opposed, as a matter of principle, to compound housing at any Foreign Service post but, for a number of reasons which will be outlined below, this principle cannot be observed successfully in every case.

Generally, local conditions affecting the health and security of Foreign Service personnel, and the lack of housing for lease or purchase at a given post, will constitute the factors requiring compound living as a matter of necessity.

There are also instances where foreign governments require that both office and living quarters shall be limited to a diplomatic enclave. In such cases, we comply with the wishes of those governments. The result is a compound, whether desirable or not.

Letters to the Editor

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FBO REPLY ***(Continued)***

In certain Iron Curtain countries it is not only impossible to purchase or construct housing, but even difficult to lease it. In these cases, we are fortunate to obtain any kind of housing and, when we do, it is usually of the compound type.

Further, there are posts where potable water and reliable electric power are non-existent. In such places, there may be no trash or garbage collection which, together with other factors, could result in unhealthful living conditions. Experience has shown that these services can be rendered to our Foreign Service personnel much more economically and efficiently if compound housing is provided.

Another factor is vandalism which is often rampant where law enforcement is not too effective. At such posts suitable housing is usually unavailable or only obtainable at high rentals. Here again, the practical solution is the construction of a compound which will provide the necessary security and safeguards for our people.

The present largest Foreign Service compounds are at Frankfurt and Bonn. When these posts were established, after World War II, it was impossible to obtain any kind of housing. Nevertheless, people were being assigned to these posts and they had to have living quarters. Consequently, housing was constructed to satisfy the need. After all these years, the situation at these posts has not materially changed. Very little housing is even now available for lease or purchase.

Compound living in some instances results from the desire of Americans to congregate together in the better part of a city. Even where private leases are entered into, it has been noted that Americans overseas will gravitate together. While this may not be desirable as a matter of diplomatic expediency, it does illustrate the fact that not all compounds are the result of Government-owned construction.

The Office of Foreign Buildings is not only watchful to avoid "compoundism" at the initial outset, but in cases where Government-owned apartment buildings or compounds are in existence, continuous efforts are made to improve these situations by selling or otherwise disposing of such buildings. For example in Manila, two apartment buildings have recently been sold, and the occupants are now being relocated in suitable parts of the city.

The Office of Foreign Buildings considers it more satisfactory to Foreign Service personnel and to the United States Government that its people abroad should live in separate housing. It is only when this is not possible that other arrangements must be substituted.

JAMES R. JOHNSTONE
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Foreign Buildings

Washington

Krishna sending Raja Boly to Hell.

"Turn Around" and Plato

THE EXPRESSION "Turn Around" seems to have gained currency in Washington as applied to our foreign aid program. I have even heard "The Year of the Turn Around."

Has this any relation to the "Turn Around" to which Plato refers in the seventh book of "The Republic"? In the Allegory of the Cave he tells of the persons in the cave who all their lives saw only shadows until the day when finally they were allowed to turn around and look upon real things. Stringfellow Barr, in "The Will of Zeus" comments thus on "turn around":

"It was here in the Academy that men learned to turn around, or turn their minds around, away from the shadowland in which Democrates and even Isocrates in large part, operated—from the world of practical men, of the struggle for political power, the aims that had not passed through the Socratic ordeal by dialectic. And having turned around, they left the semi-darkness of popular opinion and climbed out of the cave into daylight and might even strengthen the mind's eye until it could gaze upon the sun itself, the idea of the good.

"This turning around, this conversion was the essence of a liberal education."

MURAT W. WILLIAMS

El Salvador

"Deplorable Solecisms"

I READ with interest Mr. Roger Tyler's letter which appeared in the July issue of the JOURNAL, taking up cudgels in favor of those deplorable solecisms favored by the Department's code room —"finalize soonest."

I am sure that on reflection Mr. Tyler would agree that such usage is "Non-U," and that it would be better English grammar (if ever pushed to the necessity of haste) to telegraph, "complete immediately."

I have the honor to remain, Sirs,

Your obedient servant,

ROB MCCLINTOCK

P.S. This has been signed with a quill pen.

Buenos Aires

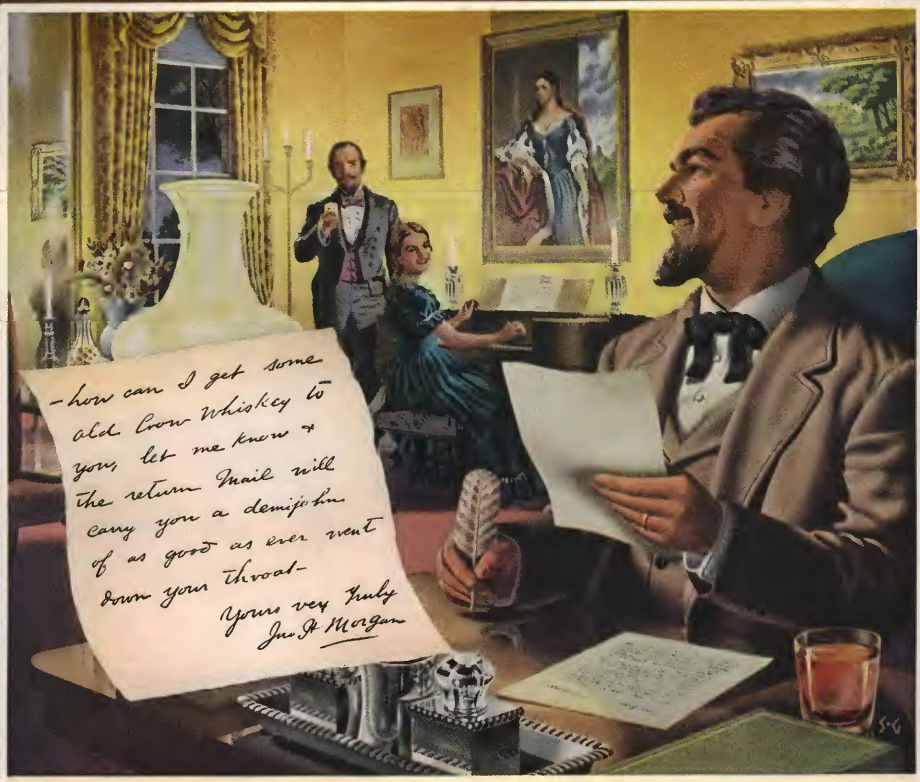
Indonesian-American Society

THE Indonesian-American Society of the United States is locating and compiling the names and addresses of all Americans who have first-hand experience in Indonesia or in the old Netherlands East Indies. Already some fifteen hundred old Indonesian hands have been located from business, missionary, cultural or academic groups but continually we learn of Foreign Service alumni who are vitally interested in Indonesian-American relationships, but whose whereabouts we do not have.

Some of your readers have suggested that the best way to locate them may be through this note to the JOURNAL. Those who respond will be sent the Society's newsletters without charge, and will be notified when events or visitors are scheduled in their areas.

MONROE SWEETLAND
Executive Vice President
Indonesian-American Society

Beverly Hills



The "Thunderbolt of the Confederacy" writes about Old Crow

Gen. John Hunt Morgan was concerned that his friend Dr. Henry Fox might miss the enjoyment of prized Kentucky bourbon. "How can I get some Old Crow Whiskey to you," wrote Morgan, "let me know and the return mail will carry you a demijohn of as good as ever went down your throat."

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PREFERRED BOURBON

Taste the Greatness of

OLD CROW

Light · Mild · 86 Proof Kentucky Bourbon

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"The Greatest Name in Bourbon"

THE OLD CROW DISTILLERY CO., FRANKFORT, KY., DISTRIBUTED BY NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS CO.

Vodka 80 & 100 Proof. Distilled from 100% Grain Neutral Spirits. Gilbey's Distilled London Dry Gin. 90 Proof. 100% Grain Neutral Spirits. W. & A. Gilbey, Ltd., Cin. O. Distr. by Nat'l Dist. Prod. Co.

Six different drinks and the difference is

Gilbey's

...the best name in Gin and Vodka