Foreign Service Journal

"Safe in Port" (Hong Kong) *by Dong Kingman*

MAY 1963 50c

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Chiefs of Mission, FSO's, FSR's and FSS's are eligible for active membership. American employees of other Departments or Agencies such as USIA and AID, who hold career status and who are on foreign service, are eligible for associate membership. Annual dues for both categories are $13 for Foreign Service Officers in Class V and above as well as for Foreign Service Reserve and Staff Officers of corresponding grades. The dues for Officers in Class VI, VII and VIII and for Foreign Service Reserve Officers and Staff Officers of corresponding grades are $10 per annum. The rate for Associate members who are retired from active duty is also $10 per annum. A subscription to the Foreign Service JOURNAL is included for all members. Those interested in membership should write the General Manager, AFSA, 1742 "G" St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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

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"Safe in Port," Hong Kong

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Mrs. Lewis Clark, photographed, inside back cover.

Our much-read columnist, James B. Stewart, combines writing "Twenty-Five Years Ago" and "Service Items" with gardening. With the blooming season just beginning in Denver, he supplied us with this shot of a nature- and Stewart-favored spot.

Nominations to be Career Ministers

AARON S. BROWN, *Ambassador to Nicaragua*

FULTON FREEMAN, *Ambassador to Colombia*

HENRY A. BYROADE, *chairman, disarmament advisory staff, ACDA*

GRAHAM A. MARTIN, *deputy coordinator, Alliance for Progress*

Ambassadors

CHESTER BOWLES, *to India*

GEORGE C. MCGHEE, *to Federal Republic of Germany*

BREWSTER MORRIS, *to Chad*

JERAULD WRIGHT, *to Republic of China*

BIRTHS

BEHRENS. A daughter, Martha Elsie, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Behrens, on February 13, at Kediri, East Java.

BRIGGS. A son, Church Ellis, born to Mr. and Mrs. Everett E. Briggs, on November 22, 1962, in Berlin.

BYRD. A son, Charles Logan, born to Mr. and Mrs. Pratt Boyd, on February 8, in Singapore.

CRAWFORD. A daughter, Sarah Lowry, born to Mr. and Mrs. William Rex Crawford, Jr., on March 26, in Washington.

GILLIN. A son, John Anthony, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert F. Gillin, on February 24, in Frankfurt. Mrs. Gillin is the former Patricia J. Dolan of the American Embassy in Dakar.

GROVE. A son, John Cheremeteff, born to Mr. and Mrs. Brandon Grove, Jr., on March 4, in Washington.

MARRIAGES

COLQUITT-HUYLER. Miss Sarah Lee Colquitt and FSO Coulter Dunham Huyler, Jr. were married on March 23, in the Washington Cathedral.

DIERCKX-CLARKE. Miss Michelle Martine Andrée Dierckx and FSO Walter S. Clarke were married on February 23, in the Washington Cathedral.

GOUGH-HARDING. Miss Carolyn Gough and FSO Richard D. Harding were married on March 9, in Baltimore, Maryland.

DEATHS

CHAPIN. Selden Chapin, Career Minister retired, died on March 26, in Puerto Rico. Ambassador Chapin entered the Foreign Service in 1925 and served at Hankow, Peking, Rome, Quito, Port-au-Prince, Montevideo, Algiers and Paris. After serving as the first Director General of the Foreign Service, he was appointed Minister to Hungary, then Ambassador to the Netherlands, to Panama, to Iran and to Peru. He retired in 1960.

LEE. Frank Charles Lee died on March 23, in York, Maine. He was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1915. He served at Bordeau, Petrograd, Moscow, Stockholm, Bradford, Singapore, Halifax, Prague, Berlin and Amsterdam where he was Consul General at the time of his retirement in 1942.

1963 Awards

Two Foreign Service officers were selected to receive the Distinguished Service Award, which was presented to them at the Department's Annual Awards Ceremony in the West Auditorium before a capacity audience on March 25:

JOHN O. BELL, Ambassador to Guatemala. In his capacity as Deputy Coordinator for Foreign Assistance, he made outstanding contributions to the conduct of United States foreign policy. On behalf of the Department, he assisted in organizing the President's Task Force on Foreign Economic Assistance, in directing the work of the Task Force, and in presenting the new concepts to Congress.

ROBERT A. HURWITCH, Deputy Coordinator of Cuban Affairs. For outstanding display of good judgment, unfailing dedication to duty, intense humanitarian concern for his fellowman, and major contributions to the formulation and implementation of meaningful policy for the betterment of United States foreign relations. He exhibited maturity, tenacity, initiative and great tactical skill and judgment in assisting the development of a program for the relief and rehabilitation of Cuban prisoners of war.

Nine Departmental and Foreign Service employees received Superior Service Awards:

BREWSTER, Herman E.
CASSILLY, Thomas A.
HAYDEN, Walter A., Jr.
LEE, Muna
MORALES, Luis J.
SKEAN, Harold
TSOUVALAS, Mary
WEISS, Leonard
WITMAN, William, II

Thirty-two employees and ten units received Meritorious Service Awards:

ABELOWITZ, Freda
ARMSTRONG, Martin H.
BELHADJ, Belgacem
BOEHM, Richard W.
BOWDLER, William G.
BREWSTER, Helen L.
COX, Emily C.
CRUME, John B.
DEAN, John G.
DUGGAN, William R.
GINSBERG, Lilian A.
HYLAMAN, Roy E.
KATZ, Abraham
MUCCI, William A.
MULLER, George F.
OAKLEY, Robert B.
OLIVEIRO, Claude S.
PEDONTI, Charles E.
RABENJA, Gabriel
RALSTON, Virginia C.
ROBERT, Lawrence J.
SALEM, Victor A.
SIMON, Donald J.
SIMSARIAN, James
SPORN, Cecil D.
DE TAUBE, Helene
TRIVERS, Howard
TRON, Rene A.
VINE, Richard D.
VINH, Chung Tinh
WALTERS, Edward T.
WEITZEL, Richard F.
ZAWADZKI, Eugenie

American Consulate, Peshawar, Pakistan
American Consulate, Suva, Fiji Islands
American Embassy, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
American Embassy, Fort Lamy, Republic of Chad
Communications Branch, U. S. Mission, Berlin
Foreign Operations Division, Passport Office
Language Services Division, Office of Operations
Local Staff, American Consulate, Porto Alegre, Brazil
Office of Central African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs
United States Mission, Berlin, Germany
Telegraph Branch, American Embassy, Paris, France

(Continued on page 6)

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AWARDS 1963

Commendable Service Awards were presented to 65 employees and eleven Departmental and Foreign Service units:

ADAM, Robert G.
AKEROI, Rolf
BARUCK, Maurice
BAY, Elizabeth
BENNETT, Paul J.
BHAEDDEE, Sombat
BLAIR, Robert L.
BOISSIERE, Claude
BROWN, Arville K.
BURKE, Madalyn K.
BUTLER, Ruth E.
BUTLER, Virginia S.
COUGHLIN, Ann T.
COURANT, Marie Rose
CUENOD, Charles B., Jr.
DAVY, Marthe
DEBERRY, Myra J.
DE MUICY, Cecile Billard
DEVRIES, Doreen M.
DINGMAN, Dorothy
DUGAN, Dorothy J.
EARLY, Robert R.
FALEY, Eric L., Jr.
FUNK, Howard V., Jr.
GARMAN, Joyce L.
GARRITY, Edwin J.
GAUDUCHON, Eliane
GIBLIN, Mildred O.
GIOTIS, George
GRASSET, Marguerite
GREER, Virginia R.
GUILBAULT, Jane A.
HOCKMAN, Myrtle D.
JANDA, Waldemar
JENSSEN, Thelma J.
JONES, Paul W., Jr.
KASAPCI, Abdullah H.
KAWAMOTO, Tsuta
KEEN, William George
KIM, Eva S.
LEARY, John C.
LEMOINE, Robert
LEWIS, Velma H.
LUSH, Gerson H.
MULL, Gerald C.
MULLET, Ruby R.
MURRAY, Richard W.
NIEMWONGSE, Thoom
O'ROURKE, Anastasia C.
PERRY, Stephanie
RASMUSSEN, Sylvi
REVAK, Samuel J.
SACKMAN, Adolph D.
SAKAMOTO, Hisao
SETHABUTR, Prayut
SMITH, Joseph L.
SMITH, Maxine W.
SPEIGHTS, Mack M.
STRAND, Jorunn Marie
TOLLETT, Edgar H.
TRAULSEN, Grace T.
UYS, Gideon R.
WARWICK, Agnes B.
WHITEHORN, Eileen H.
YANG, Pi-tang

Administrative Section, American Consulate General, Hong Kong
American Consulate General, Sao Paulo, Brazil
Communications Section, American Consulate General, Geneva, Switzerland
Communications Unit, American Embassy, Tunis, Tunisia
Communications and Records Unit, American Embassy, Vientiane, Laos
General Services Section, American Embassy, London, England
Message Center, Bureau of African Affairs
Supply Branch, Supply and Transportation Management Division
Visa Section, American Embassy, Athens, Greece
Visa Section, American Consulate, Ponta Delgada, Azores
Visa Section, American Consulate General, Naples, Italy

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"Today's Diplomacy"

THE ANNUAL awards presented on March 25, by Secretary Rusk, show that today's diplomacy is a many-sided, many-functioned thing, requiring the melding of many qualities and capabilities.

The achievements set forth in the citations to 106 Foreign Service and Department personnel and to 22 units cover a broad cross-section of what we sometimes have difficulty in defining these days as "diplomacy."

Not only officers but secretaries and clerks, are included in the list, not only Americans but local employees of our overseas posts, women as well as men. Listed, for instance, is the political and economic negotiator, involved in matters complex and delicate, who showed an "almost tactile perception of political problems." Then there is the administrative officer, helping to open a new mission in an underdeveloped, strategically-located country, who started with literally nothing except his own imagination and resourcefulness and was able to acquire and adapt facilities which enabled the rest of the staff to work with minimal distraction and discomfort. Listed also is the buildings maintenance engineer; the communications supervisor in a communist country, confronted by all kinds of abnormal situations; and a supervisor of a records unit upon which a diplomatic establishment depends for rapid retrievement of information. The technical secretary is included also because of her "tact and the universal respect for her knowledge and competence," during eighteen months of tariff negotiations abroad.

The list suggests, furthermore, that even the duties we think of when considering consular performance in a strict sense—such as those relating to passport and citizenship services—involve important elements of national security and, when executed with finesse and perception, contribute to the nation's defense as much as any other duties in the whole range of our international relations.

Among the local employees recognized in the list is the Spaniard who, for more than forty years in one of our consular establishments in his country, has proved his devotion to the United States and fulfilled the highest traditions of the Foreign Service of the United States; the woman in our Consulate General in a large African country who displayed high intelligence, industry, initiative and cooperation, that elevated her performance to one reflecting great credit upon the United States Government; and the Tunisian who exhibited unusual courage and bravery in volunteering to drive two American missionaries through the Bizerte firing zone in search of their children.

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- 12 transistors, 3 germanium diodes, plus AFC diode
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- Built-in Zenith Wavemagnet® AM/LW antenna
- Built-in Telescopic Waverod FM/SW antenna
- Tuned RF stage with 3-gang tuning on AM/SW/LW
- Separate Zenith 3-gang permeability FM tuner
- Drift-free FM Automatic Frequency Control
- Automatic gain control
- 500 milliwatts of undistorted audio output
- Band spread tuning on short wave
- Big 6" x 4" Zenith Quality speaker
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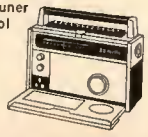

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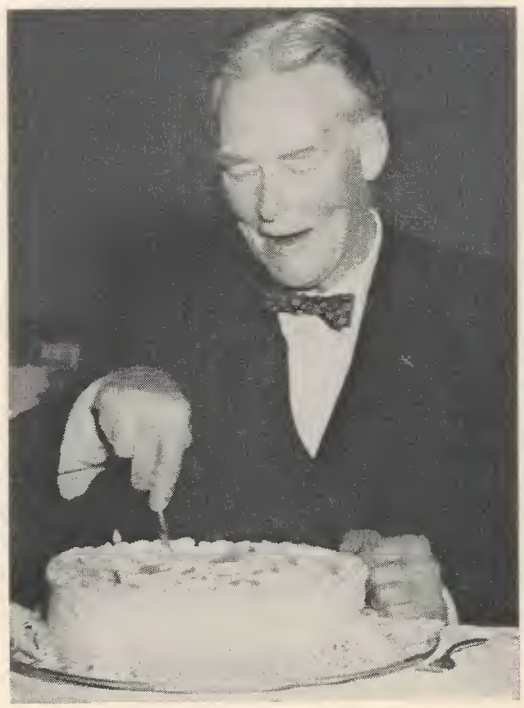
nized in the citations a wide range of qualities and capacities. Along with the decisive mind, the gentle and understanding heart is recognized, and for the first time, within my knowledge, the qualities of poet and critic. In the particular poet and critic cited were combined the qualities of a champion of rights and "defender of democratic processes."

The crises represented on the list include the Berlin crisis, the Congo crisis, the Cuban crisis, the Franco-Tunisian crisis, as well as the crises of daily, touch-and-go situations. But attention is also drawn to the patient, consistent, unobtrusive work of officers who turn in a steady performance of high quality over long years of service quite apart from any dramatic crisis.

No one, of course, pretends that individual performance, however outstanding, can provide the whole answer to our international obligations and problems. Those problems are broad-ranging, of many different kinds, prompted by the varied conditions under which our diplomatic establishment must constantly perform. But the awards citations do emphasize that diplomatic performance leans heavily on the performance of the individual.

Looking beyond the individuals whose names are on this particular list, however, we get a hint of what we mean by diplomacy, diplomacy not only in a twentieth-century setting but diplomacy as it has always been—a highly complex, exacting, challenging, adventuresome calling, the elements of which, properly developed and properly fused, can produce an effective first line of national defense.

—*R.S.S.*



The Honorable Christian A. Herter is shown cutting his birthday cake at AFSA's luncheon meeting on March 28. The former Secretary of State made an off-the-record speech on GATT to Association members. Mr. Herter's Book, "Toward an Atlantic Community," was published by Harper and Row in April.

spring,

summer,

autumn,

winter:

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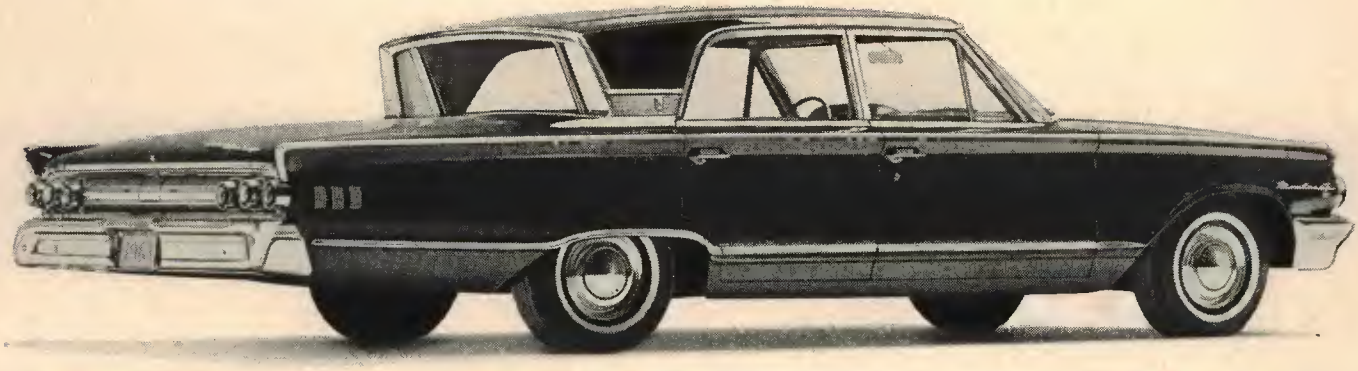

The secret is a rear window that opens. The unique rear window of the elegant Mercury Monterey opens at the touch of a button. A gentle stream of fresh air flows in through the ventilator under the dashboard, out through the rear. This simple, yet wonderfully convenient, ventilation system is typical of the extra thoughtfulness you'll find in every part of the Mercury Monterey.

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Unclassified

by ANDOR KLAY

WHILE READING the memoirs of a nineteenth-century foreign minister: Here was a diplomat whose position on any major issue had to be determined navigationally in terms of platitude and wrongitude.

* * *

FROM A LIST of nominations before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "United States Representative on the Commission on International Commodity Trade of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations." Sounds like title, rank, position, statement to the press, morning prayer, declaration of dependence, epigram, epitaph, summary of our life and times; after confirmation, I would like to have the gentleman's calling card as a souvenir.

* * *

DROPSIE COLLEGE: the name would fit an institution where knowledge is dispensed in pills—a dropsie or two at a time.

* * *

BY THE TIME an official spokesman states that "it is too early to make an assessment of the situation," it is usually too late.

* * *

ONLY THE GERMANS have been able to accomplish the feat of including three identical letters next to each other in one word (e.g., "Zellstofffabrik").

"SHIH-CHIH CHIH-SHIH" means, I am informed, "world culture" in Chinese. In sharp contrast to the meaning, it sound to me like the prankish or hysterical outburst of a chimpanzee.

* * *

"FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES"—which are the "freedom-hating" or "slavery-loving" ones?

* * *

ORIENTAL MODESTY: A stamp shown in the Michel catalog (vol. I, p. 361) bears a portrait of President Chiang Kai-shek on the left, prominently in the foreground, and that of another statesman on the right, not prominently in the background. The latter is Lincoln.

* * *

PERHAPS WE MELLOW WITH AGE; the Romans hardened. None of Christ's disciples was crucified with him; but when the Spartacus revolt was crushed, the leader and 6,000 of his followers were crucified together on the Via Appia, and the line of crosses reached from Rome to Capua.

* * *

FOR MARINE GUARD: If you have equivalents in Cuba, their motto surely is "Semper Fidel."

* * *

PAVLOVIAN SECURITY-CONSCIOUSNESS: "Anything classified?"—flashing through my mind as I empty the ash tray on my desk.

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AFSA : ACTIVITIES

From the Minutes of Directors' Meetings:

February 5, 1963: The Board reviewed the circumstances of the deaths of several members of the Service in recent years to determine whether the circumstanecs met the criteria for inclusion on the Memorial Plaque in the Department lobby. It was decided to recommend to a General Meeting of the Association that the name of Robert A. McKinnon be added to the Plaque. The Department's arrangements for reviewing the recommendations of the Herter report and procedures for making the Association's views known to appropriate Department officials were discussed. Consideration was also given to the pros and cons of expanding the field of active membership in the Association. Mr. Floyd W. Meloy was appointed to the Entertainment Committee, and Mrs. Leonard Weiss to the Education Committee.

February 19, 1963: The Chairman of the JOURNAL Board presented a draft budget report and reviewed the financial problems of the JOURNAL. After discussion of the inadequate space in the office quarters shared by the Association and the JOURNAL, it was decided to remain in these offices for another year if necessary, while more adequate quarters are sought. Ways and means of voicing the Association's views on legislation to establish a new National Academy of Foreign Affairs, bills for which have already been introduced in the Congress, were discussed. A Legal Affairs Committee report on the local aspects of establishing a Welfare Fund was considered, and a decision was taken against setting up such a fund because of tax and administrative problems. The Board decided to designate two delegates to represent the Association at the Annual Meeting of The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

AFSA Scholarship

AT THE monthly luncheon on March 27, 1963 the President of the Association, the Honorable Lucius D. Battle, paid tribute to former Ambassador Selden Chapin after which all who were present rose and observed a minute's silence. Earlier, the Committee on Education approved the naming of a scholarship in Mr. Chapin's memory for the coming academic year.

Bygdøy Museum, Oslo — *Paul Child*

Who Said It?

WHO are the authors of the aphorisms quoted below? The answers are at the bottom of the page, and also in the recently published "The Viking Book of Aphorisms: A Personal Selection," by W. H. Auden and Louis Kronenberger.

1. Make me chaste and continent, but not just yet.
2. As he knew not what to say, he swore.
3. Do not do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Their tastes might not be the same.
4. How much more flattering to see a critic turn disparaging from malice and spite than lenient from cliquishness.
5. There was never yet a philosopher that could endure the toothache patiently.
6. The secret of being a bore is to tell everything.
7. To have doubted one's own first principle is the mark of a civilized man.
8. Pity is for the living, envy for the dead.
9. Practical politics consists in ignoring fact.
10. Nothing makes a man so cross as success.

1. St. Augustine; 2. Byron; 3. Shaw; 4. Gide; 5. Shakespeare; 6. Voltaire; 7. O. W. Holmes, Jr.; 8. Mark Twain; 9. Henry Adams; 10. Trollope.

Carthage — *Jack Grover*

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25 years ago in the Journal

May, 1938

by JAMES B. STEWART

Kennedy and Lodge See Eye to Eye

THE Department released to the press on April 9, 1938 the text of a letter addressed by Ambassador Kennedy to Senator Lodge in regard to the presentation of American women at the British Court. The Ambassador referred to the large number of applications for presentation and to the fact that the American Ambassador at London is "put in the distasteful position having to choose a small number of ladies from a long list, very few, if any, of whom he has ever seen." The letter added: "This practice, it seems to me, is undemocratic in that the invidious choice can have in large part no basis other than the pressure of recommendations behind the individual applicants, or pure chance . . . It is impossible to make this choice among the applicants on any basis of real fairness. I have accordingly come to the conclusion that the presentation made by the American Ambassador in London ought to be confined to the families of American officials in this country and to members of the immediate families of those Americans who are not merely visiting England but are domiciled here for reasons which would justify the Ambassador in supporting their applications." Senator Lodge made public his letter of reply in which he applauded and agreed with Ambassador Kennedy's decision.

Small Talk at Big Parties

Troy L. Perkins, Embassy, Peiping, in an amusing article in the May JOURNAL, lets us in on subjects that can, and those which cannot, be tossed around at a big party: "There is one type of slight and thoroughly impersonal conversation which, if it could be used, would be a great boon in the shy, nervous moments. This is the informative type, in which one gives little snippets of useful information, such as how many of what kinds of people are born on an average every minute or if laid end to end would take how long to pass a given point. These tidbits are called 'fillers'. . . it is somehow unfair that they cannot be used to fill up blank spaces in conversation, but people seemingly will have none of them. For instance, at a dead-end in conversation, you say hopefully to your fair *vis-à-vis:* 'I was reading today in the MORTUARY MONTHLY that the human body is composed of two parts iron, five parts water, eight parts cellulose, one part salt.' 'And a dash of angostura bitters,' she finishes, the watery eyes betraying the squashed yawn.

"You swallow dryly and try another tack. 'They say vegetables are incomparably the best food for one. Lettuce has iron, cabbage has phosphorus, seaweed has iodine, celery has calcium.' 'Spinach has sand,' she intones like a train announcer, looking far across the room with the bored Gioconda smile."

Briefs From May 1938 Journal

• Golf teams representing the Department and the British Embassy played two matches at the Burning Tree Club. In the first match the Department was represented by Messrs. Southgate, Ballantine, Adams, Flack, Dickover, Myer, Clark, Sparks, Chapin and Achilles, and in the second by Messrs. Dunn, Southgate, Flack, Ballantine, Chapin, Thomas, Renchard, Achilles, Parsons (of the Foreign Service School) and Julius Holmes.

Comment, 1963: Of all those golfers, only the following are still in the Service: George W. Renchard, Consul General, Hamilton, Bermuda; J. Graham Parsons, Ambassador, Stockholm; and Julius Holmes, Ambassador, Tehran.

• Running the JOURNAL in '38 were: George Butler, Chairman, Editorial Board; Paul Alling, George Kennan, Charles Yost, Henry Villard, Richard Post, Secretary; Harry McBride, Business Manager; Charles Hosmer, Treasurer.

• "The death of George Richmond Byington, which occurred in New York City on March 13, 1938, comes close to the Foreign Service. Son of the late Aaron Homer Byington, who was appointed consul at Naples by President McKinley and served from 1897 to 1907, father of Consul General Homer M. Byington, now stationed at Montreal, grandfather of Consul Homer M. Byington, Junior, who is carrying on the family tradition at Naples, and Vice Consul James G. Byington, now at Torreon, the passing of this fine old gentleman will evoke expressions of sympathy from a Service with which the family name has so long been intimately associated."

Comment, 1963: After having served his country as Ambassador to Malaya, our old friends, Homer and Jane Byington, are once again back in their beloved Naples where Homer is our Consul General.

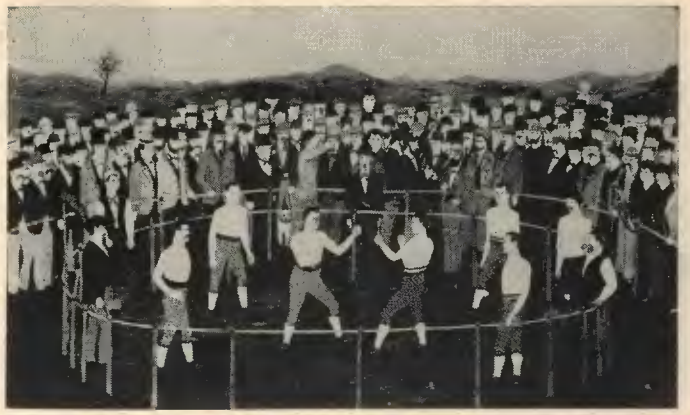
Recollections: E. Allan Lightner, Jr., American Minister, Berlin, pauses to refresh old memories of Berlin:

"Twenty-five years ago, in February, 1938, when en route to Riga, Latvia, I stopped off in Berlin to visit my old college classmate, Butch Leverich. I met Counselor of Embassy, Prentiss Gilbert, who had brought to Berlin most of the staff that had been with him in Geneva—Jimmy Riddleberger, Jake Beam and Butch.

"In early 1938 war seemed remote to the casual visitor to Berlin, but when I visited the city two years later, over Christmas and New Year's 1939-40, there were many changes. Ambassador Hugh Wilson had been recalled; Prentiss Gilbert's brilliant career had come to an end by his untimely death; Alexander Kirk was permanent chargé d'affairs; and George Kennan had joined the staff. I dined one evening at Kirk's fantastic rococo palace that is now the Hotel Gehrhus. Incidentally, nothing much is left today of most of the prewar brownstone-front diplomatic residential section near the Tiergarten. And of course the Embassy itself is now just an empty grass plot in East Berlin. The atmosphere in Berlin in the winter of 1939-40 was quite different from the mood in early 1938. Rationing was severe; uniforms were everywhere; and the popular greeting was 'Heil Hitler,' with raised hand. There was a blackout every night and the atmosphere was weird, unreal. It was the time of the 'phony war,' a time of uneasy waiting."

Dept. of Dissent

Rabbits and Earthquakes— and Traditional Diplomacy



by JOHN W. BOWLING

WE OWE a debt of gratitude to Ambassador Achilles (February, 1963, JOURNAL) for having brought into the open a set of assumptions which lie behind at least a dozen JOURNAL articles printed during the past year or eighteen months. Ted states:

> ONE: The conduct of our foreign relations today is only to a very limited extent "diplomatic" in the traditional sense of the word; it is predominantly functional in a wide variety of fields.
>
> TWO: The function of observing and reporting has become far less important than exerting influence for the "harmonization" of policies between the United States and other governments in those fields.

These assumptions, or others very much like them, have been increasingly in evidence as the foundation of both official and unofficial thinking on the techniques of the conduct of foreign affairs during the past few years. They are beginning to appear as axioms upon which foreign policy is formed. Is it not time to question the validity of these assumptions, and to make sure that they are consonant with the hard realities of international politics?

Just what are these functions which now dominate the conduct of our foreign relations? They are economic and technical assistance, informational and cultural operations, military assistance, Peace Corps, and a host of less important activities. How do they differ from other and more "diplomatic" and "traditional" aspects of the conduct of foreign relations? They are, essentially, efforts by the United States to alter the present and future shape of foreign societies. Traditional diplomatic activity is essentially aimed at manipulating existing foreign societies without attempting as an end to alter their nature and structure. Before we state as an axiom that one of these functions is dominant over the other, we should examine the relative importance of each to the national security of the United States.

← *CARNATIONS by Lynn Millar*

The two concepts have long been visible in dealings of one human society with another. Up until very recently, the traditional aspect has been overwhelmingly more important in dealings between sovereign nations. But there is a long historical background for the "operational" aspect in the conduct of the relations of a stronger state with a weaker one under conditions of other than sovereign equality, usually in terms of colonial or imperial connections. This dichotomy shows itself repeatedly in such settings as the struggle between the exponents of "direct rule" and "indirect rule" in British colonial theory.

In relations between sovereign nations, the formative or operational approach has not yet been proven to be effective, as against the traditional approach, in terms of contributing maximally to the national security of a major power. Perhaps it will be proven effective, perhaps not, in these terms. But history has not yet rendered a judgment. The Soviet Union in 1955 made a major shift away from its version of the operational aspect toward a more traditional approach. Rather than try to shape societies or foreigners to its own ideas it began to assess them for what they were and to utilize them for purposes consonant with Soviet national objectives. Underneath the current Sino-Soviet dispute there is much of this ancient dichotomy.

IT IS important to remember that we are not here considering foreign aid *per se*. We are considering alternate approaches to the conduct of foreign relations. As Professor Morgenthau has pointed out, foreign aid has been traditionally used for centuries, and can be used today, to add content and meaning to a traditional approach to a foreign policy problem. But in such cases, the military or economic aid has been a tool for the manipulation of an existing society, not a device for reshaping it closer to the heart's desire.

The doctrinaire communist who bridles at Soviet support and assistance to bourgeois Nationalist states, and urges instead the devotion of communist resources to the forcible communization of these states through external or internal measures is a spiritual cousin of the Westerner who bridles at American support and assistance used as a tool for strengthening the independence of states threatened by communism and urges the devotion of Western resources to the transformation of these states by the American version of operations into developing, democratic, and eventually affluent societies.

THERE is no need here to go into the argument of whether or not the establishment of communism in any particular state is to the long-range benefit of the U.S.S.R. or whether the achievement of a high rate of economic growth in any particular state is necessarily in the long-range best interests of the United States. The point to be noted is that neither the U. S. nor the U.S.S.R. can yet point to a single example of an undoubted and unalloyed success in transforming an alien society by the operational approach. Both we and the Soviets tend to believe that our opponents are likely to score signal successes in the operational approach at any moment, but the cold record of history shows that the successes we have each achieved have been primarily in the context of a traditional approach, even though the traditional approach may have been greatly assisted by operational tools. In these cases, the operational tools have been clearly only tools. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan involved large quantities of military, economic, and informational operations, but their success lay in the identification of pow-

by John W. Bowling

erful existing elements in foreign societies which it was to our advantage to protect and foster, the establishment of understandings through traditional channels as to our common aims, and the bolstering of those forces by psychological and material means. We did not set out to transform and reshape the societies of Greece, Turkey, and Western Europe as an end in itself. Throughout, the operational aspect was subordinate to the traditional aspect of our relations with the affected states. At those times when the operational aspect got out of control to some extent, our efforts were counterproductive and anti-Americanism was aroused.

The great but ephemeral Soviet success, the communist takeover of China, does not seem to have been the result of a classical communist shaping process. Actually, Stalin gave up the operational approach in disgust after the debacle of 1927. The most important Soviet action in the actual event was the turning over of the resources of Manchuria to the Chinese communists rather than to the government of the Republic. This action was essentially traditional and manipulative, not operational and formative.

THERE appear to be flexible but real, self-limiting factors in any effort to shape a foreign society other than by the unchallenged force of arms. No matter how beneficial foreign operations may seem, they are still foreign, and this is a century of unbridled nationalism. The very success of such foreign operations breeds an equivalent counteraction at any point where the foreign operation becomes truly significant in its own right. Even without these limitations, how can a world power expect to transform foreign societies all over the world when the total allocation of resources from both major camps of world politics is probably less than three or four dollars for each person in the areas of contest (with much of that in the form of loans) when such blind factors as population growth or technological change can force drastic reshufflings of societal patterns beyond the power of either of the protagonist states to influence seriously?

Pet Shop, Hong Kong — *Earl Wilson*

THIS is not to say that the operational aspect is not important. It is. But it is important primarily as an adjunct and a tool of traditional diplomacy. Most of the net output of the operations of either of the two super-powers is going to balance off the operational results of the other power, in the long-run, net result. The remainder may be, if combined with wise traditional diplomacy, sufficient to alter by a few degrees the course which a foreign society was already taking, or to add a marginal increment to some trend in a foreign society which was already there. Only in unusual cases will the increment supplied by foreign operations be critical. And then foreign operations often yield unintended results. We cannot properly analyze the many factors at work in our own society. Any belief that we can accurately predict alien value systems borders on arrogance.

What Ambassador Achilles calls the functional aspect of our foreign policy is an unproven experiment insofar as it is purely operational and functional. To the extent that it is no more than a useful tool in the manipulation of existing foreign societies, it is clearly subordinate to the principal tasks of traditional diplomacy.

And now to his second assumption. Perhaps the best comment which can be made could be best illustrated by a hypothetical situation: Assume that you are responsible for Country X, a state in which we carry on medium-level operations in terms of economic aid, military assistance, informational and cultural activities, and so forth. You are to choose between two candidates for Ambassador to Country X. One of them possesses such personal qualities as to lead you to estimate that his guidance and direction of our functional programs in County X will lead to a twenty percent increase in their technical effectiveness. This latter could be measured in terms of real military capacity of the receiving state per unit of military assistance, in terms of GNP increase per unit of economic and technical assistance, in terms of Gallup-poll results in those particular fields in which we are concentrating our informational and cultural activities. But this candidate is unfortunately relatively unskilled in traditional diplomacy, has little sense of history, and has no skill in observing and analyzing basic political and economic trends and determining the pressure points in time and space of an alien society. In all these fields of traditional diplomacy, his work would show a twenty percent reduction from the standard. Another candidate can be expected to reduce operational efficiency by twenty percent but to increase the effectiveness of the traditional aspect as defined above by the same amount. There is little doubt that most of us would choose the latter candidate. The reason is that we recognize instinctively that the identification and manipulation of the existing power currents in a foreign society is infinitely more important in terms of our national security than is improved efficiency in our operations. By the nature of things, the latter can very rarely be more than marginal in its effect on our national security. The former can be, and is, critical all the time.

TO sum up, there is a mounting body of evidence that the tail is beginning to wag the dog in the conduct of our foreign policy. The extent to which this has already occurred can be gauged by the ease with which we can accept the two assumptions set forth by Ambassador Achilles.

James Thurber tells of certain foxes who believed that rabbits caused earthquakes by thumping the ground with their hind feet. As long as rabbits thump the ground with their hind feet and occasional earthquakes occur, there is a certain weird logic to the assumption. The peculiar thing is that it would not be at all difficult to persuade the rabbits of its truth. It would be a most comforting solace for the rabbit ego, and would doubtless give rise to vast and complicated rabbit theories as to the beneficial effects of earthquakes and of just how and when to thump the ground to obtain any desired geophysical result.

USIA'S FSCR: A Salute and a Caveat

by TED OLSON

THE HERTER Committee's report has given fresh encouragement to the U. S. Information Agency's aspirations to a career service of its own, measuring up to the same standards and enjoying the same prerogatives and benefits as the "regular" Foreign Service.

Actually, USIA has been building this kind of a service for several years. As long ago as 1955 it began experimenting with a junior officer training program under which young men and women, recruited immediately or shortly after graduation, were sent overseas as internes—they were familiarly known as JOT's—to learn the techniques of information and propaganda on the job. This program has been standardized and expanded. USIA competes energetically with other government and private agencies for the promising young people coming off the educational production lines with Phi Beta Kappa keys resplendent alongside their fraternity pins. It subjects them to examinations closely paralleling those administered by the Board of Foreign Service Examiners. Foreign Service officers sit on the interviewing panels, and no candidate who has failed the "regular" F.S. examination is admitted. The five-man promotion panels include two FSO's from State.

The F.S. members of these panels have frequently expressed admiration, and sometimes envy, for the breadth and thoroughness of the on-the-job training given USIA recruits. After a brief indoctrination course at the Foreign Service Institute, the young FSCR-8 (Foreign Service Career Reserve) is assigned to a USIS post for a period of ten months to a year as a Public Affairs Trainee. During that time he is supposed to learn something about every phase of USIS operations. The Agency expects the post to see that he does; the natural temptation to thrust the new body into the most achingly empty slot, and leave it there, is sternly discouraged. Four to six weeks in press and publications; similar periods in motion pictures, radio, book translations, exhibits; a stint at the library or information center, another working on exchange of persons, another at a branch post. At the end of his training period he is ready for his first regular assignment, which may be in any one of the specialities of which he has acquired a smattering.

TED OLSON writes from an acquaintance with USIA going back to the beginning and refreshed by service on the 1962 promotion panels.

Thus to a steadily increasing degree USIS posts are being staffed by young generalists who have had little if any prior professional experience but who have acquired a wide range of practical experience in USIS techniques. The emphasis on general usefulness is maintained by shuttling a young officer back and forth between "cultural" and "information" assignments, to keep him flexible. The goals to which he is encouraged to aspire are generalist goals: Branch Public Affairs Officer, Deputy Country Public Affairs Officer, CPAO, in a small country first, then in a larger one.

THE performance of many of these young people, pitched into situations for which no amount of training and prior experience could have prepared them, is impressive. All the members of the promotion panel on which I served last fall remarked on the resourcefulness and initiative of some FSCR's-7 and FSCR's-6 serving in places you are unlikely to find in your home atlas—places like Pakse, Cantho and Songhkla. The necessity of manning dozens of posts, branch posts and sub-posts in newborn countries, and beefing up staffs in crisis areas, such as Laos, has forced USIA to abandon the deliberate seasoning of its young officers that was originally contemplated. It is not unprecedented for a CR-7, one year out of training, to find himself in charge of a country mission for extended periods. At 28 or 29—an age when his FSO-7 colleague may still be stamping visas or handling protection cases—he is representing the United States in negotiations with Cabinet ministers, directors of government bureaus, and university rectors. Quite often he does it very well. In many young countries youth may not be a serious handicap. Quite possibly the Minister of Education is no older than our acting PAO, and he may not be nearly so well-educated.

But—and now I come to my caveat—what happens later, as the young man, or woman, rises in rank and is assigned to countries of greater maturity and sophistication? He is now in one sense a professional. He knows USIS techniques; he has supplemented his across-the-board training with experience in both cultural and informational assignments. He can prepare a press release, draft a speech for the Ambassador, write and lay out a pamphlet, design an exhibit, negotiate a book translation contract, supervise the production of a radio show or a documentary film, guide an exchange student or a leader grantee through the "proc-

essing" labyrinth. He is, in short, a skilled technician, able to direct a section or a post with the smooth competence that delights a desk officer or an Assistant Director.

But what about the content without which the techniques are meaningless? How effective will he be as the authorized spokesman for our complex and contradictory civilization, as a representative of a culture which a large part of the world's population envies, furtively admires, fears, and feels compelled to deride?

I have used the word "culture" in its broadest sense. I should like now to narrow it to the sense we have in mind when we talk of a National Cultural Center: the sum total of a people's intellectual and artistic accomplishment. For it is the "cultural" sector of USIS activities that gives me most concern; it is there that the application of the generalist theory of staffing which USIA has adopted so enthusiastically seems to me most questionable.

WE NOW have serving in a good many countries Cultural Affairs Officers whose qualifications comprise an M.A., a year or two of teaching, and an acquired mastery of the mechanics of the programs USIS classifies as "cultural"—exchange of persons, book translations and presentations, some exhibits, the promotion and coddling of touring performers ranging from the Shaw Chorale to Dizzy Gillespie. These qualifications may be adequate in Outer Myopia. But sooner or later the CAO, moving up the career ladder, is likely to find herself seated at dinner heside a distinguished professor who will start questioning her about the place of Ferlinghetti in contemporary poetry, the symbolism in John Updike's new novel, the influence of Sartre on Tennessee Williams. And where is she?

This can happen not only in Europe, but in the Middle East, Latin America, southeast Asia, even Africa, for most countries have their intelligentsia, frequently educated in Europe or America, who pride themselves on keeping up with art and literature elsewhere.

I realize that I am echoing R. Smith Simpson (the JOURNAL, November, 1962). He was appalled by the ignorance many FSO candidates displayed of their country's art, music and literature. USIA examiners have made the same lugubrious discovery. Over and over interviewers have noted of an otherwise promising candidate: "Weak on American culture."

"Of course, what I just said is off the record."

Now it is embarrassing enough for a Political or Economic Officer to betray such ignorance; for a Cultural Officer it is calamitous. Yet when are these earnest and intelligent young officers, chosen for their general adaptability, going to find time to keep up with cultural developments at home—let alone to fill in the cavernous lacunae left by American education and the displacement of the home library by the television set?

The lack of professional background outside of government may be somewhat less of a handicap to our young officer during his tours of duty on the informational side of the program. Yet even there some prior experience is valuable. Much of USIS work consists of persuading foreign clients to make use of the variety of services it provides. Those clients are usually specialists quick to detect and exploit any show of amateurishness. The officer who really does know his specialty benefits by the camaraderie existing among practitioners of the same craft, whatever their nationality. On his first visit to an editor the press officer who has been a newspaper man himself can use shop talk to get acquainted; his sales talk on the third or fourth visit will be all the more persuasive. A radio-television officer of professional competence will be listened to almost worshipfully in "developing" countries where broadcasting and telecasting are just getting started. In more than one such country USIS personnel have in effect set up national radio networks and operated them for considerable periods.

THERE ARE still a good many specialists on USIA's rosters, to be sure, as well as generalists who began as specialists and retain their professional expertise. And some recruiting at the middle and upper levels continues, so that many key jobs will still be filled by persons with professional experience in "private enterprise." But the current thinking appears to be that most of USIA's manpower will be provided eventually by those who sign on as CR's-8 or CR's-7, and work their way up. The specialist who insists on remaining a specialist finds himself eventually at a dead end, facing a barricade marked "No more promotions." (Most of USIA's senior librarians are already there.)

The model USIA has adopted is admittedly the career Foreign Service, with its generalist-specialist-generalist pattern. It has worked pretty well for the State Department, in building a corps for the conduct of traditional diplomacy; why shouldn't it work equally well with the information service and perhaps with other arms of "the new diplomacy?"

I would answer that question with another, or rather with several. Are the needs of the two services really identical, or even analogous? Is the generalist-specialist-generalist pattern equally well adapted to USIS work in the field? Is a system of unlimited interchangeability of personnel really fitted to the special requirements of a propaganda-information-cultural program?

by Ted Olson

The underlying assumption of FSO training is that diplomacy is an art, or a craft, or a complex of techniques that has to be learned by doing; no simple transfer of skills acquired in other pursuits can be adequate. USIA appears to be making a similar assumption as to "public affairs"—that awkward, imprecise and untranslatable term we have adopted for the variety of activities we undertake to win friends and influence people.

There is some validity in the assumption. Professional skill alone is of course not enough. An experienced newsman may be an appallingly inept press officer. An eminent American scholar may be entirely lacking in the persuasiveness and tact required to convince a skeptical rector that his university should establish an Institute of American Studies.

BUT does this mean that "public affairs" is a separate craft or profession that has to be learned, like diplomacy? Does it not mean rather that the variety of skills—for convenience designated by the catch-all term "public affairs"—which have been added fairly recently to the arsenal of diplomacy are effective only when employed with the additional special skill which *is* diplomacy?

The problem then becomes one of how you get the necessary blend of public affairs specialist and diplomat: by training young people in the arts of diplomacy (as adapted to the public affairs field) and along the way giving them a smattering of specialist skills, or by enlisting professionals who show some aptitude and making diplomats (public affairs brand) out of them?

For a good many years we followed the second course. USIS came into being as an arm of the Office of War Information, and was staffed with men and women borrowed from private enterprise—from newspapers, magazines, book publishing houses, radio networks, motion pictures, colleges and universities, and, alas, advertising and public relations agencies. All of them expected to go back to private enterprise after the war, and many did—including the big-name boys who had brought luster, audacity, temperament and no little confusion to the business of persuading the enemy to surrender, heartening our allies and keeping the neutrals neutral. But some stayed on. Mostly these were the journeymen, who did not have $75,000 jobs waiting for them, who had found their wartime assignments a lot more fun than reading copy or teaching freshmen, and who realized that America's new and mighty role in world affairs was going to create a permanent need for explaining our policies and acts and the civilization that generated them.

As a postwar organization developed the original nucleus was augmented by others recruited, at the middle and upper grades, on the basis of their experience in various fields of specialization. And most of them were expected to remain specialists—information officers, cultural officers, radio officers, motion picture officers—moving up, if their performance warranted, to bigger jobs in larger and more important countries or supervisory slots in the home office. The best, who had demonstrated executive ability beyond their field of specialization, were assigned as Public Affairs Officers.

For a number of reasons this system eventually proved incapable of providing the manpower USIA required. One reason, of course, was the great expansion of the program and the proliferation of USIS posts. Another was the steadily deterioriating competitive position of government in the employment market. It became more and more difficult to coax *good* newsmen, *good* radio writers and producers, *good* exhibits technicians to accept FSS-5 or -4 salaries. Even academic pay scales eventually inched up past the median for Cultural Officers, let alone ACAO's.

The only solution, it appeared, was to catch them young. Hence the JOT program, and the energetic recruitment campaign on college campuses. The recruiters recognize, to be sure, that some extracurricular experience in a relevant field is valuable; the possession or lack of it may determine the choice between two otherwise equally well-qualified applicants. A great many candidates, though, get by without it, and relatively few of those who come in at R-8 or R-7 have worked long enough to be rated as professionals.

I recognize fully that staffing an organization as large as USIA has become is anything but easy. I recognize that no personnel policy has ever approached perfection. The generalist vs. specialist argument has been going on for a long time (witness Ambassador Penfield's excellent contribution in the December JOURNAL) and may be expected to continue through the lifetime of those present. Every solution attempted has been a compromise, not entirely satisfactory to anybody.

MY purpose in this article is to raise the question whether USIA may not be in danger of leaning a little too far toward the generalist side. The essence of the "new diplomacy," according to the Herter report, is that it employs "an arsenal of instruments more varied than ever before," among which the report lists several entrusted to USIS:* "information and psychological programs; educational exchange; cultural programs." To me the words "arsenal" and "instruments" imply expertise, and the presumption is that it should be of professional quality. Certainly we would not assign the other "instruments" listed—international law, military aid, and monetary policies, for instance—to gifted young amateurs.

That last sentence was a low blow. I have already conceded that it is not so easy to define or identify a genuine expert in "public affairs" as in other more clearly demarked fields. But I would hope that our information agency does not come to rely too heavily on recruitment from the cradle; that it will continue to make every effort to enlist experienced professionals, in both information and culture, and to provide inducements sufficient to retain them and keep them happy; and, above all, that it will make sure that Cultural Officer positions are occupied by persons genuinely steeped in American culture and qualified to inspire respect for it.

*Though State has overall responsibility for educational exchange and some cultural programs, USIS operates them in the field.

More on the Herter Report—

Part II of a legal and historic review which was made available to the Department Task Force considering the Herter Committee Report's recommendations. Part III will appear in the June Journal.

The Vienna Convention

By FREDERIC L. CHAPIN

QUITE apart from the constitutional provisions, there is an aspect to diplomatic titles and rank which the Herter Committee report unfortunately totally ignored. At a conference in Vienna from March 2, to April 14, 1961, sponsored by the United Nations, delegations of 81 states hammered out a convention on Diplomatic Relations. Although the United States signed the convention almost two years ago, it has yet to be submitted to the Senate, and the Herter Committee makes no recommendation on this subject which is clearly pertinent to its study.

The Vienna Convention would sanction the granting by the receiving states of different privileges and immunities to different categories of members of staffs of diplomatic missions. Article 1 of the Convention defines "members of the diplomatic staff" as the members of the staff of the permanent diplomatic mission "having diplomatic rank" and distinguishes them from "members of the administrative and technical staff" who are defined as "the members of the staff of the mission employed in the administrative and technical services of the mission." It is obvious that there is room for a certain ambiguity since, under present procedures and those proposed by the Herter Committee, the United States would have officers with "diplomatic rank" who would actually be employed in the administrative and technical services of American Embassies. The problem posed by the differentiation between members of the diplomatic staff and members of the administrative and technical staff is that a number of receiving states, including France, are vehemently opposed to giving the same privileges and immunities to administrative and technical personnel as to diplomatic officers. The United States Government's position, based on our democratic and equalitarian concepts, has been that "all members of the staff of the mission perform essential tasks, and there seems no reason to differentiate between them except on grounds of nationality or residence."[1] The United States therefore formally proposed in Vienna that administrative and technical staff and the service staff (domestic servants employed by the mission) should have the same privileges and immunities as diplomatic agents, the only differences being in precedence and rank, but this proposal was defeated in the committee of the whole by a vote of 58 to 3 with 9 abstentions. In fact, at one point the Vienna Conference voted down the provision in Article 37 granting privileges and immunities to members of the administrative and technical staff, thus in effect leaving such personnel and their families with only whatever receiving states felt disposed to give them. The United Kingdom and the United States led a successful last-minute effort for reconsideration of this decision and as a result administrative and technical personnel receive substantially the same privileges and immunities as diplomatic personnel. The two exceptions are that the immunity from civil and administrative jurisdiction of the receiving state shall not extend to acts performed outside the course of their duties and that customs privileges shall apply only to articles imported at the time of first installation abroad.

It should by now be clear that the provisions of the Constitution and the Vienna Convention cut across the Herter Committee's hope "that a fresh approach can be made to the difficult problem of diplomatic titles which carry concomitant benefits, privileges, and status recognition." While fully sympathetic with the Committee's recommendation that "differences in benefits accorded overseas employees of comparable rank and responsibility in the different foreign affairs agencies should be eliminated to the maximum practicable extent" and while recognizing that the Committee has made a number of very useful suggestions to this end, it must be recognized that, with regard to diplomatic titles and concomitant benefits, the Committee report suffers from a failure—also found elsewhere in the report—to take seriously enough the point of view of other governments.

DIPLOMATIC TITLES are not merely a question for the United States to determine. The receiving states accord diplomatic privileges and immunities, and many of them have been extremely reluctant to accord diplomatic privileges to all members of the mushrooming American diplomatic missions abroad. Difficult negotiations have ensued, and the Vienna Convention is but the latest expression of opposing views. There is no inherent status symbol or benefit in a United States appointment as a secretary in the diplomatic service or consul. Status depends upon accreditation by the receiving state which may require the size of a mission to be kept within reasonable limits. Listing on the published diplomatic list, which many have regarded as an important social status symbol, is also independent of the rank or commis-

FREDERIC L. CHAPIN, who returned to United Nations Political Affairs in the Department after opening the American Embassy at Fort Lamy, Chad, contributed two earlier JOURNAL articles on personnel matters.

[1] United Nations Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities Report of the U. S. Delegation. Dept. of State Publication 7289.

sions held by individual officers and is determined by the Chief of Mission within any over-all numerical limits which may be established by the receiving state. This practice is confirmed in the Vienna Convention.

According to Table VI in the Herter Committee report there were 596 FSO's engaged in administration, not all of them abroad. It may be possible to argue that the senior administrative officer in each Embassy performs a variety of tasks of such a nature that he warrants a diplomatic rank as Counselor or Secretary in the diplomatic service, and this can be justified to foreign governments if necessary. The days of the Counselor of Embassy *for Administration* are numbered, however. Parties to the Vienna Convention, once it is in force, will be perfectly justified pursuant to Article 1 in requesting American diplomatic missions to furnish them with descriptions of the nature of the work to be performed by officers of diplomatic rank, and in denying diplomatic status to budget and fiscal officers, communications officers, or general services officers and their respective assistants, whether or not they are appointed by the President as Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service and Consuls of the United States of America, by and with the consent of the Senate.

WITH REGARD to career officers of the Foreign Development and Information Services, appointments and commissions as Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service will not necessarily provide them with diplomatic privileges and immunities, just as they may not for administrative officers. The argument which the United States will have to make on behalf of diplomatic privileges and immunities for such officers in program positions at Embassies is that they are members of the diplomatic staff of the mission pursuant to the language of Article 31 (e) of the Vienna Convention which states: "The functions of a diplomatic mission consist *inter alia* in: . . . (e) promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations." Receiving states, as has been noted, have tended to limit as much as possible the granting of privileges and immunities. The present bases for privileges to AID personnel are generally the bilateral aid agreements with recipient states, which may or may not and usually are not consonant with the privileges accorded to corresponding diplomatic personnel. It is apparently in the spirit of the Herter Committee report to eliminate special benefits to lower categories of AID personnel not accorded to USIA and Foreign Service Officer and Staff personnel of equivalent ranks.

Here, of course, we touch on a particularly neuralgic point. For personnel below the rank of FSO-5, the privileges of duty-free imports and duty-free sales of cars, after appropriate intervals, make a substantial difference in their standard of living. The limitation on free-entry privileges in the Vienna Convention may very well have an adverse effect upon the commissaries organized by American Embassy personnel. These commissaries are of particular importance to junior officers and personnel not of diplomatic rank. It is at these levels also that bad morale, as a result of differences in privileges, really makes itself felt. Furthermore, there may be a substantial financial advantage for clerical personnel in resignation at, or toward the end of a tour of duty, a momentary period of idleness, and reappointment to another post, rather than return to the initial post. What is more, the resignation or threat of resignation may result in an immediate transfer to a better post or the offer of a better assignment.

THE PROSPECTIVE limitations on privileges extended to administrative and technical personnel of American Embassies will exacerbate what the Herter Committee has described as "the costly turnover that now characterizes clerical staffing overseas." The Herter Committee had hoped to decrease that turnover by the merger into the foreign affairs services of clerical, technical and sub-professional employees now under the Civil Service. This hope appears ill-founded partly because many of the Civil Service employees at the levels described are definitely Washington based and often have members of their families in other jobs in the city. Furthermore, the only way the Department of State is currently able to fill its requirement for secretarial assistance in Washington is by using secretaries recruited for Foreign Service on temporary assignments to the Department for "training" before going overseas. The rapid turnover overseas really results from a complex variety of factors relating to housing, perquisites, office hours and overtime, and dissatisfaction with conditions in the country of assignment in relation to the romantic prospects which had often motivated the original desire to serve overseas. The prospective provisions of the Vienna Convention will only tend to increase the turnover, and it is to be regretted that more attention was not paid to this very important and costly problem in the Herter Report.

Receiving states have been even more chary of granting privileges and immunities to consular officers than to diplomatic officers, and such limited privileges and immunities as exist are the result of bilateral treaties or whatever the receiving States are disposed to give consular officers. Thus it happens today that Foreign Service officers serving in consulates in Switzerland or Venezuela get practically no privileges as compared with officers of equal rank serving at the Embassies in the capitals. Moreover, many governments are careful to limit privileges and immunities accorded foreign government officials who reside at locations other than that of the diplomatic mission to those who fulfill bona fide consular functions. Reflecting this general attitude, Article 12 of the Vienna Convention provides that the sending State may not establish offices forming part of the diplomatic mission in localities other than those in which the mission itself is established "without the prior express consent of the receiving State."

◆◆◆ PROBABLY no segment of our public dependents has been treated so niggardly and disparagingly throughout our history, until recent times, as our [diplomatic] officers serving overseas. Only the American Indians have fared worse—ANDREW J. BERDING in *"Foreign Affairs and You!"*

EDITORIAL PAGES

"Jardin des Tuileries" *by Camille Pissarro*

The Clay Committee Report

THE Clay Committee report, which hit the headlines on March 24, has had repercussions in Washington and overseas. The President reflected the report's recommendations in his foreign aid message to Congress at the beginning of April. General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World, agreed to testify to the Senate and House Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees. American embassies in many countries have been reporting local reactions to the Committee's conclusions.

The report states that "we believe these programs, properly conceived and implemented, to be essential to the security of our nation and necessary to the exercise of its worldwide responsibilities." In the JOURNAL's opinion, the report is generally useful, constructive and can be implemented in many respects.

What are the Committee's principal recommendations?

1) Countries receiving aid must make better use of their own resources;

2) "Other prospering industrialized nations . . . should assume much more of the foreign aid burden than they are now carrying";

3) Our national interests require "substantial tightening up and sharpened objectives" for foreign aid;

4) "Except where paramount military security or other extraordinary circumstances are involved . . . the kind and basis of aid provided . . . [must] be determined on economic grounds";

5) "The private sector . . . will make the greatest contribution to rapid economic growth and overall development."

These recommendations are all acceptable to the President as he made clear, and to the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Administrator of AID. In fact, they are already reflected in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and in AID programing for fiscal years 1963 and 1964.

The Committee also makes a number of specific recommendations with respect to regions and particular countries, and concludes that: "if our criteria were now in effect, present programs would be reduced by approximately $500 million." At the same time, the report clearly states that this does not take account of proposed new programs increasing lending if countries meet highest performance

standards, nor of "future emergencies and unknown challenges" for which flexibility is required.

It is here that much of the subsequent confusion over the report arose in the American press, as well as in reactions reported from abroad. The quick, but incorrect, interpretation given by most newspapers was that, since "present programs," military and economic together, amount to $3.9 billion appropriated in 1962, a figure of $3.4 billion would be sufficient. The Clay Committee did not say this. We expect that in his testimony before Congress General Clay will make quite clear what figures he was talking about. The President's foreign aid message reduced the original Budget estimates from $4.9 billion to $4.5 billion, half by carrying over funds unspent this year and half from reductions. He also carefully pointed out the more than half a billion dollars of net increases are required above last year's appropriations.

A report of this nature serves several useful purposes. A group of informed outsiders can often contribute a perspective to any government operation. Severe, but friendly, critics help to overcome the misgivings of those friends of the programs who have been heavily influenced by the denigrators and negativists. Administrative and operational changes which have already occurred can be publicized.

On the other hand, in the space of a few weeks a committee of outsiders cannot possibly study and describe all the intricacies of the complex process of foreign aid. And even if it could, the process and its problems could not be made crystal clear to the public in a brief report.

The Clay Committee has performed a useful service in drawing public attention to the continuing need for foreign aid, to the meritorious changes which have taken place since AID was created in 1961, and to some of the further improvements which are required—and are underway. In other respects, the report has too many generalizations about highly complex political and economic matters affecting the United States' role with respect to particular countries and regions.

The JOURNAL welcomes the Clay report and the attention it has focused on our foreign aid program. We hope the program will be strengthened thereby and that the American people will continue to support, as they have during the past seventeen years, this enlightened form of self-aid.

Punditry Regained

AMONG other manifold benefits accompanying winter's end, the reappearance of the New York TIMES has been accorded the sort of welcome usually reserved for the first crocus. We were even more gratified to note that Mr. C. L. Sulzberger chose the Foreign Service as the subject of his first column and that he quoted therein from two recent JOURNAL articles. Moreover, while the thrust of Mr. Sulzberger's comments is generally critical, most of our professional associates will probably agree that he is critical for at least some of the right reasons. He will also find most career officers receptive to his view that externally inspired improvements have been a mixed blessing and that what has historically been done to the Service has in some degree impaired what it can do for the nation.

We believe that Mr. Sulzberger over-paints the picture and over-simplifies the issues to some extent, as do the sources from which he quotes. Nonetheless, without debating the substance either of Mr. Sulzberger's column or the articles by Messrs. Briggs and Cochran from which he quotes, we were gratified by this recognition of the JOURNAL's efforts to provide a forum for candid discussion on matters of substance and controversy. We will continue to provide such a forum and our readers are again urged to make known their views to this effect. We are not, contrary to Mr. Sulzberger's description, "the State Department house organ," and it is precisely the fact of editorial and fiscal independence which affords the JOURNAL its best opportunity to improve public understanding of the Foreign Service both as a profession and as an agency of Government.

The Proposed New Look

A product of State, USIA and AID emalgamation would be . . .

an experienced rice taster . . .

a protocol expert . . .

a publicist at ease with the press.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS

Celestial dancers, Angkor Wat

April

is usually the loveliest, the liveliest, the most restless month of all, and this year was no exception in Washington.

After a long, hard winter the freshness and brilliance of flowers and foliage, trees and plumage were almost breathtaking, seen in the clarity of the windswept atmosphere.

Even the Exhausted Bureaucrat had a jaunty look about him when he stopped in early Saturday morning, bringing with him hot coffee and a handful of flowers.

"Had to stop round to see you. Such a satisfaction to get the chore of the income tax out of the way. Probably the one time it's better to be in Washington than overseas—here we're forced to get it out of the way sooner."

We'd beaten the deadline only by hours, and only by having some good assistance, we admittted.

"Now I can look at the trees and skies and flowers and see them once again. We had a nice day for the opening game of the Senators early in the month, when the President threw in the opening ball. Pretty good game, too, though they lost to the Orioles.

"Hard to realize in these lovely spring days in Washington the predicament of many hundreds of children on relief here, through no fault of their own. Overcrowded living conditions and undernourished as well.

"Perhaps we shouldn't be too surprised that the crime rate climbed once more to an all-time high in the District.

"Until the District gets the vote and its own funds there never will be proper provisions for education and welfare, lack of which is quickly reflected in the crime rate."

"This is a long continuing problem. And it's hard to exaggerate the need for a nationwide reapportionment of districts so we can get down to today's urban problems —

"By the way, I've noticed something new in our Washington taxicabs. There is a new respect for the rider's privacy. It may not happen in all 12,000-odd cabs but a few of the drivers have asked recently before turning on the radio and before lighting cigars."

"More genuine thoughtfulness on the part of us all," he replied, "would probably make this the garden spot of the world, a place that tourists would never forget and residents would be loath to leave. Some of our visitors from the Far East, and there are many in this district, seem to be bringing this with them, too."

"But tell us about life and love around New State these days," we urged.

"It's been a rugged month," he admitted:

"Presentations before Congress are never easy; but in some respects it was easier than last year.

"Must admit it was a bit much to have material from the March JOURNAL used as ammunition against us at one point. But Under Secretary Ball's apt rejoinder that only a sturdy Service would dare supply, or apply, an autocritique put things in a healthy focus.

"At any rate, we're over the hearings bump now."

"Seems to me they were talking about overtime and compensation down on the Hill, E.B. Are the lights still burning brightly at nights at New State?"

"There's been no change. The lights do burn brightly, the weekenders at State seem still in residence, though of course there's no compensation for FSO's, or FSS's above a seven, for that matter. Easter Saturday the place was bare, however.

"Well, it will be light so much longer with daylight saving now. Wonder why we don't institute double daylight as they had in Great Britain? Probably goes back to our non-urban representation again."

AFSA's New Membership

"The suggestions of the Herter Committee Report have been worked over by Task Forces and Committees galore and are now drafted into legislation. They will certainly change the shape and form of things. By the way, I notice AFSA's new membership rules will take this into account: AID and USIA will for the first time be able to become full-fledged members of the Association. Glad to hear of this; they've contributed a huge share of the talented art and writing published in the JOURNAL —people seem not too generally aware of this."

The Ugly

"The drums have been busy beating out publicity for the movie on the Ugly American, E.B. Did you see Marlon Brando when he was in town to help?"

"Yes, he seems to create considerable excitement among the women when he visits New State. At the Bangkok opening of the film he charmed the King and Queen, too, 'twas said. Received a three-line review of the film itself by cable," and he pulled out a scrap of paper:

> THE UGLY AMERICAN RUNS ONE HOUR AND FIFTY-EIGHT MINUTES OF WHICH ONE BECOMES AWARE. THE COLOR IS LOVELY AND MR. BRANDO PLAYS HIMSELF.

"Bosley Crowther had some excellent things to say about Brando's work and the film. He concluded:

> "'Whether the seminar nature of this drama about cold war politics will discourage the unsophisticated — and whether the simpleness of it will offend those who are familiar—I do not care to guess. It is so extraordinary, and so well played in crucial roles, it should be seen.'"

"Two things interested me about it, in addition to what you say, E.B. The role of the Prime Minister of Sarkhan was so well played — and perhaps for a good reason — he is the former Minister of Finance in Thailand and had come onto the picture as a technical expert.

"I noticed, too, that the title continues the deception of the book. People continue to identify the title with the Ambassador (Marlon Brando). Even Crowther did in his review but the real "Ugly American," Homer Atkins, is well played by Pat Hingle as a road construction boss. It was Homer Atkins who looked rough and ugly but was a real hero, and he was almost alone among the Americans in his knowledge of the people and their needs."

"Don't know whether you happened to see the defense of the American diplomat in Hong Kong's CHINA MAIL early last month?"

"In part, the columnist, John Luff, wrote, under title of 'The Ugly American the Way I See It:'

— Truth compels me to say that in the main, with a few exceptions, I have found the average American representing his country abroad (and I have met a great many), better informed and more enthusiastic about his assignment, than his colleagues in the service of other nationalities.

— Perhaps less cynical, but in the sense of doing a good job, second to none.

— If the fault lies anywhere, it is back in Washington where information is interpreted.

— The American on the spot is much more the victim of the hasty Senator, who takes in the Far East on a lightning tour, and returns to shout all over the place his interpretation of a situation he does not understand.

— It might be asked then, by those unaware of the democratic institutions of America, why such a travesty of events first written and then filmed, in the worst interests of the country of origin . . . Had such a book been written by a member of any country within the communist block, a firing squad would have punctuated the last sentence. That is merely a statement of fact.—

"Mr. Luff's column was written, however, before he had seen the film and he may very well feel the film, in throwing away the book, was able (within the limitations of Hollywood) to do a much better job than the original book.

"Well, I'll be stopping round soon but must do an errand or two now, and stop by New State briefly," and he was soon in the brilliant sunlight on the street.

For Shutter Bugs

Paul Child came to town last month bringing with him a huge packet of exhibition photos for the upcoming JOURNAL series, "Photography: What to Look for? and What to Do about It."

We're particularly glad to have such a series. There are few overseas families without a camera. With a great photographer, who is both artist and photographer, masterminding the series it's possible, too, that pictures sent in to the JOURNAL in subsequent months will show the benefit of Mr. Child's comments and suggestions.

The series will have a minimum of verbiage, letting the reader discover in the photos the points the writer is illustrating. Many JOURNAL readers will clip them into notebook form for their own or a friend's use, we suspect.

Military Service

"Mr. R. was an owner of an Italian newspaper which Mussolini bought and paid for at its market value. Moving to Switzerland where he made his home, he invested his share of the money through Swiss banks and lived modestly and alone. His investments flourished and upon his death his entire estate was left to his daughter. (He never married, and his daughter was the result of his military service.)"—*From a recent despatch.*

Washington-Moscow Hot Line

Moscow and Washington have agreed upon the installation of a hot line between the two capitals. It will work something like this, our political adviser, S. I. Nadler, tells us:

An urgent matter, demanding immediate clarification, comes up. Secretary in White House rings the Kremlin. Secretary in the Kremlin answers.

SECRETARY (in White House): President Kennedy calling Premier Khrushchev.

SECRETARY (in Kremlin): One moment, please. (*pause*) I have Premier Khrushchev.

S. in W. H.: Put him on, please.

S. in K.: No. You put President Kennedy on, first.

S. in W. H.: No. *You* put Premier Khrushchev on, first.

S. in K.: I will not. You'll have to put President Kennedy on . . . .

On second thought, he says, it won't work.

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

"From now on, we'll have to depend on official transportation."

European-American Dialogue *(Part II)*

by JOHN L. BROWN

As was suggested in the earlier part of this dialogue, European-American intellectual relations in the past have been largely based on a series of "idées recués," or what we called "superstitions." These represented Europe and the United States as civilizations with diametrically opposed values. They contrasted the spirit of innovation, the mobility, the "materialism" of the New World with the tradition, the stability, the humanism of the Old. They contrasted present and past, mechanical and spiritual, mass and class, life and culture. But the fundamental changes which have taken place in the past decades reveal how anachronistic these distinctions have become. The traditional roles now often seem reversed, so that America appears as the new "Old World" of the machine and the American experience assumes broader meaning as the archetypal experience of any society which accepts egalitarianism, technology, and mass production.

IN NO area have these superstitions been more deeply rooted than in the field of education. In the long debate between Europe and America the subject of the school has constantly recurred and today it remains more than ever at the very center of our mutual preoccupations. Europeans of the older generation, as well as some Americans (of whom one of the most vocal is Admiral Rickover, who has a passion for Swiss schools that is a mystery to the Swiss themselves) often contend that Continental education is automatically superior to ours.

They claim that we have sacrificed quality to quantity. They charge that American children never really learn to read or write (not even in their own language), that an excessive amount of time is spent on extra-curricular activities and other non-intellectual pursuits, that the French boy with a *bachot* knows as much at the age of seventeen as our junior in college.

We, of course, can quite legitimately reply that the European school until the very recent past has been a class school, which educates only a favored minority, and only now, because of the pressure of population growth and social change, is being forced to face up to the problem of mass education. We can point out that the formation of the personality, a feeling of individual and civic responsibility, is sacrificed to a purely intellectualistic training which is no longer sufficient in a democratic society. We can quote Rabelais that *"science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme."* We might also point out that we have practically no illiteracy (of course, what can we say of that creeping semi-illiteracy which has replaced it?) in comparison with the illiteracy figures of up to forty percent which still exist in some areas of countries which vaunt their *umanesimo tradizionale.* We might indicate that our universities are continually raising standards and seeking to give increasing attention to intellectual excellence. And we should really be vocal about our graduate schools. The best among them have no equivalent anywhere in the world and maintain a high level of scholarship and of intellectual integrity that we may well be proud of.

But the "superstition of Europe" has really lingered on among us much more in the educational field than anywhere else, certainly more than in the arts, which have decisively liberated themselves in the course of the past generations. We tend to be diffident and meek, even when we don't need to be. I must admit that I sometimes react violently to old clichés which are continually trotted out by critics both American and European and which we still tend to accept too meekly. One of the most persistent of these clichés is the superiority of the lycée or the gymnasium to the American high school. How seldom does anyone bother to reply quite simply that the high school and the lycée are two quite different instruments, designed for two quite different jobs, and that no legitimate comparison can be made between them. (Of course, one of the major difficulties in carrying on such discussions is that neither party can imagine the possibility of ANY system except his own.) When Europeans start to examine ours they usually try to fit our institutions into the Procrustean bed of their own categories, which won't do at all. For example, they cannot imagine how we can get along without standard nationwide exams such as the *bachot* or the *aggrégation.* They seek in vain for a Ministry of Education in Washington that will have the power to determine what subject shall be taught from what books at what hour in every

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JOHN L. BROWN, now lecturer in residence at Wesleyan University, served at Brussels, Paris and as Cultural Attaché at Rome. He was the New York TIMES correspondent and European director for Houghton Mifflin Company in Paris from 1945 to 1948.

school throughout the land. They insist on the anarchy of our system, even when we point out that our pluralism and lack of standardization (there goes another superstition) reflect the size and the diversity of our country. We maintain that different regions may have different educational needs, and we think it is rather funny that French schools in Equatorial Africa, or in North Africa or Madagascar, following the directions of the Ministry in Paris, used to teach little Africans, Arahs, and Malagaches all about their ancestors, the Gauls.

Of course, any attempted comparison of lycée and high school always points up one essential fact: that the high school was designed for everybody. It was necessarily as much concerned with civic and social formation in a heterogeneous society like ours as it was with pure learning. As a matter of fact, civic and social formation was probably more important for the immediate future of the nation. The lycée on the other hand was designed for a very small minority of upper middle class and aristocratic children, whose civic and social formation was already assured by family training and by the very structured class society in which they lived. The traditional ideal of European instruction was education for the governing few; ours, from the very beginning, and for better or for worse, was instruction for all. Now both ideals have revealed themselves inadequate for the enormously complex needs of our time. Europeans and Americans are both aware that something must be done. We both are beginning to look to the other for help. This is a good thing in that it encourages the open mind. The European-American dialogue in the field of education is now moving out of the realm of fantasy and prejudice where it has been carried on for so long and into the realm of specific common problems where, of course, it belongs.

Thus, for the first time in my experience, at least, a broad exchange of ideas is beginning to take place. On the European side, this has been triggered by an enormous increase in the school population, which literally made existing facilities burst out at the seams. In the years since the war, workmen and peasants and small employees are determined to send their children to the university. The European masses have now acquired the "American" conviction that "getting ahead" is possible even for them and that in order to "get ahead" you must receive, not necessarily an education, but at least a diploma. This explains the overcrowding of the lycées and the universities, the lack of preparation on the part of many of the students, the decline in the level of instruction to a point where the quality of traditional European humanistic culture is seriously threatened.

I have been able to observe personally that the culture of the post-war generation seems more hasty, more superficial than that of the pre-war intellectual. The reasons, of course, are partly economic and are linked up with the general process of democratization. The old upper-middle class fortunes, which, in the nineteenth century nourished the majority of scholars and artists—Gide, Proust, Shelley, Lord Byron, Browning, etc., have now dwindled away. Young intellectuals without such inherited money have to go to work and as a result are dispersing themselves to a degree that their elders never did. They work for the radio, for the television, for the movies, as consultants for publishing houses, as public relations men, as cultural directors for large industrial firms like Olivetti or Marzotto, and seldom have the leisure necessary to read widely, or to think, or to ripen their work and themselves.

Overcrowding, as I have already indicated, has become a major problem everywhere, at every level of instruction, throughout western Europe. The University of Rome, whose new campus was built in the mid-thirties to accommodate some six or seven thousand students, now has about thirty-five thousand registered. Of course, the majority rarely turn up at classes; they probably couldn't find a place to sit—or to stand—if they did. The Sorbonne now has a registration of over seventy thousand students in the same conditions of absenteeism. In European universities as I have observed them in France, Belgium, and Italy, the average student has little or no contact with the professor except at the end of the year, when he presents himself for oral examinations. He has usually prepared for this exam by himself at home, often in a provincial town, miles away from the university. (I recall speaking in Potenza to a "university group," composed of boys who continued to live at home, boning up their exams—usually in Law—and going up to the University in Rome or in Naples only every month or so.) A distressingly large share of university work in European institutions, particularly in law and the humanities, now consists of the solitary preparation of exams, that is, the memorization of text books, for libraries are far away and discussion impossible.

It is a new and sometimes gratifying experience for an American to listen to Rectors of European universities or even national Ministers of Education, praising our school system and considering it as a model. In Italy, for example, for better or for worse, John Dewey is being translated and enthusiastically commented upon; a campaign is going on to eliminate Latin as a subject compulsory for all those who wish to take the *maturità*, the state exam required for university entrance; the official report on educational reform, prepared by ex-minister Medici, "*Introduzione al piano di sviluppo della scuola,*" continually cites American sources and implies that many aspects of Italian school reform might well be inspired by American practices.

This ferment has been encouraged by the presence in the European school of increasing numbers of younger teachers who have had experience, either as students or as professors, in America under one of the many exchange programs now in operation.

Just as we are increasingly aware that mass education is not enough, unless accompanied by the formation of democratic leadership, so Europeans are now becoming conscious that the formation of a governing elite must be carried on within a broadly democratic framework of mass education.

The September, 1962, issue of the French intellectual review, Esprit, is devoted to this crisis in education, the second special number, in fact, to have appeared on this theme in the past few years. (In addition to Esprit, I have noticed that various other French, Italian, Dutch, and Belgian periodicals have all devoted recent special numbers to the school). Esprit is harsh in its judgments. The French

school is undemocratic, backward, incapable of giving its pupils a sense of civic responsibility. It attributes to the school a large share of the blame for the continuing French political crisis:

"*Est-ce parce que notre éducation est totalitaire, que nous sommes toujours, deux siècles bientôt apres la Révolution, à la recherche de la démocratie—si peu démocrates en tout cas? . . . Tout le monde déplore le manque de sens civique des Français, et la montée du fascisme et de la violence. Mais cette violence raciste et fasciste que les universitaires dénoncent, ont-ils le droit de s'en laver les mains?*" The author maintains that because the school has remained rigidly "intellectual" the Frenchman, even the educated Frenchman, has little awareness of his duties as a citizen.

The French lycée, whose superiority we usually so easily admit, he charges "*est la cage dont l'éleve s'évade pour vivre vraiment, c'est la triste usine à bourrer les cerveaux de connaissances toute faites nécessaires pour passer les examens. Ce n'est surtout pas un endroit où l'on apprend ce que c'est que la vraie liberté, la vraie discipline, et la participation démocratique.*"

I cite such passages not that we may console ourselves that "the others" are as bad off as we are. It is rather that, in seeking a solution to our own problems, we should not harbor the illusion that any return to traditional European methods is possible. Nor should we underestimate, as we are sometimes tempted to do at this time of self-accusation and of reforming zeal, our real achievements in mass and adult education, which are unparalleled elsewhere in the world. Few other countries have as yet progressed so far along the road towards "permanent instruction" which, if we avoid permanent destruction, will form the principal occupation of man in a future of automation, of ever-increasing leisure, and of ever-increasing technical change.

I need not belabor the point that such changes in the educational field are closely related to changes in many other places. In my conversations with Latin intellectuals, especially the older ones (since the younger men are now vigorously "cashing in" on the booming culture-industries), I have had repeated to me with a monotonous insistence, that the United States may be rich in the things of the world, but that Europe possesses the riches of the spirit, a realm from which, apparently, we are forever to be excluded. "Materialism" is a vice for which we have been reproached for generations. However, as the fruits of mass production have suddenly become generally available on the continent, it strikes us that our interlocutors have in the past been preserved from this evil, not so much through virtuous conviction, as though absence of temptation. Now that for the first time, really, the average lower-class European can indulge his material appetites beyond the subsistence level, a wildfire of acquisitiveness is sweeping over the continent, particularly, as we might expect, in the less-favored Mediterranean areas.

As far as really frank, unblushing materialism is concerned, the shoe today is definitely on the other foot. In fact, Americans have always been slightly ashamed of their possessions. We are an abstract, essentially Puritanical

by John L. Brown

people, more interested in money and objects as symbols, than as the means of material and sensual enjoyment. For genuine materialism, the subordination of the human personality and of human life to the acquisition of land and of things, the European novel can provide limitless documentation to show that Americans are sheer ascetics in comparison with peasants from Auvergne or from Tuscany, or with middle-class business dynasties, whether they come from Hamburg or Flanders.

When discussing American materialism with European friends (and discuss it you must, *ad nauseam*), I always enjoy referring to Mary McCarthy's essay, "America the Beautiful: The Humanist in the Bathtub," an exercise inspired by a particularly lethal passage at arms between her and Simone de Beauvoir, during the latter's first visit to the United States. An encounter of tigresses! Miss McCarthy states: 'Familiarity has perhaps bred contempt in us Americans; until you have a washing machine, you cannot imagine how little difference it will make to you . . . It is true that America produces and consumes more cars, soap, and bathtubs than any other nation, but we live among these objects rather than by them . . . The only really materialistic people I have ever met have been Europeans." Then she goes on to develop her point: "The strongest argument for the unmaterialistic character of American life is that fact that we tolerate conditions that are, from a materialistic point of view, intolerable. What the foreigner finds most objectionable in American life is its lack of basic comfort . . . It is out of asceticism, out of unworldliness, precisely, that we bear it."

At any rate, for the American, whether he be ascetic or, as many of us are, simply jaded, it is a nostalgic experience to watch Italian shoppers, for example, eyes fiercely alight with an almost erotic glow, satisfying long-suppressed acquisitive instincts in the cheap, five-and-dime type of stores like Upim and Standa, which have sprung up since the war throughout the Peninsula. As they snatch up nylon stockings, shiny pink rayon underpants, hideous artificial flowers, celluloid Virgins with an electric lamp inside, and plastic objects of every shape and form, their pleasure is overwhelming and for me a very moving experience. I suppose that we ourselves, wandering in the first Woolworth's as in a Garden of Eden, once had something of the same youthful acquisitive passion as these contemporary European crowds.

Never before have workers' wives—who are now often working and earning money themselves—been able to go on such spending sprees or to exercise such a wide choice in the selection of merchandise. (We realize how basically standardized a peasant or a handicraft society must be, in comparison with the giddy and gratuitous variety offered by machine-made goods). They are basking in the sun of the early springtime of consumption. They have not yet even vaguely suspected that this path strewn with plastic primroses will conduct them to the melancholy autumn of the vast American shopping-centers, where expressionless crowds joylessly but dutifully buy the gadgets which they neither need nor deeply want. They have not yet suspected that indulgence spells the death of desire.

It would be easy to show how the European-American relationship has evolved in a comparable way in other areas, such as in the position of women (and of children and adolescents as well), in social equality and mobility, in the philosophy of consumption and of obsolescence. We might also ask ourselves if we are exchanging our traditional role in the dialogue—that of contemporary Romans—for a new one—that of the Greeks of the future—and what the privileges and the perils of being Greek, rather than Roman, may be.

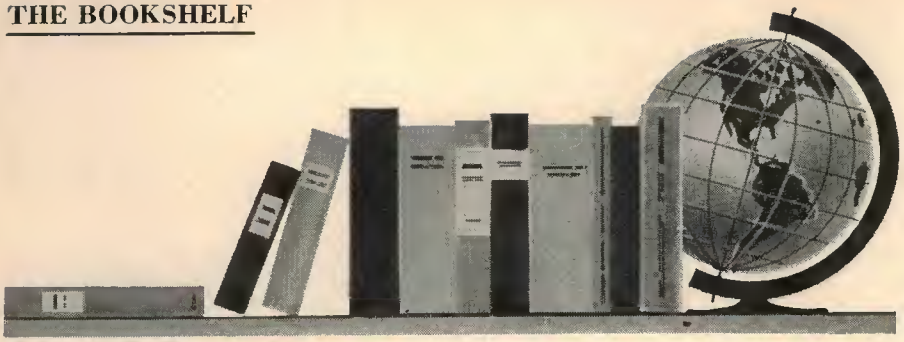
For in America we now seem to be abandoning the half-aggressive, half-apologetic "Roman" sense of material superiority which possessed us in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. We are realizing more and more that we are not necessarily the "biggest and the best." or even, as a matter of fact, permanently "the richest." Our pre-eminence, in being displaced from the realm of things, may, it is hoped, establish itself in the kingdom of the spirit. Certainly we are increasingly concerned with the preservation of certain values which in booming Europe and in the developing countries of Asia and Africa are being sacrificed—perhaps unconsciously—to the new gods of mass production and mass consumption. We are now aware that we can no longer consider Europe, as we always have done in the past, as an inexhaustible cultural reservoir, on which we can draw to quicken and to enrich our own intellectual and artistic life. It seems quite possible that in the decades ahead, at a time when older, traditional societies are being changed into mass, technical societies, we may be called upon to assume the major role in the defense of humanistic values, not only by preserving them in our great museums, libraries, and universities but also by transforming them so that they will be of contemporary meaning rather than of simple antiquarian interest, by creating, perhaps, a new scientific humanism, of which one can already detect stirrings among us.

In fact, as we move into the twenty-first century, the United States may become the world center of the intellect and the arts, a compensation, perhaps, for a relative decline in absolute material power and economic prestige. Within a few generations, given the dizzying "acceleration of the rhythm of history" which characterizes our era, Calcutta may rank as a major industrial center, while Pittsburgh, with its blast furnaces long since blacked-out, may have developed a passion for the arts of contemplation. At any rate, one of the signs of the times may be seen in the fact that we seldom feel compelled to boast very much these days about the height of our skyscrapers, the length of our fins, or, in general, of our bigness and of our newness. We are letting the Duesseldorfers and the Milanese and the Russians do that, since for them it is a new-found pleasure.

Çà Change

This is America!
This is the new world!
Not the present European
Wasted and withering sphere.

Heinrich Heine (1797-1856)
in "Dieses ist Amerika!"



Checkmate

PROFESSOR Burns' new book is absolutely required reading for all FSO's who want to make points and influence friends at Georgetown cocktail parties during this session of Congress. The long newspaper strike in New York made the book review section of the New York TIMES, the usual intellectual underpinning of smart capital conversation, temporarily unavailable. As a consequence, some Washingtonians have been driven to the extreme of reading books rather than just the reviews. What this portends for the future is anybody's guess, but the steadily rising interest in speed reading courses does not appear to be entirely coincidental. With the strike now settled it would not be surprising to see a grass roots movement to establish local chapters of Bibliophiles Anonymous.

Dr. Burns makes it hard for even an experienced dilettante to assimilate the major points in his argument by distributing them generously throughout his book's nearly 400 pages, displaying in the process an impressive amount of historical erudition. For those who need to crib quickly for an important cocktail party, however, Chapter Eleven on the "Whirlpools of Change" can provide the irreducible elements of his thesis. Very briefly, he discerns two principal trends in American politics. One, the "Madisonian" or Congressional, tends to spread power among countervailing interests, relying on coalition, compromise and consensus to provide the necessary minimum amount of government. The second trend, the "Jeffersonian" or Presidential, is more centrally oriented and, by organizing power hierarchically, permits more vigorous leadership.

Both major political parties, Dr. Burns explains, contain elements from each trend. As a result, we have today four basic parties: Congressional Republicans, Presidential Republicans, Congressional Democrats and Presidential Democrats. The end result of this neat balancing between and within the major parties is stagnation.

Dr. Burns concludes with a series of suggestions for improvements in the present system. Unfortunately, his often penetrating analysis of the problem is not matched by an equally acute, practical plan for getting from where we are now to where he wants us to be. If the United States is really locked into its static governmental structure as tightly as Professor Burns maintains, then the sometimes quixotic palliatives he suggests are hardly adequate to break its integument asunder.

—EDWARD KILLHAM

THE DEADLOCK OF DEMOCRACY, by James MacGregor Burns. Prentice-Hall, Inc., $5.95.

Spanish History

IF any still harbor the illusion that great nations are motivated in international affairs by moral considerations, Dante Puzzo's book on the Spanish Civil War should educate them. Dr. Puzzo teaches history at City College of New York. He has dug into state papers now available that expose the actions, if not the motives, of the western powers confronting the Spanish conflict. He has constructed his own analysis of the meaning of these actions and to some extent the motives.

This is not an objective history. The author obviously feels the conflict too deeply. (It is significant that the foreign partisans of the contending forces in Spain are still strongly moved, although they may hardly remember the issues of World War II).

Dr. Puzzo believes the Spanish war was won or lost "not in Burgos and Madrid, or at Teruel and along the Ebro but in the chancelleries of Europe." Specifically he believes the war was won for Franco by British diplomacy, German aircraft, and Italian infantry. The United States added the final *coup de grâce* by preventing the Spanish Republic from buying arms. The U.S.S.R. comes off relatively unscathed in the author's thesis, although he suggests the Russians helped the Republic not out of brotherhood but for world-power purposes of their own.

The title and the intent of the book suggest an exaggeration of the outside influences and a minimizing of the domestic factors that usually influence civil war. Devious and sinister international policies are more dramatic than the inertia and ineptitude that account for most of the affairs of nations. I have always felt the Spanish Civil War to have been largely the result of internal political ineptitude, and the outcome to have been due mostly to the inability of the Republican side to unite and organize in the face of military challenge.

However, Dr. Puzzo has a wealth of statistics and documentation to prove the extent of international interference with the course of events, and the reader must believe with him that at least the Republican forces were preponderantly Spanish and the Franco forces largely foreign. He says of the International Brigade that it was of little importance numerically, although used often with great effect.

—SAX BRADFORD

SPAIN AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1936-1941, by Dante A. Puzzo. Columbia University Press, $7.50.

Prancing Horse *by Inigo Jones*

Three Views on Apartheid

THESE three authors—a Britisher, an American, and South African emigré—differ widely in experience, attitudes and insights, but agree that apartheid is reprehensible. Rhona Churchill has been a feature writer for the London DAILY MAIL since 1938. In "White Man's God" she describes with a keen reportorial insight the situation and attitudes of tribal Africans in the Transkeiean and Zulu reservations, urban Africans in the Johannesburg-Pretoria region, and also those working on white farms.

Miss Churchill's factual vignettes are based on numerous interviews and chats. These were mainly arranged by missionaries, hence the emphasis of the title. Impressed with the number of westernized, educated, and friendly Africans, she concludes that although "time is fast running out, it is still not too late for the white population of South Africa to come to terms with the black and build together a thriving multi-racial community. If the whites would only make social contact with their Africans and mix freely with them much of their fear would vanish."

Ezekiel Mphalehle, director of the African Program of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris, was born in Pretoria, South Africa. Three years ago in a memorable autobiography, "Down Second Avenue," he described his painful life and introspections from his birth in 1919 until 1957, when he left his native land to become a teacher in Lagos, Nigeria. He had been a herdboy in the northeastern Transvaal, a schoolboy in Pretoria and Johannesburg and at the American Board of Missions' Adams College near Durban, and a teacher. He became a journalist after being barred from teaching in South Africa.

Primarily a sensitive writer of short stories, Mr. Mphalehle in his new book, "The African Image," has assembled some of his essays on the "African personality," the Africans' image as seen by themselves and by American Negroes, race relations in Southern Africa, and the non-white as portrayed in fiction by both whites and non-whites. The profound bitterness of these essays on subjects ranging from Africa to the Americas, as well as to London and Paris, must be understood primarily as a projection of the harsh South African experience he described in such intimate detail in his autobiography.

For diplomats living in Waterkloof, a fine residential section of Pretoria, as well as for many others, these views of one who used to carry laundry between Waterkloof and the native location should provoke much reflection. His literary discussions can be used as guides to further reading. His caustic comments on subjects such as "the African personality," which he discounts completely as a political concept, are stimulating and informative.

Allard Lowenstein's melodramatic account of the visit of three young Americans to South West Africa in 1959 includes considerable material on apartheid as practiced in South Africa itself. He and his companions went to South West Africa, at the instance of Rev. Michael Scott, to get tape recordings, documents, and personal impressions to be used in the UN against South Africa. Much was obtained in clandestine meetings held without permission in reserves and locations. Mr. Lowenstein is a zealous crusader against the evils and anomalies of apartheid. In his account of the UN hearings at which he and his companions testified after their return, he portrays well the atmosphere in the UN antagonistic to South Africa's racial policies.

—WALDEMAR B. CAMPBELL

WHITE MAN'S GOD, by Rhona Churchill. William Morrow, $4.50.

THE AFRICAN IMAGE, by Ezekiel Mphahlele. Praeger, $4.95.

BRUTAL MANDATE, a Journey to South West Africa, by Allard K. Lowenstein. Macmillan, $5.00.

African Yesterdays

THERE HAS BEEN a wealth of literature on Africa in recent months. Much of it has been sober—and sometimes dull—fact-finding. Some of it has been dramatic fiction on familiar themes. And there has been Robert Ruark.

Elspeth Huxley has leavened the literary loaf by giving us a most readable book of reminiscences about the Kenya of an earlier day. She describes the country in which she spent her girlhood, but allows the land and the people to speak for themselves. She writes with the sure and deft hand of an expert story teller, bringing incidents and anecdotes alive with a sensuous enough touch to make the reader feel, "this is how it used to be."

As a portrait of the past the book will interest those who try to understand the present, for current social and political problems have evolved out of the life Mrs. Huxley describes.

It is interesting that she has so little to say about any attempts to educate African adults, let alone the children who surrounded the white families among which she lived. Perhaps the evidence was lacking.

But perhaps her book should be considered for what it is, a collection of "Memories of Kenya" as she calls it in her sub-title, rather than as an analysis of a period in African evolution.

On these terms, her work makes fine reading.

—DONALD M. DAVIES

ON THE EDGE OF THE RIFT, by Elspeth Huxley. William Morrow & Co., $5.95.

Sub-Sahara Africa

THIS IS, for the time being, the best available history of sub-Sahara Africa. It lacks the flamboyance and eloquence of Basil Davison's "The Lost Cities of Africa," which is still the most readable introduction to the subject for the beginner. The scholarship of Wiedner's book is somewhat deeper, its maps are excellent, and it attempts to carry history right up to the present, whereas Davidson's book illuminated only certain aspects of Africa's past.

For the reader who looks for a more cursory treatment, "A Short History of Africa" by Oliver and Fage is recommended. It is available in paperback. For readers interested in certain parts of Africa, these books are especially worth reading: Jacques Baulin, "The Arab Role in Africa," also available in paperback; John D. Fage, "Introduction to the History of West Africa"; E. W. Bovrill, "The Golden Trade of the Moors"; and Marsh and Kingsworth, "Introduction to the History of East Africa."

Arab Africa can never be separated from the history of sub-Saharan Africa, and Wiedner's book recounts the interrelationship. It is recommended as a workmanlike job summing up the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial phases of African history.

—MARTIN F. HERZ

A HISTORY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA, by Donald L. Wiedner. Random House, $7.50.

"Paintings by Young Africans"

(See art index, p. 2)

Lumumba's Congo

by CLARE H. TIMBERLAKE

PATRICE LUMUMBA was catapulted overnight from obscurity to international fame as violence and the collapse of effective administration faced the week-old Republic of the Congo early in July 1960. Within another week the UN was seized with its most complex and difficult problem.

Not the least complicating factors for the UN initially were the personality and the prodigious activity of the Congo's Prime Minister who quickly became as controversial as he was famous. Neither the problem nor Lumumba, its central figure, left much safe ground for dispassionate critics or unbiased helpers. Public and official fascination over the making of violent history obscured serious attention to Lumumba's background which could have given valuable insights into the development not only of his own ideas, but, more importantly, the attitudes of different elements of Congolese society.

This posthumously published book is an important contribution toward the filling in of these gaps in available knowledge and understanding. It is limited by the fact that Lumumba reveals himself at only one of his important turning points, during 1956 and 1957, when he was moving from advocacy of an harmonious synthesis of the separate streams of Belgo-Congolese social, political, and economic development toward the idea of a separate supratribal, nationalist movement aiming at eventual independence. It does reveal, however, an intelligent, perceptive and sensitive interpreter of Congolese mores and the underlying attitudes of his people toward the Belgians and the institutions of Belgian government in the Congo. It also embodies his then moderate prescription for improvements and reforms.

Colin Legum's excellent and extensive foreword is conscientiously illuminating and adds the perspective needed by most Western readers to understand the man and some of the motivation behind the extraordinary influence he exerted during his brief appearance on the world stage. "Here," says Legum, "is a side to Lumumba that those who never knew him could never have known existed. Here, too, we are faced with a paradox; how is it that the Lumumba who wrote this book later used his power with such apparently callous disregard for suffering?" That question is left unanswered but the book contains much of real value to serious students of the Congo problem.

CONGO, MY COUNTRY, by Patrice Lumumba. Edited and with a biographical introduction by Colin Legum. Praeger, $5.95.

The Wizard of O.S.S.

THIS engagingly written book presents as its main fare a series of illustrative stories about the adventures and activities of O.S.S. agents and operatives during World War II. The narratives flow in easy style that often achieves vivid descriptive force. All but one are stories of success; the exception portrays in gruesome detail the horrors that threatened O.S.S. operatives if they should get caught.

Somewhat less successfully, the book attempts to convey a sense of the vast compass, the bewildering variety, and the considerable accomplishments of the O.S.S. The language has a tendency in these passages to lapse into vague superlatives—and indeed, with respect to intelligence, it is difficult to gauge and describe the quantity and value of material gathered by an organization of this sort. In compensation, the author includes a number of understanding and affectionate reminiscences of the "Wizard of O.S.S." himself—General Donovan.

There is much in this book to arouse in old O.S.S.'ers a nostalgia for the constructive freedom and whimsical anarchy of that incomparable organization. The overriding motif of O.S.S. is well stated: "Harass, undermine, confuse, demoralize, penetrate, outguess the enemy, it made no difference how, so long as we were able to do it effectively"—a guiding principle of uninhibited initiative well suited to the needs of hot war.

—ALLAN EVANS

NO BUGLES FOR SPIES, by Robert Hayden Alcorn. McKay, $3.95.

F. S. Careers

DR. SAKELL has done his colleagues in the Department and the Foreign Service a favor. His slim volume will assist in a better public understanding of our system and it should materially help our recruiting program. It should be sent, by the Department, to our principal universities for the use of the many who view the Service as an interesting and challenging career but who know very little of our life, its problems and its rewards.

CAREERS IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE, by Achilles N. Sakell. Henry Z. Walsk, Inc., $3.50

An Overexposed Image?

THE AUTHOR gives to his book the subtitle "What Happened to the American Dream" and when to this are added such chapter headings as "From Hero to Celebrity," "From Shapes to Shadows" and "From Ideal to Image," one can quickly and correctly guess that here is yet another volume delineating the decline and fall of the standards, taste and discrimination of the status-seeking, hiddenly-persuaded, affluent American society.

Mr. Boorstin finds little in American life today that is genuine; everything is "pseudo." Weatherbeaten Hollywood, Madison Avenue and television are once more uncomplimentarily analyzed and are joined by the READERS' DIGEST, Hilton Hotels, Muzak and any number of similar pillars of American culture.

However much one might agree with Mr. Boorstin's discouraging thesis one cannot escape the feeling of having read all of this before. Some justification for this reaction can be found in the extensive and excellent bibliography which, in its scope, indicates that the author's views are widely shared.

—JOHN H. BURNS

THE IMAGE, by Daniel J. Boorstin. Athenaeum, $5.00.

Himalayan Wedding

by THEODORE C. ACHILLES

WHITE SILK SCARVES placed around the neck of the brown-robed Maharaj Kumar and the white-robed Hope Cooke, first by the old Maharaja and then by her cousin John Humpstone, made Hope the Maharaj Kumarani or Crown Princess of Sikkim. This was the culminating point of the wedding ceremony, the equivalent of "I pronounce you man and wife."

Sikkim is as nearly out of this world as you can hope to get and still come back. It makes Switzerland look like Kansas; well, anyway Vermont.

The drive in from Darjeeling, itself up 7,000 feet, takes four breath-taking hours by Land-Rover. Land-Rovers are better on these grades and hairpin turns than cars and more comfortable than jeeps but just as agile. The road is paved all the way and most of it wide enough to pass but plenty of it has not been appreciably widened since Kipling wrote:

> There's a wheel on the rim of the morning
> And a wheel on the edge of the pit,
> With a drop into nothing beneath you
> As straight as a beggar can spit.

The palace at Gangtok, looking like an English country house except for brilliant designs around the windows, stands on the tip of a mountain spur with a jumble of steep and massive mountains in all directions. You can look almost straight down to tropical jungles on three sides. You look up at the magnificent snow peaks of 28,000-foot Kanchenjunga to the northwest and that of Gipmochi to the northeast where Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet meet only thirteen miles away as the crow flies, if a crow could fly that high. The heat of the jungle comes up by day and the cold of the peaks comes down at night.

The Sikkimese are mountain people, far different from the unhappy masses of the Indian plains. Their faces and costumes are as varied as their races. The majority are slender fine-featured Nepali. There are shy, pale Lepchas of the forest in gold and fur hats, who raise their babies on beer instead of milk and have peculiar marital customs. The darker Bhotias look like American Indians. The stringy-haired Tibetans wear white shirts, black pants and knee-length embroidered felt boots and many look like movie cowboys. The women wear brilliant colored skirts or robes of yellows, pinks, greens, blues, many shades of reds and purples. Bare-armed lamas in dark brick robes mingle with the crowds. All are genial, friendly and quick to smile and laugh. Indian troops, Ghurkhas and bearded Sikhs, are much in evidence.

Miss Hope Cooke and Crown Prince Palden Thondup Namgyal are shown at their wedding on March 20, in Gangtok.

We had thought that the foreign guests would be only a few friends of the Chapins' but they included members of the royal family of Bhutan, representatives of the Governments of Nepal and India, and Indian Army, various Maharajas, the American, British, French, German, Japanese, Nepalese, Turkish and Yugoslav ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps in New Delhi.

Gangtok had never previously had any accommodations for distinguished foreign guests other than the royal guest house, a charming villa with the traditional Sikkimese yellow walls and cerulean blue roof just below the Palace. The bride-to-be, Mary Chapin and her cousins, John and Maribel Humpstone, stayed there. The Chapins' daughter Helen and son-in-law Ronald Metz and their three children stayed in a tent nearby until the bride moved into the Palace.

A "basha," or compound of bamboo huts, had been built for the occasion. Here stayed the ambassadors and their wives, John and Janie Begg, Mrs. Burton Lee and her sister Mrs. Tappen Fairchild, Nancy (Ross) Young, who was covering the wedding for the NEW YORKER, SATURDAY EVENING POST and VOGUE, and a few others including ourselves. A disconcerting amount of daylight could be seen through the bamboo roofs but only a small amount of water came through the one time it rained. There was plumbing, and it worked.

THEODORE C. ACHILLES attended the royal wedding in Sikkim and served as the JOURNAL's on-the-spot correspondent there. Ambassador Achilles is on a round-the-world trip but will return to his duties at the Atlantic Council this month.

Around the basha were sentries of the Palace Guard, little fellows in black tarbush, long red coat, white britches with black braid, black boots and carbines. The guard was changed formally several times a day, beginning at 5 a.m. with bugles and many loud commands in English.

The Bhutanese, including two princesses who were the glamor girls of the whole show, camped in their own white tents with brilliant blue designs. The press had a camp some ways away. A small hotel had also been rushed to completion and Mary Porter, Mollie Thayer, Sam Reber and others stayed there. The roof was waterproof, but so were the faucets and facilities. The only running water came through the ceilings from the bathroom floors above. Our facilities were popular with the hotel dwellers even though the doors could be kept closed only by latching from the outside. Several of us were leaving for dinner at the Palace one evening when we were stopped by an anguished yowl from Mollie Thayer; "Hey! Don't go off and leave me locked in a john in the heart of the Himalayas." We in the basha were cared for by "Jimmy" Kthapa, a Sikkimese graduate of an Australian Agricultural College now running the only agricultural experiment station in Sikkim and serving briefly as everything from Chief of Protocol to bellboy. He worked literally twenty-two hours a day, answering questions, arranging, getting tail coats pressed and ladies' hair done and providing anything from jeeps to Scotch out of thin air at a moment's notice and with a smile. He was the best protocol officer and arranger I ever saw, God bless him, probably because he was a real farmer. We learned only after we left Sikkim that he was married to one of the Maharaja's sisters.

Formal clothes were the rule, and buses and jeeps provided transportation. A bus and several jeep loads of dignitaries in morning coats or white ties and tails and their ladies in long evening dress, squeezing past army trucks on Himalayan mountainsides, was something to remember.

In addition to the bride and groom, his father, the Maharaja Tashi Namgyal, and his sister, Princess Kukula, were much in evidence. The Maharaja at seventy is devoting much time to things of the spirit and leaving administration of the country to Prince Thondup, the young Maharaj. Princess Kukula has her own office in the Palace, does her own typing and filing and runs her own full-time point four program for thousands of Tibetan refugees.

Breakfast, and a real English breakfast it was, was provided chez-soi. The other meals were served al fresco in a huge blue and white striped marquee in the Palace garden. There were always several thousand for lunch and several hundred for dinner. Folk music and folk dancing, much the same the world over, accompanied every meal.

Jimmy was busy full time taking care of silly and demanding diplomats and others, so the brunt of arranging these cosy functions was left entirely to Thondup and Kukula. There was no one except a young English couple named Rhodes to whom they could delegate anything. The four of them slaved away, supervising the cooking, dishwashing, bartending and everything else. One night I came early for dinner to help with the introductions and found the Maharaj Thondup, like any young American husband, personally mixing the martinis. He mixed a few gallons

meticulously and gave strict instructions to the bartenders to follow his mixtures to the drop. Gangtok is a long way from an ice supply and those martinis were lethal.

We were told before reaching Sikkim that guests were expected to present Ashey scarves to the royal family but given no idea what an "Ashey" scarf was. When we arrived at noon the day before the wedding Jimmy advised me that each guest should present one scarf apiece to eight members of the royal family but that very few were left in town. As there were seven people in our own party I set out to find fifty-six. It seems that an Ashey scarf is of white silk, some five feet long by two wide, with long white fringe at each end. They vary in price but are not cheap.

By going to four shops I found twenty-four at a total cost of $100, all I had in rupees, and gave up. When I got back Jimmy reported that signals had been changed and each guest need present only three, one each to the Maharaja, the groom and the bride. Most of the guests had none but, inevitably, a black-marketeer showed up later with a truck full and everyone was able to fulfill the amenities.

It is said that in Sikkim the weather is subject to the Maharaja's will, and certainly the day of the wedding was cloudless. The ceremony took place on the second floor of the Royal Temple. The outside was painted in sharp and brilliant colors but inside the walls, ceiling beams, columns and stalactite-like hangings were all of soft dusty reds, blues, golds and greens. The room was smallish, perhaps 40 feet square and gave an oddly intimate feeling.

There were three gold altars, each decked with candles, silver bowls of holy water and piles of little cakes. A raised dais for the Maharaja stood to the left of the central one and seats for the bride and groom on its right. There were cushion-covered benches for the foreign guests. The rest of the Royal family and local dignitaries, including some extremely primitive looking ones, sat on cushions on the floor. The Maharaj's three children by his first wife and the three Metz youngsters had a fine time together. All guests were seated by 8:45 in the morning.

At 8:50 the Maharaja arrived in a golden robe and seated himself Buddha-fashion on his dais. He sat motionless for two hours and, with his ascetic face and dark glasses hiding any movement of his eyes, might have been a statue. Then Thondup arrived in the traditional pale golden-brown robe of the Sikkimese nobility and took his seat.

Also at 8:50 the bridal party left the guest house and were met at the Palace gate by an astrologer, a lama, a man of thirty-five (Earth-Serpent year), and a boy of twelve (Water-Dragon year), who conducted them to the Temple. As they approached it there was a din like a combination of bagpipes and a C-47 warming up. Bagpipes there were indeed but the rest were drums.

At the gate of the Temple the white-robed bride was met by a boy of ten (Wood-Horse year) who escorted her to the Maharaja, to whom she presented an Ashey scarf, then to the three altars where she lit candles, and thence to her seat by the groom. Cameras, including several ambassadorial

ones, clicked all over the place. We heard later that the lamas frowned on this photography and had put a curse on all cameras present. While some photographers were apparently curse-proof, many complained about camera trouble and my own movie camera jammed and hasn't worked since.

After the bride was seated buttered tea was served and the brick-robed bare-armed head lamas put on their bifocals and began to intone prayers from manuscripts and tinkle occasional bells. It's odd how many things are interreligious: bells, dim light, candles, incense, chanting and holy water among them.

Buttered tea was served again, this time with what looked like strawberry sundaes but turned out to be rice and raisins. Then a man of forty-four (Iron-Ape year) served cakes to the groom and a lady of thirty-four (Iron-Horse year) served them to the bride. The bride then lit the sacred lamp on the central altar, returned to her seat, and the scarves were placed around her and the groom's shoulders and they were man and wife.

The members of the Royal family, led by Princess Kukula, then performed their obeisance to the Maharaja. Each in turn approached him and salaamed, bent arms raised forward and upward, then down on their knees, forehead to the floor, the whole done three times. Kukula's movements were a superb combination of piety, rhythm and athletic grace.

Finally the Ashey scarves were presented as we filed out, first by the members of the Royal family, those of the bridal party, the representatives of the Indian Government, the diplomatic corps, the guests and finally the Dhadi and Medi. Each of us in turn approached the Maharaja with the unrolled scarf held horizontally on our palms a foot apart, the Maharaja put his palms between ours, took the scarf, placed it across his knees, smiled and raised his hands, palms together, to his forehead. We returned the salutation and repeated the process to the groom and finally to the bride. By the time we presented ours the three of them were almost buried in the snowdrift and there were hundreds more to come.

After lunch the principals resumed their places to receive more scarves and presents, including a white horse which fortunately did not attempt the stairs. All afternoon the palace grounds were filled with the people of Gangtok and from miles around for free food and entertainment by musicians and dancers as colorful and multi-racial as the crowd.

I might conclude on the note of Mrs. Chapin's dinner the following night. There was western music and dancing. The ascetic seventy-year-old Maharaja in his golden robe danced till 2 a.m. Earlier in the evening I was slightly startled to see an elderly Sikkimese in his golden-brown robe doing a passable twist with Madam Costilhes, wife of the French Minister, and even more startled later to see Ken Galbraith and Princess Kukula doing a really good one.

The final installment of Ambassador Achilles' current series on "Beyond Diplomacy" will appear in the next issue.

FOREIGN SERVICE GLIMPSES 'round the World

Upper left Bonnie, Ted and George Clark, the three retired peanut passers of page 52, are shown on arrival in South Africa.

Upper right Miss Nancy Jane Cass, secretary to the DCM, Lisbon, plays a leading role in "A Taste of Honey," presented by the Lisbon Players. Proceeds from the sell-out production went to the British Hospital in Lisbon.

Left Amsterdam Commercial Officer, Frank S. Wile, points out to Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Clarence D. Martin, some of the United States promotional material at the Royal Netherlands Industries Fair, Utrecht. Rotterdam Commercial Officer, Robert A. Bishton, looks on.

Lower left Labor Attaché, Jorma L. Kaukonen, is one of the 4,500 entrants in the historic Vasaloppet from Salen to Morna. The yearly race covers 54 miles. Mr. Kaukonen, who arrived in Stockholm from an assignment in Manila, took up skiing only this year.

Center Ambassador John M. Steeves dedicates an electric hoist at the Darra Suf coal mines in north central Afghanistan, as Mr. Luther A. Lewallen of the Bureau of Mines looks on. Sardar Abdul Karim Azimi is standing behind the Ambassador.

Lower right Ambassador J. Wesley Jones is shown at the Presentation of Credentials ceremony at the Presidential Palace in Lima.

Heard on the Hill . . .

Training for the Foreign Service

MR. PRESIDENT, as a former Foreign Service officer, I was particularly interested in the recent Herter report.

In my own day I felt that my colleagues in the service were the most highly intelligent and dedicated young men of our Nation. On my recent trip abroad, I was again impressed by the high caliber of these officers.

While I agree that we perhaps need to attract a growing number of such young men, I am not at all certain that the panacea is reorganization or the establishment of a training academy.

Evidently the Rhode Island press shares my doubts. At this point I ask unanimous consent to have inserted into the RECORD what I consider to be an excellent editorial on this subject that recently appeared in the Providence JOURNAL and EVENING BULLETIN.

There being no objection the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows from the Providence JOURNAL, December 12, 1962:

"When will the experts learn that you can't solve the problems of the State Department by simplifying the organization?

"Eight years ago, Brown's Dr. Henry M. Wriston headed a study of the chaotic diplomatic service, a study which came up with, among other things, an organizationally tidy proposal for integrating non-Foreign Service officers into the career Foreign Service. On paper, it looked fine.

"In practice, the integration process shattered the high standards and morale of the Foreign Service by admitting to the selective ranks of an elite corps a hodge-podge of specialists, technicians, and drones, many of whom were utterly unfit to represent this country abroad in jobs to which their

"Ever since Cuba, Bentley's considered himself a 'Hawk'."

new rank entitled them. "Wristonization" unhappily became a bad work among professionals of the Department.

"In view of this result, which is well known to anyone who has had close contact with a U. S. diplomatic post overseas, it is astonishing to find a new State Department study going Dr. Wriston one better. The latest study panel, headed by former Secretary of State Christian Herter, calls for the integration of all civil service personnel who work for State into the Foreign Service.

"There is no question that this would simplify the organizational problems of the Department, as would other recommendations put forward by the Herter committee.

"But organization is not the heart of the matter, important though it may be. The key to the problem of improving our diplomatic representation abroad, and our foreign policy planning at home, lies in recruiting and holding men of exceptional competence and character. Tidier organization does not help this cause and even may stand in its way.

"Before he goes overboard for the Herter recommendations, Secretary of State Rusk might well ponder the following observation of George Kennan made in FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine in commenting on the Wriston report:

" 'Few elder officers could fail to note with a certain sinking of the heart, that whereas the committee's pamphlet made frequent reference to the need of the Service for skills, nowhere did it speak of the need for people as people. One sensed . . . a certain military 'table of organization' psychology. . . This principle may be applicable for construction work, for industrial processes, and for military functions. But it is not likely to be useful in the work of the Foreign Service, where what is important and decisive in 99 cases out of 100 is the totality of the man himself; his character, his judgment, his insight, his knowledge of the world, his integrity, his adaptability, his capacity for human sympathy and understanding.'

"This kind of man is a special breed and should be recognized as such, even if it means confounding the table of organization. People are still the paramount problem at the Department of State."—Claiborne Pell, Senator from Rhode Island, in the Congressional RECORD.

EXCELLENCE

. . . IF OUR SOCIETY is to flourish, large numbers of men and women must be dedicated to the performance of their roles. Dedication is a condition of the highest reaches of performance. It is not possible to buy with money the highest levels of courage, faithfulness or inspired performance. Consider the foreign service officer. We must provide ample pay for our foreign service officers: but even within the monetary rewards that a wealthy nation can afford it isn't possible to buy with money the qualities and the performance needed—the competence, judgment, willingness to endure hardships, and voluntary exile from the life that Americans love. Pay is important, but only devotion and conviction will insure the desired outcome.

—JOHN W. GARDNER in *"Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too?"* (Harper and Row).

Visitors may come and visitors may go but . . .

The Department Gets the Blame

by ORRAY TAFT

AFTER YEARS of exposure to Instructions from the Department relative to the Foreign Leader and Foreign Specialist Programs, and actual participation on several occasions in the process of choosing grantees, I have for almost two years been sitting on the other side of the fence. I am employed on the administrative staff of a large Western university, charged with responsibility for making appointments for foreign visitors with members of the faculty and administrative personnel who might be of assistance to them. During the calendar year 1961 a total of 904 visitors were "programed"; 1027 in 1962. In terms of fiscal years, 847 visitors were accommodated in 1960-61; programs were developed for 946 in 1961-62; and for 858 in the first nine months of 1962-63. Of these the local Department of State Reception Center referred 396, 412 and 360 respectively, under its assumption of programing responsibilities in the area for the Department, its subsidiary agencies, and other Departments of the Government. The remainder were referred to the University by private agencies (for example, the Institute of International Education and the Eisenhower and Ford Foundations), other universities, business firms and private persons.

It is with the visitors referred by the Reception Center that this article deals. The faculty of this university does not distinguish among the various Government programs; it tends to regard all foreign visitors as "State Department visitors." Setting aside the question of original sponsorship, the number of those coming under official auspices provides a reasonable basis for an analysis of the impact of Government visitor programs on a highly intelligent and basically cooperative community, one which does not hesitate to be critical when it feels so inclined.

One of the important factors in moulding the image which the Department of State presents to the people of the United States is the constant parade of foreign visitors for the choice of whom it is held responsible. The visitor's impact on those with whom he comes in contact is immediate and direct. If he makes a good impression, both personally and professionally, they are likely to feel confidence in the Department and its programs; if the impression is bad, they are bewildered as to why the visitor was chosen in the first place.

In this community a foreign visitor is judged solely on his intellectual standing and attainments or on his demonstrated ability and willingness to absorb and understand information of value to himself and his country. And all too often a professor—sometimes one who is world-renowned in his field—has asked indignantly why a certain grantee was ever chosen to come to the United States. The question as to why he, the professor, of all the faculty, was assigned to assist that particular visitor in meeting his objectives usually follows.

It is recognized that there will be tremendous variations in the personalities of individual visitors, but it is the variation in quality that arouses comment. An easy explanation, of course, would be that because of the length of time the Department's programs have been in operation, the best possibilities have already been chosen. This would mean, however, either that the programs were being administered on the basis that "something is better than nothing" or that the responsible officers in the field were reluctant to inform the Embassy or the Department that no suitable persons were available. It is accepted that the true explanation is probably more complex. But the fact that quality does vary, even among the grantees from a single country, raises the question in this community whether anyone is conscientiously measuring prospective visitors against meaningful criteria or whether, instead, field recommendations are reviewed only in the light of allocated funds and security considerations.

The quality of the majority of visitors indicates that the Department's guidelines to the field are adequate to ensure a reasonable standard of excellence, if they are followed faithfully. But whenever a visitor appears who is well below that standard, the question inevitably arises whether there is no provision for a final review in which someone with overriding authority would eliminate candidates who would be likely to damage the Department's image and impair its programs. Some faculty members go on to wonder whether the recommending officers in the field and the administering officers in the Department have not permitted personal friendship, either with the visitor or with his superiors, to be the basis of choice. At the very least, they are likely

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MR. TAFT retired from the Foreign Service in 1961 and is now living on the West Coast.

to suspect that someone in authority is not exercising the best possible judgment in expending public funds.

It is widely believed in this community that in a number of countries the grantees are not those the responsible United States officials would have preferred to send, either because the local government insists on making the choices or because it refuses passports to nominees in political disfavor. The articulate taxpayer on this campus often wonders whether the visitor he has just seen was brought to the United States under such a system, and if so, why his own tax money should be disbursed for purposes determined by a foreign government. When the visitor transparently considers his trip to the United States to be a "junket," is educationally deficient or makes no visible effort to acquire information of value to himself or his country, it is only natural to suspect that he is a product of this procedure.

Professors recognize that there may be sound political reasons for bringing to the United States a visitor who lacks any other qualification. But they wonder why such a grantee should be required to visit educational institutions and meet with experts in whom he really has no interest except for what prestige he may acquire. They do not want to be taken from their own work unless they know that their time will be spent in helping the visitor to solve a problem, establish an intellectual background on which to base future decisions, or make contacts upon whom he can call for advice and help in the future. Each time a professor meets with an unsatisfactory visitor, it becomes harder to obtain his consent to see somebody who may be worthwhile.

The question is often raised as to why few "opponents" of the United States are included in the program. It would seem more productive, members of this university community suggest, to bring to the United States persons who dislike or mistrust this country because of misinformation and misconceptions than to spend money on persons who are already on our side. Exposure to the United States, its people, its traditions, and its institutions, these critics believe, might go far toward dissipating antagonism.

Not only the selection of foreign visitors but their handling in this country is a subject of frequent and severe criticism, and again the State Department is, rightly or wrongly, the target. This criticism results from errors of omission, rather than commission, committed chiefly in Washington after the visitor has arrived in the United States and the programing process has begun.

"Programing" may be defined as the art of making it possible for a visitor to see what he wants and to meet those persons who are best able to assist him in his specific fields of interest. A perfect program must be based on complete knowledge of the visitor's desires, the availability of the things he wants to see and of the resource persons to give him what he wants to learn and, finally, comprehension of his need for time to relax and to sort and marshal the facts and information he has gained.

The experience on this campus indicates that the host university requires full information as to the visitor's professional background, and specific details of the fields of information he wishes to tap. The only source from which area and regional programing officers can extract this information is the biographic sketch which precedes the visitor. A good programing officer takes pride in his ability

to combine all these factors to the end that the visitor will be completely satisfied. When he can accomplish this, resource personnel develop confidence in him and are willing to see other visitors in the future. If the material provided him is inadequate, however, it is more luck than skill if the program works out satisfactorily.

Programing for a high percentage of visitors traveling under the Foreign Leaders and Specialists programs is initiated by either the Governmental Affairs Institute or the Committee on Leaders and Specialists of the American Council on Education, both with headquarters in Washington. Under contracts with the Department, these private organizations have assumed responsibility for preparing a master itinerary for each visitor and biographic material for distribution to area or regional programing officers. This biographic sketch normally gives the visitor's name, date and place of birth, and marital status, his academic background, his present and past employment or positions held, his knowledge of English and the objectives of his visit. For the sub-programing officer, this last section is the most important and on this campus it provides the sole basis for asking specific professors to receive the visitor.

Often a professor knows of the visitor by reputation. In other instances his interest is aroused and he is eager to receive the man. Frequently, when a professor is asked about his conversation with the visitor, he replies that he hopes the visitor learned as much from him as he did from his guest. But, all too often, the answer is, "Why did you send him to me?"

There is only one possible reply: "We sent him to you because it looked from the available biographic material that you were the person he should see. You saw the bio and apparently agreed, or you would have refused. It is not our fault that the material was misleading."

Too often it would seem that a visitor is routinely typed and placed on a standard itinerary—Tour Number One or Tour Number Two—which provides for him to be shown certain natural wonders and sent to certain educational institutions assumed—often erroneously—to have experts in his fields of interest. It is of course flattering for a university to be considered a repository of knowledge in all fields, but no one institution fills that description. The university where I am employed has an outstanding center for research in South Asian Studies. That does not mean, of course, that it also specializes in African studies. Yet visitors arrive in a constant stream, asking for an appointment with the Director of the Center for African Studies.

Further, the primary programers seem not to be aware that it is not sufficient to indicate that a visitor is interested in chemistry. What branch—organic, inorganic, physical, nuclear or micro-chemistry? It is not enough to say that he wants to visit the Department of Political Science. Does his interest lie in political theory, international relations, the American Government, comparative government, parties, pressure groups and public opinions, or public administration and public policy?

It is the concensus here that responsibility for failure to provide this detail must rest first on the officers in the field, for failing to give the Department adequate information, and

by Orray Taft

secondly on the programing officer in Washington, for failing to take the time to determine exactly what the visitor wants to see and learn and for lacking information as to where his objectives may best be satisfied. It is recognized that the visitor himself may not have been sure what he wanted to learn because he did not know what was available. But whoever was at fault, the resulting resentment on the part of the professor is focused on the Department.

The fact that these stereotyped tours and repetitive exposures irritate the visitors themselves should not be ignored. Some visitors go patiently through program after program, simulating interest, because they are good guests. But privately they complain that no provision was made for them to tell programing officers in the later stages of their tour that they had had enough of one subject, that collateral or parallel fields of interest had opened up which they would like to explore, or that they had been given no time to meditate upon, absorb and collate the material they had collected.

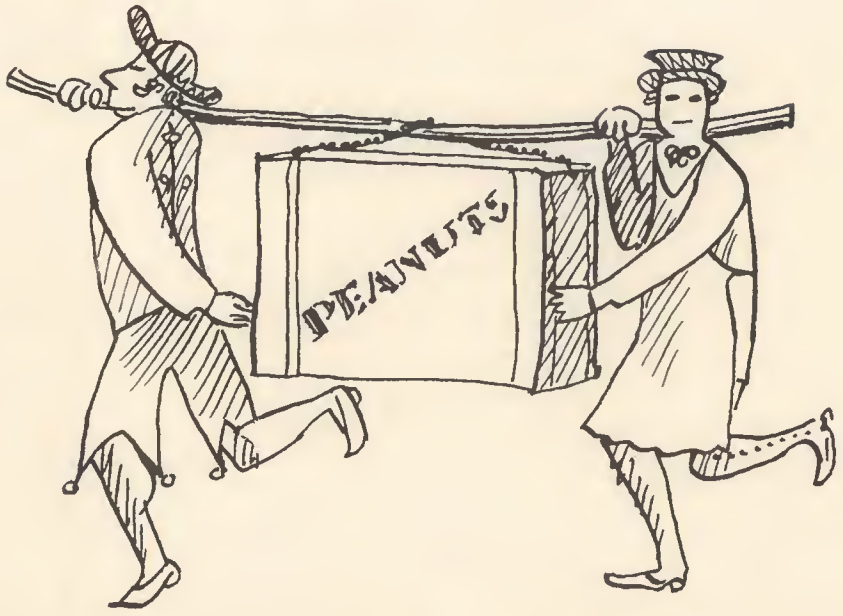
Such over-programing or incorrect programing engenders resentment, which is directed not against the regional programers but against the Department. The visitors feel that within the obviously elaborate framework developed to bring them to and conduct them around the United States, there should be some provision for them to assess the results at mid-point and perhaps suggest changes in their itinerary, not to mention provision for rest. On the university side, a busy professor finds it difficult to control his own resentment when his visitor frankly admits either a loss of interest in his previously reported objectives or fatigue to the point of exhaustion.

The fact that these criticisms are voiced frequently does not mean that they are heard in the majority of cases. They are heard often enough, however, and directed at the Department with sufficient intensity to constitute a warning. If these errors of commission and omission are allowed to continue and increase, they may seriously impair the generally excellent impression made by visitors under the Department's programs.

Every effort should be made, therefore, to ensure that the process of choosing a recipient of a Leader or Specialist grant is such that the visitor will shed reflected glory on the Department and its officers. The programing officers in the United States should realize that each visitor is an individual, that his program should be tailored to his desires and abilities, and that exposure to academic resources is only a part of the visitor's exposure to the United States, its customs, and its beauties.

As the Government Department on whose shoulders falls the blame for ill-chosen, or ill-documented, visitors—for many of whom, in fact, it has no original responsibility—the Department of State (as distinct from its officers in the field) should take immediate steps to relieve itself of the criticism these visitors generate. It should at a minimum ensure that the recipients of travel grants from other Departments and agencies will be of high quality, subject perhaps to the same criteria ostensibly in force for its own grantees, criteria which it is to be hoped will be impartially applied at home and overseas.

Memories of Three Retired Peanut Passers



by BONNIE LEE, TED, *and* GEORGE CLARK

PEANUTS, not cookies, are the lifeblood of the Foreign Service. We three, having recently retired after a total of thirty active years of peanut-passing experience (ten salty years each), have arrived at the conclusion that the following species of peanut-eaters are present the world over.

FSOO's!* Protect your peanuts!

1. *The One-Peanut-Eater.* Female and glamorous, this species usually takes a single peanut, at the same time gives a sugar-sweet smile and remarks, "Thank you very *very* much, dear. Thank you, honey." (Aside) "Isn't he too cute? I could eat him up!" The remarkable thing about this type is that she is able to pop the peanut into her mouth and swallow it without interrupting her chocolate-covered comments.

2. *The Ash-Dropper* sees you only from the corner of his eye holding a bowl which he naturally identifies as an ash tray and, never turning his head, flicks his long cigarette ash into your uplifted receptacle. This necessitates sneaking around the corner of the door to blow the ashes out, unobserved. (Direct your breath on the edge of the bowl nearest you, not the center.)

3. *The Claw* gives a small smile but has a big grab. Here the problem involves crawling on the floor on all fours around peoples' legs picking up the peanuts he has scattered all over the holy, beige, government rug.

4. *The Exotic-Nut-Eater* does more than any other type to frustrate potential Brazil nut lovers. Regardless of how deeply you bury it she finds the rare nut you are trying to save for yourself, and homing into the bowl to filch it out never touches the lowly groundnut.

5. *The Ignorer* has an uncanny ability to make you feel that you have just left the room. He stares right through you, never betraying by the slightest blink his awareness of your presence. It is best to ignore the Ignorer (it's no good trying to stare *him* down) and slink away.

6. *The Closed Circle* poses a complex problem of strategy. As they hunch together shoulder to shoulder, discussing some choice bit of news, you are compelled to stalk around them warily, keeping on the alert for the first opening in their ranks and then to exploit it immediately. One member of our clan in his apprenticeship days has been known to slip in between the legs of one adult and startle them out of their wits by popping up in their midst, never dropping a cashew in the maneuver. (They didn't want any.)

7. *The Schuckster* dips his long willowy fingers into the assortment and with a deft twitch of the thumb and forefinger manages to leave a mound of husks in the bottom of the bowl, making it resemble a bowlful of yesterday's Wheaties. Here you have no choice other than to empty the bowl into the potted plants and start over.

8. *The Nut Gourmet* is a variety who makes you feel really proud of the particular brand of peanuts you happen to be pushing. He will interrupt his conversation, stare intently into the bowl you are proffering, and after what seems an eternity of introspective silence say with a hurt, disappointed air, "Oh, no, thank you."

9. *The Wisecracker* almost invariably has some witty remark up his sleeve such as, "Oh, Oh, here he comes again, pushing those crazy peanuts! Uh, isn't it past your bedtime, little one?" This species has a genius for making you feel about a half a peanut tall.

10. *The Old Friend* is usually a non-official guest and is a nice person to have around. He beckons you into a quiet corner and whispers into your ear, "Go see if there is a cold beer in the fridge for me, will ya?" or, "How would I go about finding a cigar in this place?" Incidentally, he never touches peanuts.

11. *The Frantic Hostess,* commonly known as Mom, is a creature that can usually be found in the receiving line standing on a foam rubber pad concealed beneath the rug. She is easily distinguished by her ill-disguised signals to the waiters to for-heaven's-sake-bring-in-another-tray, her fixed smile and glassy stare. The mate of this species is inevitably found in a distant corner with a member of the Foreign Office he has been trying to buttonhole for weeks. Neither of this type has *time* for peanuts.

12. *Planter's Dozen.* We have not even mentioned the common garden party variety, the *Head-Rubber* who can't resist mussing up your hair *after* he has taken a handful of peanuts, or the *Introducer* who insists that you meet every stranger in the room, usually when you are carrying two bowls, or the *Conversationalist* who corners you by asking probing questions, i.e., "How do you like living here?" or the *Filter-Lighter* who desn't like peanuts but insists on lighting the wrong end of the cigarette she has requested instead.

13. *Brother Drones.* But we must mention the office staff whose efforts, next to our own exalted function of peanut-pushing, are indispensable to the success of the party. You catch glimpses of them as they circulate like mad, oftentimes carrying a tray or a bowl too. But the sly wink they exchange with you as you both move about peddling your wares makes you feel a part of an exclusive, secret, inside fraternity whose password might well be, "Peanuts? Anyone?"

BONNIE LEE, TED and GEORGE CLARK, now bona fide guests, not unpaid serfs at the Ed Clarks' parties, pass these tips along to the upcoming generation of future P.P.'s who soon will be marching into the noisy world of smoke-filled rooms with scrubbed faces, taut pony tails, starched collars and uplifted bowls.

*Foreign Service Officer Offspring

Abd el Qadir

A Nubian Village

by REX KEATING

THE MANTLE of history which envelops this little corner of Nubia is almost palpable. Within sight, to north and south, are two of the mighty fortresses built as a protective barrier by the Egyptians forty centuries ago; a rocky hill behind the village has inscribed on its summit the account of a military expedition from Egypt which passed this way a thousand years earlier; five miles up-river the Rock of Abusir bears witness on its flanks to the multitude of travellers, traders and soldiers who over millennia moved along this reach of the Nile between Egypt and inner Africa.

Yet the villagers of Abd el Qadir are unconcerned with the past. Our village is tiny, as are most Nubian villages; no more than a dozen houses lie scattered widely on the sand and rocks of the west bank of the river. The ground shelves gently from the Nile's edge to a low hill surmounted by a sheikh's tomb, the tomb of Abd-el-Qadir, which gives the village its name. The houses all stand on this slope at varying distances from the river. Ours is almost on the river bank and from our porch we look out through the row of palm trees (lining the bank across a scene of rare beauty and tranquility).

Fully a dozen islands are in view, some a mere score of yards long, others, like Meirarti directly facing us, as much as a quarter of a mile in length. On this island is an early Christian settlement awaiting excavation, and here too, so it is believed, an early Egyptian fortress lies buried.

Two sailing feluccas ply back and forth across the river—one is owned by our landlord who is also our neighbour. He's a patriarchal figure, tall, with hawk-like features, and he smokes a pipe stuffed with foul-smelling local tobacco incessantly.

The tiny cocks and hens which one finds in these parts, scrabble along the river's edge, getting under the feet of the women who go down to the water and sway gracefully back up the bank carrying the jars on their heads with effortless ease. The older women wear black garments and are inclined

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REX KEATING, a member of the Secretariat of UNESCO, is a professional broadcaster and photographer. He has written, shot and co-directed "Land of Kush," a documentary film on the ancient monuments of Sudanese Nubia and Harcourt, Brace and World have just published his book, "Nubian Twilight."

Where in the World?

F.S.-Retired Addresses

THE list of retired Foreign Service personnel together with their addresses which in recent years has accompanied the September JOURNAL will again be prepared this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request. Those wishing to receive this year's list should so inform the Association. The list will be furnished without charge to those who ask for it and will be mailed in September to each applicant. Please let us have your request by August 10.

Yes, I would like to receive the list of retired F.S. personnel

to: AFSA, Suite 301, 1742 G Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

NUBIAN VILLAGE
by Rex Keating

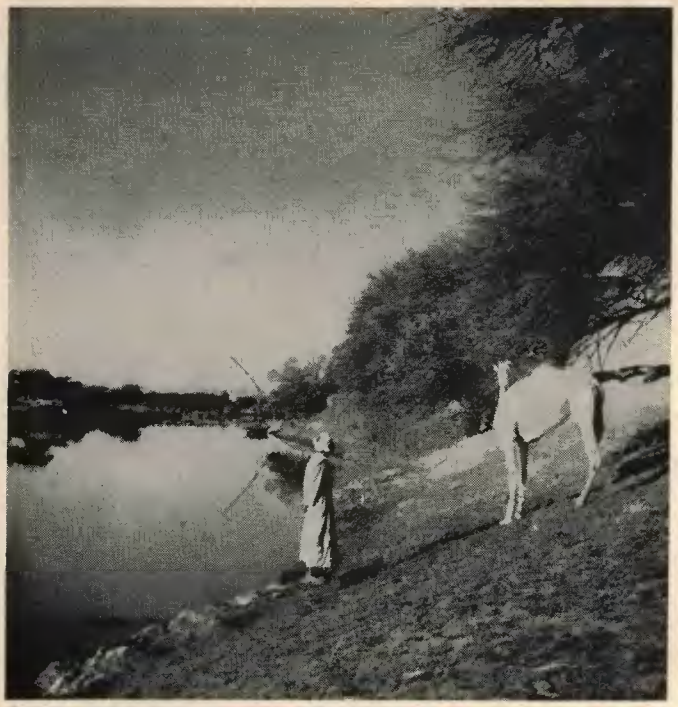
to turn their faces away as they pass, but the younger ones are dressed in bright colors, stare boldly and are inclined to giggle. The children rush about noisily and display immense though shy curiosity towards strangers.

The courtyard is large, for this is a typical Nubian house, and so are all of the rooms opening off it. Two pillars support beams which in turn support a thatch of palm leaves to give shelter from the sun. The beams are girders of iron made in Birmingham some seventy years ago, and are, in fact, rails taken from the old railway built by Kitchener along the Nile during the River War against the Dervishes toward the end of the last century. They are to be found in dozens of Nubian houses and in this dry climate not a speck of rust is visible on the iron. But in general the roofbeams are of palm trunks split length-wise.

Day by day the sandbanks in the river grow in size, and one by one the small islands are linked to become bigger islands as the falling water level causes the channels between them to disappear, for the peak of the annual flood has passed. In our village nobody ever hurries except, perhaps, the children and, of course, the tiny goats that frolic around ceaselessly.

It is in the evening when we come back from the "dig" that the tranquillity and beauty of the place is borne in on us. The smaller animals are back in the straw pens, the camels are tethered, and one by one the men pad silently up through the sand on their donkeys to squat in the last rays of the sun and talk in monosyllables of the day's doing. The tall figure of the landlord comes into view, moving to-

The Nubian house where the archeological mission spent several weeks at Abd el Qadir.



A camel led down to drink in the Nile near Abd el Qadir.

wards the river; he pauses beneath a palm and drops to his knees, face turned towards Mecca. Sails furled now, the two feluccas move gently to the drift of the current. Nearby three women are washing clothes, their movements leisurely and deliberate.

The people of Abd el Qadir have a passionate devotion to their austerely beautiful land and they and their forbears have created a way of life as free from complications as it is lacking in intolerance towards one another and towards all strangers. That it is to be destroyed by the High Dam is a tragedy of twentieth century technology.

The honking of the wild geese dropped onto the island for the night echoes eerily. As the sun sinks lower behind the ruins of a church built on the hillside some 1,000 years ago, the colors on the river intensify and change with bewildering rapidity until that moment when the sun dips and the whole sky is momentarily suffused with unearthly light. The river stirs as the wind rises, and a chill creeps into the air. The village is deserted now and the silence of the surrounding desert descends on Abd el Qadir, until the first rays of the sun will reactivate a cycle of living unchanged since man first settled along the banks of the Nile.

Beneath Its Sands

••• THE ancient land of Kush, today known as Nubia, is fast becoming one of the most provoking stretches of land in the world. In a few years this evocative reach of the Nile is to vanish forever beneath the great lake which will build up behind Egypt's new High Dam south of Assuan, while beneath its sands whole pages of man's history await the excavator's spade.

The rising waters will destroy what has been described as a unique open-air museum three hundred miles long, a museum containing scores of ancient monuments, some, like Abu Simbel, of surpassing beauty; temples and fortresses; tombs by the thousand; dozens of early settlements and towns; prehistoric remains; and people whose customs and way of life have persisted from antiquity.

—Introduction, "*Nubian Twilight*," by REX KEATING.

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.

A USIA Look at the Herter Committee Report

I would like to comment on the three articles in the March 1963 issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL which discuss some of the recommendations made in the Herter Committee Report, specifically those concerning the amalgamation at the top of the Department's, AID's and USIA's foreign services.

First, it seems to me that the execution of the U.S. foreign policy includes to a more or less equal degree (depending upon the particular country and the particular moment) the traditional functions of the Department (political and economic reporting, negotiation and consular work), the psychological, informational and cultural activities of USIA and the economic and technical assistance operations of AID. The responsibilities of an Ambassador today, therefore, exceed the relatively simple and clearly defined duties with which he was charged in pre-World War II days and now include all the functions —political, economic, consular, psychological, informational, cultural— which make up the conduct of foreign relations. I feel that a chief of mission who has had experience in as many of these functions as possible during the years of his foreign service career will be best qualified to assume the complex and inter-related responsibilities which his present position requires. From my own limited experience I have noted that the chief of mission who understands the importance and functions of the many operational units which make up his embassy or legation is the one who performs his responsibilities most ably. What better way is there to prepare him for these responsibilities than to permit him to gain experience in the various foreign affairs functions on the way up the career ladder.

Northern Nigerian *by Howard R. Simpson*

Conversely, it seems to me that the success in their work as chiefs of mission of various non-career ambassadors has proved the fact that one does not necessarily have to have come up the so-called traditional foreign service career ladder to become a successful chief of mission, but that other occupations and backgrounds—including those of officers in USIS and AID work—may similarly qualify a competent individual for this position.

Secondly, it should be recognized by now that USIA has instituted a career service similar to that of the Department's Foreign Service. Examinations for entrance into USIA's foreign service at the R-8 and R-7 level, examinations for lateral entry into the career service at a higher level from limited FSS and FSR appointments and regular promotions are conducted on the basis of criteria, regulations, precepts and practices similar to those existing for the Foreign Service. In addition, it has been USIA's practice to have FSO's serve as members of examination, selection and promotion panels along with USIA officers in order to assure equally high standards, criteria and practices. It should therefore be assumed that USIA career officers of a certain grade are comparably qualified with those in the Department's Foreign Service.

If there is, however, validity to the argument that USIA and AID officers have greater opportunity to rise faster through their promotion systems than do officers in the Department's Foreign Service, then, I believe, perhaps the Department's promotion system needs revision rather than those of USIA and AID, especially in view of recent reports such as those by the Randall Commission and other groups which have surveyed federal pay systems and compared them to pay scales of the private sector of the economy. These reports state that federal pay scales compare unfavorably with those existing for analogous positions in private industry. This would indicate that greater flexibility of State Department Foreign Service pay and promotion criteria might be more appropriate than the reverse for USIA and AID in order to bring the three systems into line with one another.

Finally, I would like to take issue with Ambassador Briggs' (or his mythical Vice Consul, J. Sediment Peachpit's) reference to "... the propaganda and handout agencies ..." which to my mind reveals a lack of understanding of the objectives and programs of these agencies. While perhaps an eventual numerical scale-down in the number of officers concerned with psychological, informational, cultural, economic and technical assistance projects may be advisable, I feel certain that USIA and AID activities and responsibilities will remain a permanent part of our total

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Letters to the Editor

USIA LOOK *(Continued)*

foreign relations effort. The sooner this is accepted by our officers who operate in the foreign affairs field, the more effective a job they will he able to do.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the aim of any reorganization should be to recruit, train and maintain a highly qualified corps of foreign affairs officers who might specialize geographically or functionally but who, if they are good, will have the opportunity to rise to the top in the career, which in this case means chief of mission.

HANS N. TUCH
Deputy Assistant Director IAB
USIA

Washington

"Substantive Material"

The articles in the March issue of the JOURNAL on the subject of the Herter Committee Report are examples of the kind of substantive material that should appear in the professional journal of the American Foreign Service. Members of the Foreign Service belong to a professional organization in which discipline is a requirement, but that does not relieve them of individual responsibility. The latter, also, is an important requirement.

A freely accepted standard of values and a willingness and courage to act in accordance with these values are individual obligations that Foreign Service personnel must assume. Members of the Foreign Service have a legitimate interest in the principles and procedures that determine the quality and form of the Service. This interest should be expressed as honestly and thoughtfully as possible.

AFSA members relaxing in southern California. Seated (l. to r.): Mrs. Gerald Keith, Mrs. Raymond Spruance, Mrs. Julian Harrington, and Mr. Lewis Clark. Standing (l. to r.): Mr. Gerald Keith, Admiral Raymond A. Spruance and Mr. Julian Harrington.

Science, technology, ideological conflict, and the grim threat of nuclear war do result in a feeling of individual frustration and helplessness. The feeling must be resisted if we are to win through to a more promising future. The cumulative effect of individual efforts can be of great value. We need not lose by default. We can try to keep informed and then speak out and act responsibly in our own limited areas of individual interest and competence. The future development of the Foreign Service will not be the factor that determines the outcome of the present grave crisis in our country's affairs, but it can be an item on the credit side.

A free discussion of differing views is needed for wise decisions regarding a problem. Until a policy decision by the President or the Secretary of State sets the natural disciplinary limit, members of the Foreign Service have the right and the obligation to comment, to disagree, and to make suggestions regarding the nature of the Foreign Service and its administrative procedures. The Foreign Service JOURNAL can and should help in carrying out this process.

GEORGE H. BUTLER
Career Minister, Retired

Washington

Selden Chapin

THE death of Selden Chapin on March 26, 1963 brings to a close a memorable era in the development of the Foreign Service. Apart from his many years of distinguished service in the ranks and as Chief of Mission in five countries abroad, he will long he remembered for the very substantial contributions he made toward the betterment of the Foreign Service and for those serving in it. In 1937, as a relatively junior officer, Selden wrote two articles which appeared in the October and November issues of the JOURNAL that year, calling attention to defects in the structure of the Foreign Service as it then existed and suggesting several remedies for effecting what he recognized to be needed improvements. Up to that time self-examination and constructive criticism were little known attributes of career officers. Perhaps because of his forthrightness and penetating insight, Selden was chosen a few years later to be the Director of the Office of the Foreign Service at a time when organic changes in the structure of the Foreign Service were urgently needed to meet post-war responsihilities. It was due more to his leadership, wisdom and determination than to the efforts of any other single person that the legislation, now known as the Foreign Service Act of 1946, was enacted. The record of his achievements is long and his shining example is one which others would do well to emulate. Both the Government and those who are serving in the Foreign Service today are benefiting from Selden's untiring efforts and broad vision.

JULIAN F. HARRINGTON

Washington

"Power and Politics in Outer Space"

IN THE "Washington Letter" in the March issue of the JOURNAL, you mention in passing a book entitled "Power and Politics in Outer Space" which was to be reviewed hy your "Exhausted Bureaucrat." Unfortunately, you did not mention the author or the publisher, and the Air University Library has been unable to identify it.

I have an immediate interest in the subject, because I have been asked to give a talk next month on the implications of space in international relations, and I would like very much to get hold of a copy at an early date. I would appreciate it if you would let me know who wrote it, who published it and where it can be most easily obtained. Does the Department's library have a copy which could be sent on loan down here?

JOHN D. JERNEGAN
State Department Advisor

Maxwell AFB

Editor's Note:

We greatly regret that although we have the title of the book very much in mind we have not yet been able to accomplish the requisite travel and research on the Martian and Lunar power élite, with the result that publication of the book has been temporarily delayed.

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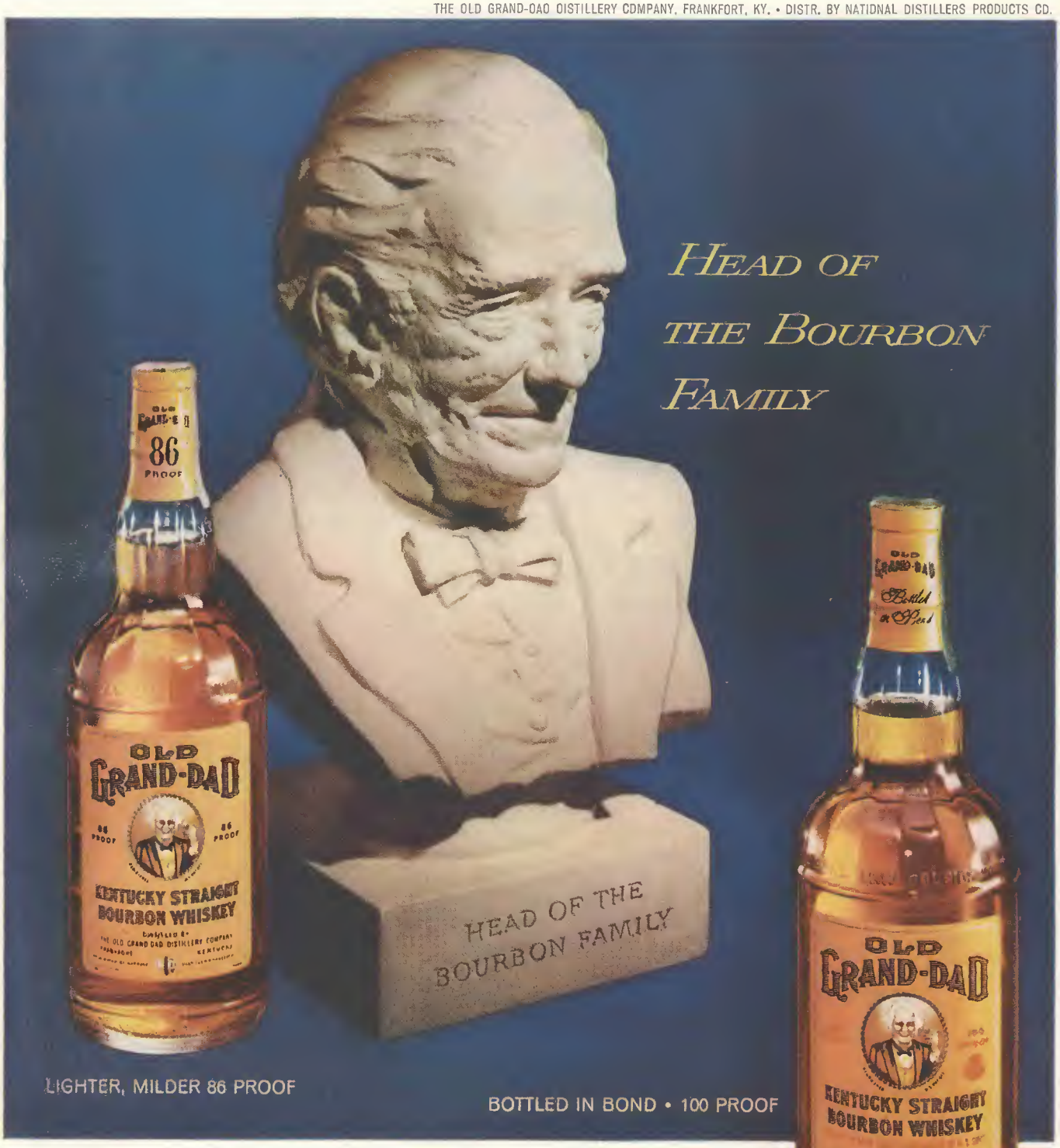

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