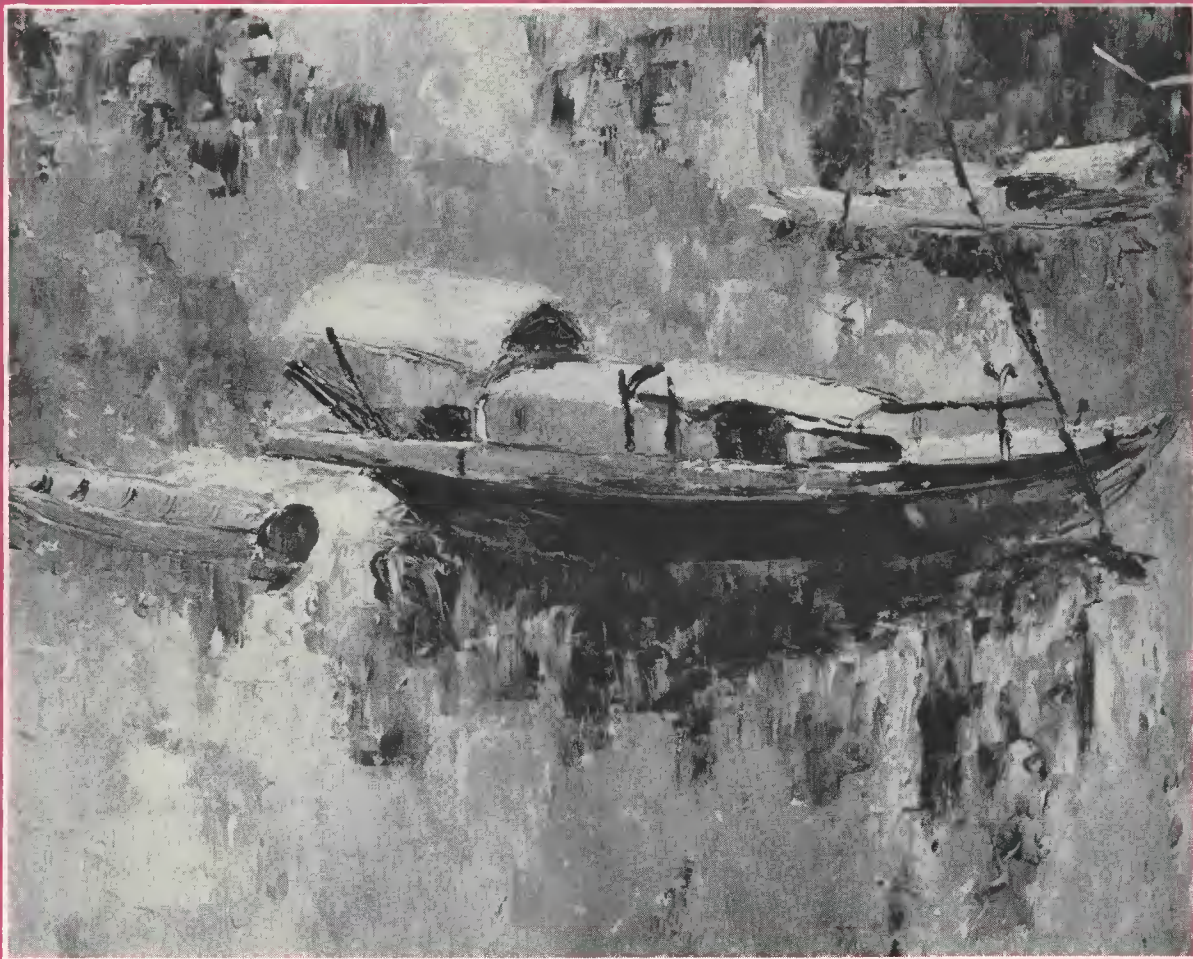


Foreign Service Journal



Boats, Saigon

by Nancy Eastman

SEPTEMBER 1963

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Boats, Saigon
by Nancy Eastman

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Donald R. Tremblay, Batak Structure, Indonesia, page 24.

John N. Richards, Sr., Dept. of State photographer, photo, page 2.

Howard R. Simpson, RPAO, Marseille, cartoons, pages 14, 21, 36 and "Fête en Provence," page 23.

National Cultural Center, "Interior Perspective," page 27.

Peter P. Lord, FSO, photo, page 28.

Dong Kingman, "Street Scene in Old China," from the scenic prologue to the film "55 Days at Peking," page 43.

Earl J. Wilson, USIA, "Mexican Square," San Angel, from the collection of Paul Phillips, page 54.

The Washington Letter is omitted in this issue due to summer holidays. It will be resumed in October.



George V. Allen, former director of USIA, and Undersecretary George W. Ball discuss matters of communication at AFSA's last luncheon of the season on June 27.

Appointments

HENRY A. BYROADE, *Ambassador to Union of Burma*

HOWARD REX COTTAM, *Ambassador to Kuwait*

DONALD DUMONT, *Ambassador to Burundi*

GRAHAM A. MARTIN, *Ambassador to Thailand*

CLAUDE G. ROSS, *Ambassador to the Central African Republic*

Births

OSBURN. A daughter, Nicole Caroline, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles G. Osburn, on May 29, in Kankakee, Illinois.

TAYLOR. A son, Mark Blair, born to Mr. and Mrs. Clyde D. Taylor, on May 22, in Washington.

Deaths

DEARING. Fred Morris Dearing, a former ambassador, died on June 26, in Albany, New York. Mr. Dearing entered the Foreign Service in 1906 and retired in 1938. He served at Habana, Peking, Mexico City, Brussels, Madrid and Petrograd. He was appointed Assistant Secretary of State in 1921, then Minister to Portugal, Ambassador to Peru and Minister to Sweden.

DYE. Mrs. Margherita Anna Pelligrini-Tibaldi di Valsolda Dye, widow of John W. Dye, died early in June, in Santa Barbara, California.

JESTER. Olive W. Jester, wife of Perry N. Jester, retired Consul General, died on July 13, in Washington.

KAVANAUGH. John M. Kavanaugh, FSO, died on June 18, in Clay, Louisiana. Mr. Kavanaugh entered the Foreign Service in 1946, serving at Munich, Halifax, St. John, the Department and The Hague. At the time of his death he was assigned to Manila as political officer and first secretary.

KEITH. Gerald Keith, FSO-retired, died on July 18, in Pebble Beach, California. Mr. Keith entered the Foreign Service in 1927 and retired in 1953. His posts were Seville, Calcutta, Bern, Bogotá, Barcelona, Bordeaux, Warsaw, Montevideo, London, Naval War College and Ankara where he was Counselor of Embassy. In lieu of flowers, it is suggested that donations be made to the Visiting Nurses Assn., 512 Pierce Street, Monterey, to the Community Hospital Fund, Box HH, Carmel, or to charities of the donor's choice.

LANGDON. William R. Langdon, FSO-retired, died on July 18, in Wellesley, Massachusetts. Mr. Langdon entered the Foreign Service in 1911, and retired in 1951. He served at Constantinople, Athens, Yokohama, Tokyo, Tsinan, Darien, Montreal, Seoul, Mukden, Kunming and Singapore, where he was Consul General at the time of his retirement. Mr. Langdon had been a lecturer on Far Eastern affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy since his retirement.

LEWIS. Orville M. Lewis, FSO, died on July 3, in Washington. Mr. Lewis entered the Service in 1947. He served at Monrovia, Baghdad, Vienna, Manila and Lagos. At the time of his death he was on temporary detail in the Department.

PARKS. Benjamin R. Parks, FSO, died on July 20, in an automobile accident in Frankfurt, where he had been assigned as Vice Consul. Mr. Parks was appointed to the Foreign Service in August, 1960.

The list of addresses of the retired Foreign Service personnel who are members of AFSA is being prepared again this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request.



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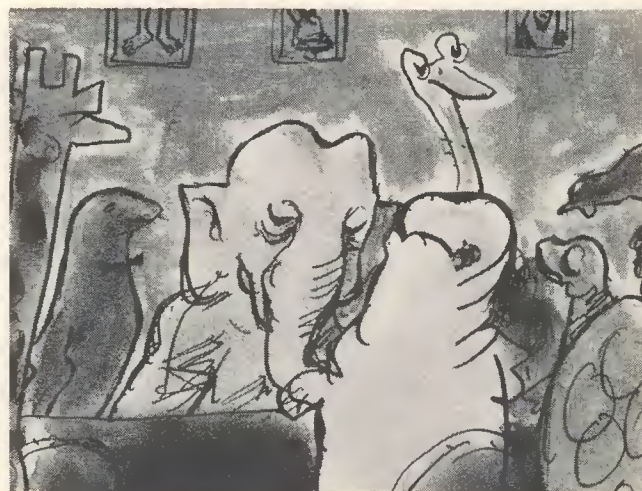
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AFSA : Minutes of Recent Board Meetings

May 28, 1963: The Board discussed at some length the role which AFSA might play in making available to the membership insurance programs in addition to those provided by AFSPA. It decided to establish a Standing Committee on Insurance, to explore proposals which had been received for group policies for automobile insurance and personal property insurance, and to approve and sponsor a proposal for a group policy providing substantial accidental death and dismemberment benefits. Recent developments affecting action on the Herter Committee report were reviewed. The Board approved the appointment of Mr. Edwin M. J. Kretzmann as Vice Chairman of the JOURNAL Board and discussed reaction from various quarters to controversial articles in recent issues of the JOURNAL.

June 11, 1963: To replace JOURNAL Board members being transferred to the field, the appointments of Messrs. Christian M. Chapman, Gordon Chase and John W. DeWitt were approved. In view of Miss Jean M. Wilkowski's impending departure to the field, Mr. George B. Roberts was elected to succeed her as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer. The Board also approved the appointment of Mr. Frederick D. Leatherman to the Committee on Insurance and received progress reports on pending proposals for group insurance policies. The Board discussed the development of informal liaison with the Hill and agreed that this could best be done by direct, personal contact with Senators, Representatives and staff officers dealing with matters of interest to the Association. The Secretary-Treasurer reported that the financial statement of May 31, 1963 indicated that the deficit for the fiscal year 1962-63 would be less than anticipated earlier.

June 25, 1963: The Board accepted with regret the resignations of Directors Jean M. Wilkowski and Martin F. Herz and appointed as their successors Messrs. Adrian T. Middleton and Emory C. Swank. Mr. Taylor G. Belcher was elected to succeed Mr. Herz as Vice Chairman of the Board. Messrs. Arthur R. Dornheim and Wendell A. Pike were appointed to the Committee on Insurance. The Board reviewed and approved the ballot for the Electoral College prepared by the Committee on Elections. Discussion of the desirability of basic changes in the Association's electoral system—e.g. direct election of officers—concluded with a consensus that the present Electoral College system was best suited to the needs of the Association. AFSA participation in the campaign to raise funds for the National Cultural Center was discussed, but decision was deferred pending further information on the scope of the fund-raising drive undertaken by the Department. The Board approved a proposal of AAFSW that it appoint one of its members to serve on the AFSA Committee on Education as AAFSW liaison representative.



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At the AFSA Luncheon:

Diplomacy and Politics

by CLAIBORNE PELL

FRIENDS, and I should really say fellow members of the Association because I have kept up my active membership in the Association since I resigned from the Foreign Service in 1952 and as the Chairman pointed out, I am the first Foreign Service officer to enter the Senate since the Rogers Act was passed in 1924. However, I am not necessarily the first individual to go in the reverse direction, because as you know some of my colleagues in the Senate have joined your ranks when fate befell them. As you also know, in the body in which I now serve, we usually leave for only two reasons, both by way of the box—coffin or ballot—and, so we stay as long as we can. I am particularly glad to be here to see some of my old friends and former bosses and also because my father followed much the same path I have followed. He passed the old Diplomatic Service examination around 1910, later became a politician and went to Congress, and then served as a political Chief of Mission abroad for some years prior to and during World War II. So, I feel at home and am very glad to be here.

I thought I would touch on several subjects. As you can imagine, it is rather an emotional experience to be here before my old chiefs and in a group with whom I worked for many years. I have so many thoughts that I could talk on and on, but I won't. Although I will talk about a number of different topics, I will restrain myself and talk only briefly about each one.

First, you might be interested to know whether being a former member of the Foreign Service helped me in politics. I think it did because both politics and diplomacy are alike in that they really are concerned with dealing with people, handling people, and trying to follow that old diplomatic adage of letting the other man have *your* way. This is the great secret of diplomacy and politics, not blunderbussing the opponent, but just trying to make sure, if at all possible, that the answer included in his statement of position is your answer. My familiarity with French, Italian, and Portuguese was very useful indeed, since my State has many families with language backgrounds.

One of the differences between the two professions is recalled in Talleyrand's old diplomatic admonition, above all "pas trop de zèle." This, however, does not apply in politics. Many in politics lack zeal, but all try to appear as though they have it, whereas the secret in diplomacy is to work as hard as possible without appearing to work at all. At least this is my own personal view.

Now speaking as an ex-FSO—afterwards I will talk as a Senator—there are several ideas I would just like to get off

Senator PELL is Democratic Senator from Rhode Island.



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my chest. Having left the Service, I think as an FSO-5, I would be lucky if I were an FSO-3 at this point. You can imagine my satisfaction in being able to talk with all these distinguished Consuls, Consuls General, and others with whom I served through the years. I would like to begin by telling a little story which I believe illustrates the frustrations of younger Foreign Service people and explains why some of them leave the Service. I was in the Consulate General at Genoa and the Inspector came through and asked what comments I had. I said I thought we would do better if instead of six vice consuls the number were reduced to maybe three, then we would all have sufficient work and have a better time doing it. He then asked the Consul General what comments he had. And the Consul General said he thought that, in order to carry on the responsibilities of the office, he really needed a couple more vice consuls to assist him in the job. And then the Consul General became aware of my views.

This story illustrates the frustration of many younger men in the Service because of the amount of semi-clerical work they are required to do. There were many days that I spent stretching four hours of work into an eight-hour day. There were times, of course, when I had to squeeze sixteen hours of work into an eight-hour day, but there was a great deal of stretch-out. In Genoa they sought to eliminate it, and after I left the post, I hear Consul General Bob Joyce did achieve the impossible and cut the staff back to three vice consuls. I am now informed that the complement is now back to a larger number. This illustrates why some of your younger men get a little impatient at times. I am no longer a young man; I am a middle-aged man. Moreover, although I do not see many young men here at our Foreign Service Association meeting today, I am sure some of you can recall your own impatience when you were younger.

Another idea I would like to touch upon is one which I wish were more popular in the Foreign Service—the idea of leaving the Foreign Service for a year or two after a number of years of service in order to again blend into the life of the community and the flow of American life. With us in the Government, if an employee wants to get a leave of absence without pay for one or two years, he is strongly discouraged from doing it and it is a considerable factor against his promotion later on. In the Foreign Service, at least, I believe this should work exactly in reverse. People in the Foreign Service should be encouraged to leave the Service for a year or two on the outside and when they return both they and the Service would benefit.

Another thought I would like to get off my chest concerns the War Manpower Act of 1946. I thought this Act was an excellent one. If it had been administered in the full spirit in which it was drawn up by Selden Chapin, I do not believe it would have created the situation that in my own personal view resulted in the measures that led to Wristonization and, now the years we must spend in unscrambling that particular omelet and getting the round pegs back into round holes. I think many of the problems that the Service gets itself into are the result of doing too little in the beginning and then later doing too much.

Another point I would like to make concerns the proposal to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. I per-



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sonally have been through all the testimony, read the Herter and Perkins Report and various other related material and I, as one individual, believe that it would be a mistake to create such an Academy as presently proposed. In this regard, the number of real scholars, that is those men who not only know a country and its culture well, but have otherwise made a significant contribution to the knowledge of that country and its culture, is really quite small. To be specific, today there are not more than a dozen scholars fully conversant with the most populous nation in the world, Communist China. And, there are not more than half-a-hundred scholars familiar with the full scope of the Soviet Union. I don't think that these men, rare birds that they are, would let themselves be caught in a Government aviary for any great period of time.

By contrast, it seems to me that the Foreign Service is at present making better use of these rare scholars—and serving its own best interests too—by sending Foreign Service officers to existing area study programs in our great universities. This present system not only provides the best available education in the cultural background of foreign countries, but it also throws Government officials back into the stimulating atmosphere of American life outside of Government. And one great need of our Foreign Service people after years of being stationed abroad is to be once again thrown into the stream of American life. The 135 area study programs that are available throughout the United States today do just that, as well as being, in themselves, excellent ones and ones that would be almost impossible for the Government to emulate.

Moreover, one can foresee what would be the fate of an unfortunate professor who wrote an article in a learned journal expressing a foreign policy view at variance with that of the Administration then in power. Let us say, for example, that he extolled the advantages of a two-China policy or enlarged upon the incompetence of the new African nations to govern themselves; it would not be long before he was hauled before a Congressional investigating committee.

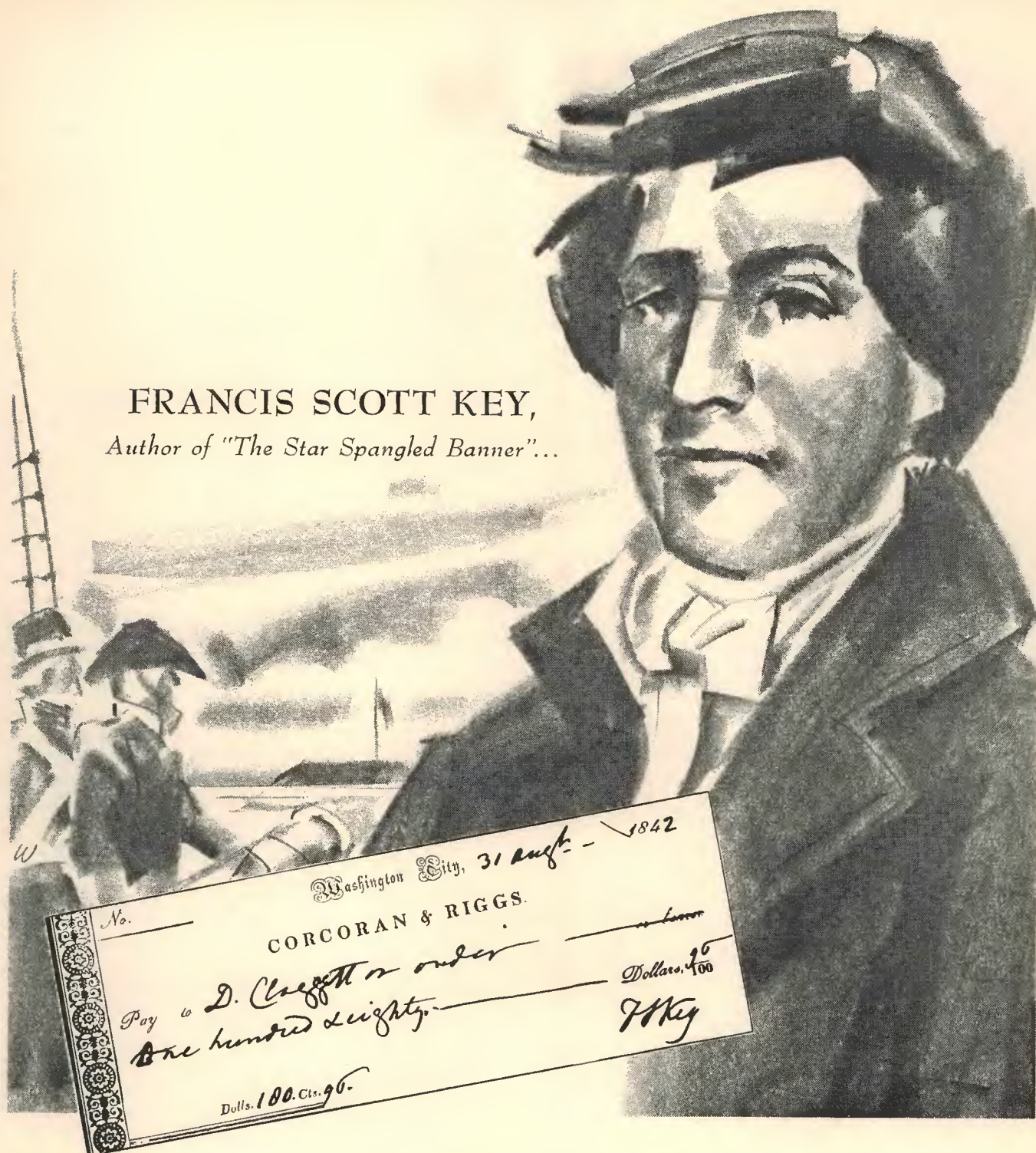
I personally believe we can do the job of better preparing those who represent us abroad by better utilizing the existing facilities in our great universities and by better utilizing and expanding the facilities of the Foreign Service Institute.

And, finally, one other point I would like to mention is my hope that we can get away from using the term counter-insurgency. In fact, we should encourage the use of the word insurgency. I would not be in the Senate today if I had not been a political insurgent. We encourage insurgency in many instances. A better term, I think would be counter-guerrilla, or unconventional warfare. When we go throughout the world talking about counter-insurgency, I think we ought to have our heads examined because it's insurgency against the Communist monolith that we are doing our best to encourage in many parts of the world.

Now that I've gotten these comments off my chest, I will be much nicer.

From the perspective of the Senate where I am now, there are several comments I would like to make. I well recall some years back the joy with which we used to welcome Congressional delegations coming through a post; the anticipation and the thought that was given to it. The point I

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would like to make is that, speaking as a Senator, I think most of us would infinitely prefer to meet a small group of, say five or six people—provided they can speak English or we can speak their language—rather than going to a huge party. Most of us like to meet small groups of well-informed people from different walks of life or different professions. Moreover, this would be much easier on the representational pocketbook. It bothers some of us when we go abroad as Senators and immediately are thrown into a big room with two hundred people, where we all have to stand up for two hours. It's pretty painful all the way around. This is not just personal. I think many of you share this view. We would be delighted and we would love the opportunity to sit down and exchange ideas intelligently because most of the people who are up on the Hill are intelligent. You don't survive on the Hill for very long if you're stupid. All told, I think it would be more enjoyable and a greater help all the way around.

Another thing I might mention in speaking of dealing with Congressional groups is that the best answer is the direct and factual answer. Sometimes we get a certain sense of indirection in our relationships with the Department.

Going on to more general subjects, I would like to touch briefly on another area where I think the Foreign Service can play a very important role because I see my own job here in Washington not as being just to reflect opinion from home, but to try to guide opinion at home. You, too, have a similar job in not only carrying out foreign policy but in pulling together the thoughts that lead to competent decisions and in some cases actually providing guidance when there is no guidance offered by an Administration. And here I invite your attention to a remarkable quotation I came across the other day by Lord Palmerston. He said, "We have no eternal allies and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow." To my mind this is a wonderful thought. What he is saying is that the world can change, and conditions can change, but we should always examine each question before us in terms of how it reflects upon our national interest, not how it reflects upon a policy established fifteen or twenty years ago. Obvious examples of the results of not heeding this wisdom are known to all of us. You are more familiar with this field than I am, and one wonders at the wisdom of being too fixed in a particular policy. Our job as a nation in dealing with our opponents is to keep probing, not just through CIA activist methods, but to keep probing through diplomatic channels, to act and not to react, to throw various ideas of active diplomacy at the opposition and to let them start fumbling. As it is, we are catching such ideas thrown at us by the Communists and although we are catching pretty well, we ought to be throwing more often.

Here I would like to leave with you my own proposal with regard to Germany, which again relates to the general subject of diplomacy. In diplomacy, the whole idea is to trade what you think is a pawn and the other fellow thinks is a knight for something your opponent thinks is a pawn and you think is a knight. The question is to try to work these out so you are both reasonably satisfied. If implemented, my proposal for Berlin would give us a clearly defined corridor of land access to Berlin with the economic

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and military guarantees which go with freedom of access. To achieve this, I maintain we can recognize the continuing existence of the two German Governments, together with their present borders. We would have gained something we don't presently have, which is a guaranteed land corridor—and by land corridor I am talking about the Berlin-Helmstedt corridor. This roadway has something like one hundred and thirty overpasses and underpasses so that possession of it by the West would not interfere with the economy of East Germany. If we could secure an internationally guaranteed route of land access, we would have gained a good deal, and I don't think the opposition would have gained significantly.

I will not elaborate further on my Germany proposal except to mention the general thesis that, although there seems to be agreement that both the Soviets and ourselves want a relaxation in world tensions, it is becoming increasingly difficult to ease these tensions.

In closing, I would like to leave with you the public reaction thus far to my German proposal. You might think that I would have had my head chopped off for what I have suggested, and yet my mail has run four to one in favor of my ideas, and the editorial and press support has been of a similar pattern. Now I am sure that my proposal is not the answer to the German question, but it does illustrate the thought I would like to leave with you, and that is we should do more to encourage the throwing out of ideas in order to keep the opposition off balance. And it is here that you in the Foreign Service can play a tremendous role in bringing new and good ideas in the area of diplomacy to the attention of an administration. What we all should look for and what we desperately need are solid, imaginative ideas, and they just don't seem to be being brought forward as rapidly as we need them.

You have been very good to me. I think you know what a joy it is to be with you all, and if my father were here he would feel the same way. Thank you very much.



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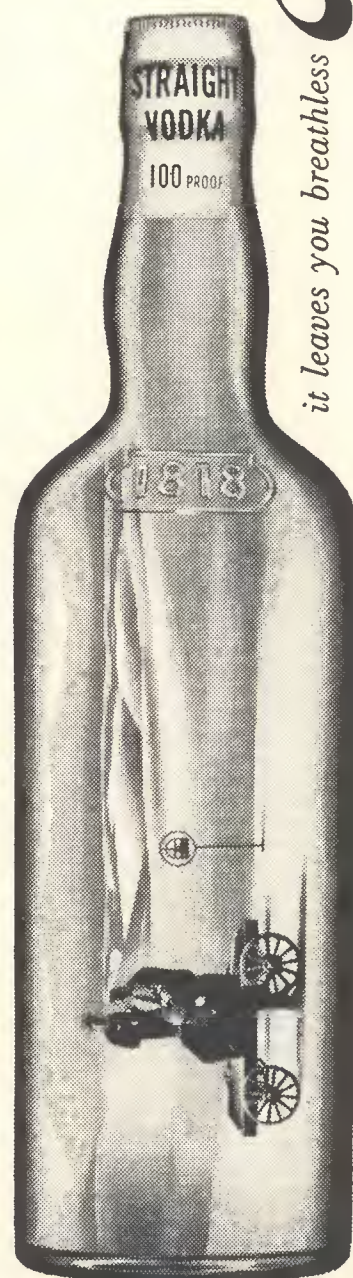
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25 years ago in the Journal

September, 1938

by JAMES B. STEWART

Angus Crawford

Ellis O. Briggs reviews in the 1938 JOURNAL the book, "Latin America and the United States," by Professor Graham H. Stuart. From it is quoted a reference to the late Angus Crawford:

"It used to be the boast of the late Angus Crawford to candidates considering his course for the Foreign Service examinations that he covered in a single lecture 'all the history of Latin America since 1800'—that everything the examinations had asked in upwards of twenty years was contained in that one lecture. Angus would then tell his clients to be of good cheer, and would collect the first month's tuition in advance. He was a formidable man.

"And as Angus Crawford boasted, so it was; for that lecture was Angus at his best, and his best was a memorable adventure. For two hours and a half history marched before you like veteran soldiers on parade; you had the precise sequence of battalions, the movement and the color, the sense of direction and control. You forgot the man, heaving vastly with emphatic gesture; you forgot springtime Washington and even the impending examinations—but you knew Miranda and Bolivar. You felt the wind that moves the reeds along the marshy shores of Lake Junin, and you rode beside San Martin at Ayacucho. You saw the dust-splash of bullets on adobe when Maximilian fell at Queretaro, and you were there on the Malecon in 1898 when the *Maine* steamed past Morro Castle toward manifest destiny. You saw the first steam-shovel tear the red earth, when men severed the continents at Culebra. All these you saw and you sensed the drama. . . . You felt the pulse of nations stirring on a great continent. Angus Crawford touched a map, and twenty countries were alive; it was an unforgettable adventure."

Comment, 1963: Interesting note from Miss Cornelia Bassel: "The Donald Edgars live in the house where the famous Angus Crawford had his school, and have one of the prettiest gardens I have seen in Georgetown."

Recorded on a Hair

"On July 2 Under Secretary Wells received for President Roosevelt a gift designed to be a souvenir of Cuban demonstration of friendship for the United States. The gift, delivered by the Cuban Ambassador . . . was a diploma on which was a human hair three and one half inches long on which was inscribed a hundred word message recording the aims of demonstrations held in Habana on July 4, in honor of Cuban-American friendship."

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25 Years Ago

By JAMES B. STEWART

Sumner Welles and Arthur Krock

"The Under Secretary (Sumner Welles) acted as a guest commentator in substituting for a friend, Mr. Fulton Lewis, over the Mutual Broadcasting Company network on July 27."

Comment, 1963: Mr. Welles confined himself to news of the Department and did not touch on the weather, unlike another news commentator. "Having worked himself into his usual fury about the day's events in Washington he wound up with: 'Rain tonight and tomorrow, relative stupidity 98 percent.'"

"Arthur Krock and the Biddles: The Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., as well as Mrs. Biddle, were the subjects of a very flattering reference in the New York TIMES of August 12, 1938, in a column written by the chief of its Washington bureau, Mr. Arthur Krock, who recently returned from a trip to Europe."



A son was born on August 16, 1938, in Washington to Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Yost. Mr. Yost is Assistant Chief, Division of Arms and Munitions Control, and an editor of the JOURNAL.

Comment, 1963: Had the following letter from Mr. Yost, Deputy U. S. Representative to the United Nations: "I hasten to answer your letter, particularly because I read

your column with such interest each month and am happy to make a small contribution to it.

"Nicholas graduated from Hotchkiss in 1956, Princeton in 1960, and this is his last year at the University of California (Berkeley) Law School . . . He was married last January to Miriam Kennet of San Francisco, who is also doing post graduate work at the University of California. He will presumably begin his military service shortly and after completing it Nicholas hopes to practice law in California and to go into politics. He is an ardent Democrat."



De Graw-Jandrey. Miss Clemence De Graw, of Hollywood, California, and Mr. Fred W. Jandrey, Vice Consul at Naples, were married at St. Paul's American Church in Rome on July 11, 1938. The best man was J. Wesley Jones, and the bride was given away by Gilson G. Blake, Jr. Both Mr. Jones and Mr. Blake are American Consuls at Rome.

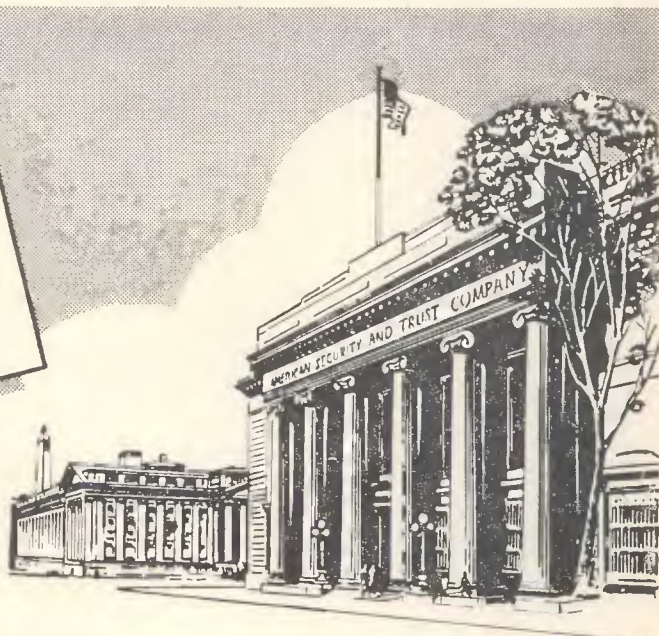
Comment, 1963: The Jandreys retired in the San Francisco Bay Area. Fritz says that Clemence is all bound up in book binding and spends many hours in the garden. As for Fritz, he works half the week for the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and devotes some time to the Bay Area Urban League and to the Belvedere Planning Commission. Fritz says that the capriciousness of the weather betrays the praise one tends to heap on San Francisco.



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GUEST EDITORIAL:



"Get back in there and fight!"

Riposte

... I MUST say that if we are discussing academic freedom, the kind of hospitality which the Foreign Service JOURNAL gives to criticism of the institutions of the Department is very healthy, and I am all for it.

Under Secretary George W. Ball

Testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee, April 4, 1963, in reply to Senator Church's comments on the Briggs and Cochran articles in the March, 1963 issue of the JOURNAL.

America's Administrative Response (Part II)

by GEORGE F. KENNAN

THE present system is based, throughout, on what appears to be a conscious striving for maximum fragmentation and diffusion of power. This operates on each of the two major planes by which all governmental work is ordered—administrative and substantive.

On the administrative plane it takes the form of the divorce of administrative functions from the substantive chain of command and their subordination to special independent hierarchies of administrators, managers, and security officials. With respect to inanimate things—supplies, premises, communication channels—this practice is unexceptionable. With respect to persons, it is wholly misconceived. It deprives the superior officer in the substantive chain of command of one of the most vital tools for the proper accomplishment of his own work: the right to select and control the personnel who are to assist him. By divorcing personnel control from the substantive aspects of a man's performance, it assures that personnel decisions are made on the basis of every sort of judgment other than the one most qualified, most informed, and most intimately associated with the man's usefulness to the government, namely, that of his immediate superior in his regular work. The individual officer or employee is left with the impression that strive as he may to please those who are his visible superiors during the hours he spends at the office, his fate will nevertheless be determined by members of an invisible fraternity of administrators and security agents whose identity he does not know, who do not know him, and for whom he is only a card from the business machine, bearing certain perforations intelligible only to another business machine. With the achievement of this state of affairs, the sense of pride in work suffers, along with the hope of any genuine and reliable relationship between effort and reward. In their place there is left only an uncomfortable sense of being at the mercy of forces unknown and unseen—a condition that grips subordinate and superior together in a Kafkaesque nightmare to which there is no end and from which there is no escape. If, in these circumstances, enthusiasm and devotion survive—as fortunately they often do—this is usually the result of a mutual respect and sympathy

among associates and a common devotion to the government's interest. Both must be strong enough to override the sense of insecurity and the dimness of the connection between effort and recognition.

I am aware that the opinions of the immediate superior are consulted and do enter theoretically into personnel decisions, if not into security control. But the decision lies, after all, with a third party; the opinions of the immediate superior are utilized only at second hand; and the devices for the communication of those opinions (forms, questionnaires, multiple-choice questions) are in many instances so miserably inadequate and misconceived that they would stand as barriers, rather than conveyers, to the transmission of any apt and subtly informed judgment.

THIS impersonal system of personnel control rests on the desire to find ways of judging people that get away from personal opinion and personal responsibility. This tendency is almost inevitable whenever numbers get so large that the persons doing the judging cannot have any personal knowledge of the subjects. But it rests, unavoidably, on the assumption that there exist such things as adequate and fully comparable objective criteria, divorced from personal opinion, for judging a man's worth as an employee of the government. This could not be more mistaken. There is no such thing as an abstract, objective evaluation of a human being, independent of the personality of the one who judges. The only definition of a man's worth that has reality is the image as seen by another man; and that image is a reflection of—and a reflection on—both of them. The judgment, in other words, is valueless without a knowledge of the judge as well as of the judged. This is why one cannot realistically depart from the human personality in its most intimate sense as the basis of selection and promotion and handling, generally, of personnel. To attempt to make this departure is to operate in a world of unrealities. It means dealing not with men themselves but with distorted shadows of them, at the price of inefficient, wasteful use of their talents, and at the sacrifice of the enthusiasm and devotion that come from the assurance that one's official fate is likely to be a reasonably faithful reflection of the quality of one's effort.

The cultivation of an impersonal system of personnel control rests, of course, on the understandable desire to achieve maximum fairness and uniformity in the terms of competi-

GEORGE F. KENNAN, Ambassador to Yugoslavia 1961-1963, was a career Foreign Service officer from 1926-1953 and more recently a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. He returns to the Institute this fall.



Fete en Provence

by Howard R. Simpson

tion. No personnel system can be properly operated, even in a moderately large organization, without some centralized system of record keeping and without the invocation of some general criteria designed to guard against the aberrations of the biased, unjust, or erratic superior. One cannot leave men exclusively to the mercy of the man they happen to work for at any given moment.

But what is involved here is the question of the weight to be given to the various components of a personnel decision. The preponderant voice should always lie with a superior who knows the man personally, who has firsthand knowledge of his performance, and who is interested in him as a human being—not with remote, unseen individuals, devoid of experience in the substantive aspects of the work of the man they are judging, and protected by their anonymity from the real responsibility of decision. So long as the latter system prevails, the premium, for the individual employee, will continue to lie not in boldness, not in individuality, not in imagination, but in the cultivation of that nice mixture of noncontroversiality and colorless semi-competence that corresponds most aptly to the various banal distinctions of which, alone, the business machine is capable.

AS FOR the fragmentation and diffusion of power on the substantive plane? This begins, of course, at the very top, with the fragmentation of the responsibility for conducting—under the President's direction—the foreign affairs of the nation. The very fact that there are several departments and agencies involved in this work, and none with real au-

thority over the others, sets the tone for the distribution of responsibility all the way down the line. There is, of course, the National Security Council; but this is a body capable only of sporadic, solemn decisions, laboriously prepared and negotiated among the various government offices prior to their submission to the President. It does not yet have, to my knowledge, the independent professional staff it would require for the kind of decision which is needed; and the very nature of its composition (the executive heads of various government departments) militates against detached judgment. What the foreign affairs segment of the government needs is not primarily an occasional NSC paper but intimate day-by-day, hour-by-hour direction, sensitive to the smallest significant change in the world situation. It needs, in the language of the day, to be ridden herd on; and this is precisely what the National Security Council cannot do for it.

From this center, the system of diffused authority spreads outwards into a thousand branches and twigs of the governmental tree. At every level, decision taking proceeds by the cultivation of consensus among various units, in committees which operate on the veto principle, each one represented being effectively in a position to bar or at least to delay action not acceptable to it. Whether it was the original intent that committees should operate in this manner I do not know. A Department of State handbook on committees, from about the year 1949, affords no evidence that committees were conceived to operate in any other way than this; and this is certainly the way most of them functioned



Batak Structure, Indonesia

by Donald R. Tremblay

in Washington at that time. This is, of course, only an extrapolation of the internal initialing system of the Department of State, where outgoing communications usually require the initials of a number of offices, each one of which can hold up the communication if it withholds approval. The fact that a single office may be designated as the one with primary responsibility does not give that office the power to act independently. The system thus operates on the principle embodied in the words so frequently heard from senior officials of the Department: "Anything you fellows can agree on is all right with me."

Now if what were at stake were only action, this might, in some instances, have its virtue in assuring that action was sound and that all the aspects of the government's interests had been taken into account. But when it is a question of thought and analysis and political philosophy, this method has grievous handicaps. The result, as everyone in government knows, is usually a least common denominator of opinion: compromised language, platitude, obscurity, a hodgepodge inferior to any of the individual views out of which it is brewed. A great portion of the lack of authority and incisiveness in the positions taken by the government can surely be laid to this method of decision taking.

Opinions on the origin of this curious committee system vary. It has flourished particularly on the military side of the river, and particularly in the relations between the three services. There is a plausible theory that it was in large measure a somewhat misconceived importation of the British committee system with which our armed services came into extensive contact during World War II. There are other analogies drawn from the separation of powers in our government as a whole, and from the unbelievable obscuration of responsibility achieved by the legislative committee system.

The basic assumption underlying this fear of a rigid, clear allotment of responsibility is surely the belief that it lends itself to dictatorship and to curtailment of the liberties and rights of others. There is a feeling that concentration of authority is in some way undemocratic—that the allotment to a single individual of the power to decide something is in some way incompatible with the spirit of the American political system. What is ignored is the fact that authority is required to protect freedom just as it is required to assail it. Beyond this there is the failure to realize that what is involved in the conduct of external relations is merely the exercise of a personal authority which already constitutionally exists and which is absolutely essential to the transaction of the country's international business. The inter-divisional and inter-agency squabbles in Washington represent a form of insistence on fragmenting at lower levels a power which the fathers of the Constitution meant to unify when they vested it in the President of the United States.

The amount of time and manpower consumed in the effort to arrive at consensus in this manner among numbers of governmental entities in an endless series of questions has to be seen to be believed. The portion of each day spent by higher officials in committee meetings while papers, tele-

phone calls, and messages accumulate at their desks is a part of the price paid for this method of decision taking, as is the great volume of internal written correspondence about such matters: the chits, the opinions, the position papers.

The aggregate result of these deficiencies—the flight from the individual, the striving for the creation of machinery to replace individual insight and judgment, the labored diffusion of power—is to give to the governmental apparatus an inflexibility, an inertia, a sluggishness, and an incoherence in communication that render it an inferior instrument in the hands of the senior officials of government.

No one who has worked in the immediate vicinity of the Secretary of State or the President can fail to have been impressed with the difficulty involved for either of these officials in making use of so vast and complex a machinery. They cannot apprehend it. They cannot memorize or picture its table of organization.

The regular governmental machinery was designed to serve the President and the Secretary of State in two ways: first, as a source of information, stimulus, and recommendation with relation to the exercise of their responsibility; and, second, as a channel for the implementation of their decisions.

So far as the first is concerned, it is plain that the contribution the regular apparatus is capable of making bears no proper relation to its size and to the enormity of its effort. This is partly the result of the very limited time that the senior officials have in which to absorb information and impulses of all sorts brought to them through the regular channels;¹ but it is also partly a consequence of the inferior form in which this information is produced—inferior, that is, from the standpoint of its effectiveness in engaging and impressing the mind of anyone so busy, so overwhelmed with ulterior preoccupations, and so constituted by education and intellect as most presidents and most secretaries of state are apt to be. On countless occasions subordinates have been surprised and disappointed—sometimes even personally hurt—to find that the Secretary or the President has been more decisively influenced by some chance outside contact or experience than by the information and advice offered through the regular channels. Either he has talked with someone from outside whose statements seemed somehow simpler and more striking and appealing than anything he had heard from his own subordinates, or the same effect has been produced upon him by some newspaper or magazine article he has read, by something he has heard on the radio, or something he has seen in the newsreels or on television.

There is, admittedly, a real injustice here, in most instances. The statements of the fascinating outsider often prove in retrospect to have been less sound and balanced than the final product of official judgment; and the items

¹ Who has not seen, for example, at international conferences, the huge black briefing books remain idle and unused because the chiefs have no time to look at them? Who has not seen experts, by the dozen, cool their heels through such conferences, unconsulted and unused because the chiefs have no time to talk to them?

purveyed by the mass media are found to be dangerously over-simplified and inadequate as a basis for official action.

But the regular subordinates are inclined to forget or to ignore the deadening effect of the bureaucracy on all forms of communication, oral and written. Whereas the products of the mass media are designed to strike and to hold briefly the attention of busy people, and whereas the statements of the outside visitor are apt to have at least the charm of the expression of a single human mind, with all its directness and freshness, the products of the official machinery are almost invariably dull and pedestrian, drafted or spoken in the usual abominable governmentese, and even—in many instances—intellectually inferior by virtue of the extensive compromising of language which has preceded their final formulation. In short, the busy senior executive frequently finds more useful and meaningful to him the product of the individual mind than the product of a tortured collective effort; and it is only the latter that he gets from his assistants.

IN THE execution of policy, we see the same phenomenon. Anyone who has ever had anything to do with the conduct of foreign relations knows that policies can be correctly and effectively implemented only by people who understand the entire philosophy and world of thought of the person or persons who took the original decision. But senior officials are constantly forced to realize that in a governmental apparatus so vast, so impersonal, and so lacking in any sort of ideological indoctrination and discipline they cannot count on any great portion of the apparatus to understand entirely what they mean. The people in question here are in large part ones they do not know personally and cannot hope to know in this way. Considerations of security alone would make it difficult, in many instances, to attempt to initiate into the reasons of action all those who might be involved if one were to attempt to use the regular channels. The expansion of the governmental apparatus has led to a steady inflation of titles, roughly matching that of the growth of the apparatus itself. The result is that the stature of many titles and offices has been reduced in everyone's eyes; and dozens of officials who ought, by virtue of the titles they hold, to be able to serve as vehicles for the execution of policy, are prevented from doing so in consequence of the fact that they would now be considered too low level to be acceptable to other governments, or even other departments of our own government, as interlocutors and negotiators. Try as one will, one simply cannot make the vast organization absorb or replace the small circle of responsible officials as the center for the formulation and execution of policy.

For all these reasons, there is a growing tendency to have policy executed personally at the top. There was once a day when matters of world-shaking importance were carried forward, discussed, and negotiated by counselors of embassy and *chargés d'affaires*. Today the Secretary of State or the President feels obliged to jump into a plane and do the job himself. The governmental machinery is simply too unwieldy, too cumbersome, too unknown, and too deflated of meaning by its own vastness to be useful as an instru-

ment of policy. The facelessness inflicted on a horde of officials by the vastness and complexity of the organizational framework in which they are buried has deprived them of personal status in the eyes of foreign governments, or even of other American agencies, and has thus reduced their usefulness to those they are supposed to serve.

These realities raise the question as to the value of the great organization, *per se*, as an aid to the President in the execution of his most solemn responsibilities with respect to the conduct of foreign relations. The damage is not only that the President tends to bypass it; the damage is that he does not have at his side what he needs to do his work, and this is most serious of all in the conceptual field.

It need hardly be pointed out that the position of the United States in the world today is of such a nature that its diplomacy, to be successful, must be based on the most subtle and literate comprehension of world realities. Furthermore, it must be animated by a single rounded and consistent political philosophy, must be refined at its inception by the processes of private and intimate discussion, and must be executed in such a way as to permit maximum flexibility, instantaneous adaptation to changing world realities, and delicate shifts of emphasis in response to new situations. It must even operate with contradictory policies, deliberately and simultaneously, in order to permit the rapid exploitation of the shifting external scene.

Such a diplomacy cannot and will not emanate from the workings of a great bureaucratic apparatus. It requires, necessarily and properly, too much of the personal, too much of the private, too much—if you will—of the conspiratorial, to be conceived and implemented in this way. The chief executive is faced today with the choice of bypassing the regular apparatus, both as a source of information and inspiration and as a channel of execution, or of foregoing effective diplomacy altogether and contenting himself with the monumental inflexibility, the philosophical shallowness, the ideological obscurity, and the unimaginative execution which the great organization assures.

UP to this time, the tendency has been to compromise, giving the edge to the latter alternative. The result has been the situation we have today; a diplomacy that comes alive as and when the President can give it personal expression. Otherwise it is a diplomacy insensitive to external developments and stimuli—a diplomacy which speaks but scarcely hears—a diplomacy which, as a consequence of its own inertia and inflexibility, represents for other governments more of a topographical feature on the horizon of world affairs than a sensitive, reacting, and feeling partner in the great process of action and discussion that constitutes international life. Such a diplomacy is something other nations have to take into account as an important reality; it is not something they can hope to influence extensively by words and ideas.

And this is a shame; for words and ideas work both ways. America's self-centeredness and hardness of hearing hamper her effectiveness as a speaker in the councils of the world.

(Ambassador Kennan's conclusions will appear in the next issue.)



A National Showcase

PROBABLY no group of Americans is more conscious of the lack of satisfactory cultural facilities in Washington than the members of the Foreign Service, most of whom have observed and enjoyed the national theaters, operas and concert halls of other countries. Certainly no other group is more aware of foreign criticism of the United States as a purely materialistic culture, or of the American omissions that allow this essentially false notion to persist.

This is one reason why the AFSA Board has decided to give members an opportunity to contribute to the building of the National Cultural Center in the capital. The Association has never before undertaken a fund-raising drive of this nature, but we believe that the unique importance of the occasion fully justifies its departure from past practice.

The National Cultural Center Act, signed by President Eisenhower in 1958, and setting aside thirteen acres on the shore of the Potomac as a site, stipulated that building funds must come from voluntary contributions, and for the first time authorized a nation-wide fund-raising campaign for a cultural enterprise.

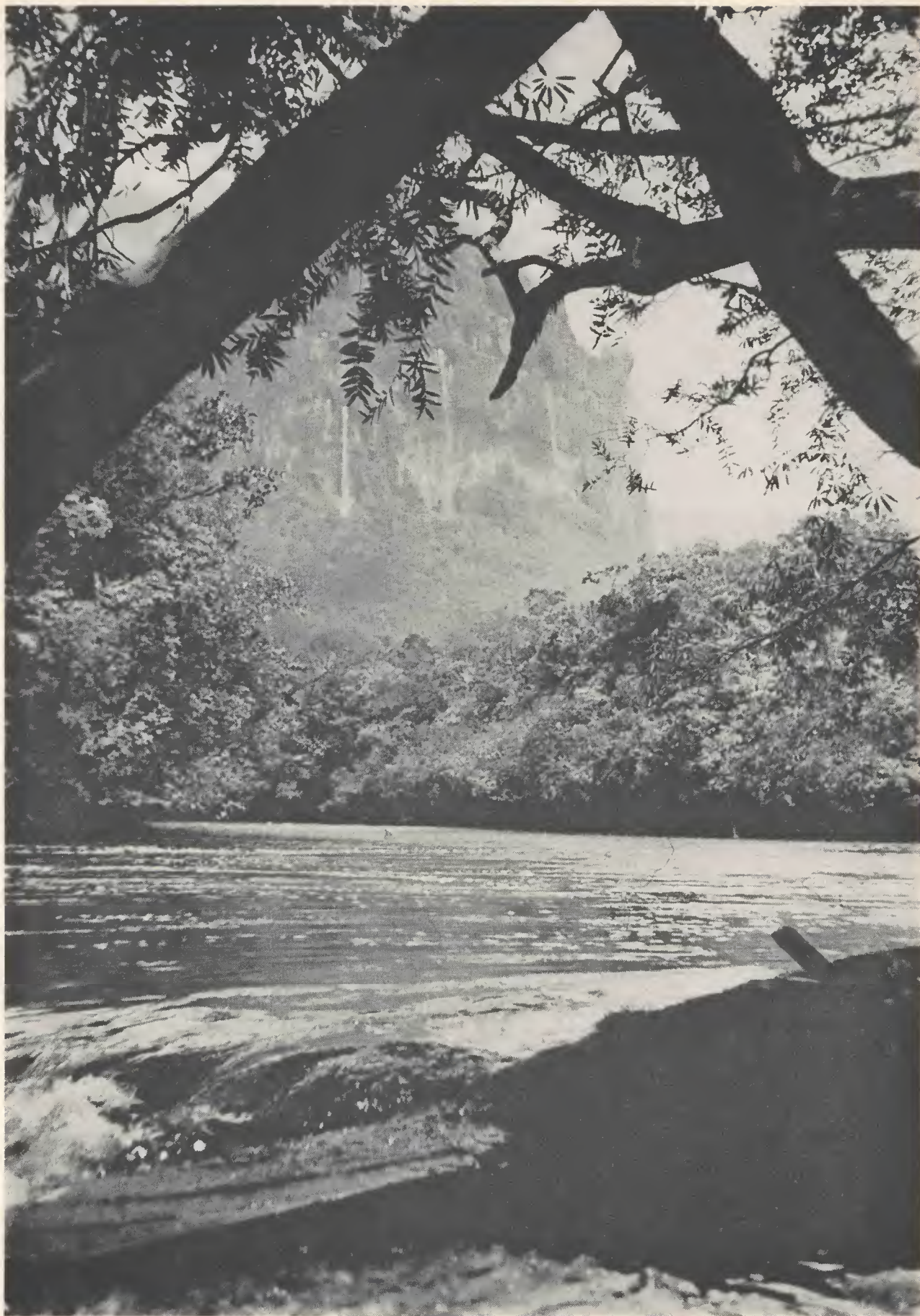
The Center will include a 1200-seat theatre, a 2,750-seat symphony hall, and another large hall for opera, musical shows and ballet. A garden-like roof area, with a retractable roof to ensure use in all weather, is planned for band concerts, art exhibits, festivals, theatre in the round, balls and restaurants. The entrance plaza will have fountains and flowering trees, and a spectacular nighttime effect will be created by exterior floodlighting. The roof will command a magnificent view of the city and the river.

But the Center will be far more than the handsome structure that Edward Durell Stone's design promises. It will hold national and international festivals based on quality of performance. It will offer opportunity to new talent by holding state and regional contests. It will offer distinguished artists from abroad—for the first time in Washington—facilities worthy of their talent and the possibility of appearing before an appreciative national audience.

Employee associations in Washington, with the strong endorsement of President Kennedy, have just completed a drive for funds for construction of the Center. Other efforts have been under way throughout the nation since last November. We are sure that many Foreign Service people will also wish to contribute. Checks should be sent to the American Foreign Service Association, marked for the Center. The total amount received will go to the building fund in the name of the Association. Ultimately, as Assistant Secretary Battle has pointed out, "the Association's contribution will be used to endow an identifiable part of the structure or furnishing, thus establishing a permanent link between the Association and the Center."

One-third of your Foreign Service career probably will be spent in Washington. We urge you to add to your pride in the city, and to your own pleasure when living there, by helping to create the National Cultural Center.

Meanwhile, we also urge the Civil Aeronautics Board to look into the question of flight patterns over the area. We are all for innovations in the arts but we prefer Brahms without benefit of Boeing.



Auyantepui looming over Churun River

by Peter P. Lord

Expedition to the World's Highest Waterfall

by Peter P. Lord

THE HIGHEST known waterfall in the world is Venezuela's Angel Falls. With a drop of 3,212 feet, Angel Falls is roughly twenty times higher than Niagara Falls' 167 feet (American side). The Falls are named for Jimmy Angel, American pilot-explorer, who discovered them by chance on a flight over southern Venezuela in 1937.

Angel Falls (*Salto Angel* in Spanish) plunge from near the top of Auyantepui (Indian for "great mountain"), a giant mesa approximately fifty miles long from east to west and twenty-five miles wide from north to south. The mesa's flat top is 8,500 feet above sea level. Rising as much as 3,000 feet above the surrounding rain forest, Auyantepui's sheer, rock sides of hard sandstone, which have withstood the centuries' erosion, meander back and forth forming deep canyons and protruding shoulders. It was this aloof, inaccessible mesa-mountain which provided the inspiration for Arthur Conan Doyle's Victorian science-fiction piece, "The Lost World." It also served as the general setting for W. H. Hudson's "Green Mansions."

Angel Falls and Auyantepui are located in the largely uninhabited, unexplored Gran Sabana area of Venezuela's Guayana Highlands south of the Orinoco River. This is an area of rivers, savannah, jungle, mesas, and waterfalls, as different from the rest of Venezuela as the Yosemite Valley is from the San Joaquin.

As one follows the Orinoco's tributaries southward, the terrain rises gradually to grassy, open savannah, and then further south changes to dense jungle which desperately tries to clamber up the rock faces of the mesas rising suddenly from the jungle floor. From these mesas during the rainy season tumble scores of waterfalls, some reputedly higher than Angel Falls but as yet unmeasured. While Angel Falls and the Gran Sabana are unknown to

most *musius* (foreigners), the author first viewed them from the air, and, impressed with their singular beauty, vowed to return to Angel Falls by river and pay proper homage to their majesty.

The logical point of departure from which to reach Angel Falls by river is Canaima, about 150 miles south of the Orinoco River and nearly 500 air miles southeast of Caracas. Canaima is today the farthest point south in the Gran Sabana accessible by regularly scheduled air service. Below Canaima the Carrao River leads southeastward toward Angel Falls.

On the Carrao just above Canaima lives "Jungle Rudy" Truffino, a Dutchman who went to Canaima in 1956 and has since built his own camp, named Ucaima (Indian for "all-absorbing"). He has added an Austrian wife and two children, and is now a jungle guide. Recently he helped in the shooting and also appeared in the film "Green Mansions," part of which was shot at Canaima. Rudy was the guide for our expedition.

In addition to Rudy, our expedition included two Indians, José and a Camoracoto Indian hoy, both of whom helped Rudy with the canoe and in making and breaking camp. Our group also included Charles Dickens, FSR-5, from the Embassy in Caracas, Hans Schaetzle, a Venezuelan of German origin working for Siemens in Caracas, and the author. The six of us plus our clothes, sleeping equipment, food supplies, and miscellaneous gear all fitted into a seventeen-foot Grumman aluminum canoe propelled by an Evinrude eighteen-hp outboard motor.

As we set out by canoe from Ucaima on a Saturday morning under sunny July skies, we thought of the counsel of friends in Caracas who had advised us not to attempt the trip during the rainy season. It was true that the Carrao River was high and that the mud puddles in the grass runway when we landed at Canaima the night before were a sign of the heavy seasonal rainfall, but Rudy had told us that if we didn't mind getting wet, Angel Falls was still accessible.

The Carrao, on which we spent the

whole first day, was a broad and fairly deep river, except for some rapids, with a forceful current not readily apparent below its smooth, black surface. Shortly after our start we approached the first steep face of Auyantepui, which rises abruptly not far upriver from Rudy's camp at Ucaima. As we skirted eastward around the northern rim of the towering mesa, with one precipitous expanse of mesa wall succeeding another, we saw that waterfalls would not be lacking. On one long mesa face we counted thirteen ribbon-thin falls—all at least 1,500 feet high.

Rudy told us that because of the high water we would see fewer animals than normally, but early in the afternoon José's eagle eye from the canoe's bow spotted the head of an *acure*, a small animal of the guinea pig family, swimming across the river. We pursued him in the canoe and José was able to catch the *acure* alive. Securely tied, he served as our mascot for the remainder of the trip, and now shares a cage at Ucaima with two friendly rabbits.*

By mid-afternoon we reached Orchid Island, where we were to spend the first night by a sandy beach which Rudy has used frequently as a campsite on previous trips. It was remarkable to observe how quickly the two Indians, using only their sharp machetes, could fashion from young saplings a notched frame for our tarpaulin, a rough table for our supplies, benches, and a shelter for themselves covered with a watertight roof of broad leaves. No sooner was camp pitched than we were besieged by a heavy downpour. After a brief respite during supper time, the downpour continued through most of the night. This pattern of rainfall continued throughout most of the trip, caused in part by the effect of Auyantepui's high mass on approaching cloud structures. Fortunately we were well prepared. As shelter we had tied to trees a large plastic tarpaulin, practical since its lightness permitted

*Rudy reports that a ten-foot anaconda has since got into the cage and put an end to the *acure*.

PETER P. LORD is a member of the political section at Caracas. He entered the Service in 1956 and has also served at Khorramshahr. Mr. Lord is a graduate of Harvard and a Navy veteran.

EXPEDITION



Author standing before Angel Falls

compact packing and its transparency allowed ample light. At night we slept in U. S. Army jungle hammocks, consisting of a canvas hammock, sides of mosquito netting, and a watertight rubber roof.

The following morning, we started out walking—a procedure which became quite customary as the trip progressed. As the rapids became more numerous, we became quite accustomed to hopping out of the canoe to wade through shallow water, or even waist-deep water, around lively rapids, while Rudy and the Indians either maneuvered through the rapids in the canoe with their lightened load or dragged and pushed the canoe through the very shallow rapids. As Charlie later pointed out, to term the expedition a canoe trip was not nearly as correct as to describe it as a long forced march—relieved by an occasional chance to sit down in a canoe.

But as we splashed through the river's shallow water, we had ample leisure to stop and marvel at the always present, always changing, always

breath-taking precipices and waterfalls of Auyantepui, which formed a constant backdrop to the river ahead. Only in the valley of Yosemite have I seen natural beauty akin to that of the Gran Sabana.

Trudging through shallow water just above Orchid Island, we came upon the Aonda River, a tributary to the Carrao, with its origin in the Auyantepui watershed. The cold water of the Aonda (Indian for "cold river") contrasted with the much warmer water of the Carrao and prepared us for the also colder Churún River, on which we branched off southward from the Carrao not far above the Aonda.

In contrast with the broad, relatively tranquil Carrao, the Churún, which leads past Angel Falls to its origin farther up a long canyon, is smaller, narrower, shallower, and swifter. Its turbulent rapids forced us to be pedestrians much more frequently than had the Carrao. The Churún was a deep pink-orange color, apparently due to its vegetable and mineral content, enhanced by the pink stones of the beaches and river bottom.

As we proceeded up the Churún, we were escorted by five *cotúas* (cormorants), which skimmed close to the surface, alighting on the water ahead of us until our approach again scared them on to a more distant, watery landing. Large gray kingfishers crisscrossed the river ahead of us. Overhead we frequently heard our progress signaled by the crow-like screeches of the *guacamayos* (macaws), the large South American parrot of brilliant red, yellow and blue plumage.

Again, it was the Indian's quick eye which in the afternoon spotted the head of a *danta* (tapir) swimming upriver near the far bank. Quickly Rudy grabbed his shotgun and fired. Mortally wounded, the *danta* sank from sight. After sounding the depths with a long pole, we finally found the *danta* floating dead farther down river. Once the hog-sized carcass was dragged to a nearby beach, José cut open the tick-covered hide, and the canoe was loaded to the gunwales with the red meat (it tasted like medium-grade beef) which we enjoyed for supper together with a bottle of Chateaufort du Pape 1955! The *danta* was a welcome respite from the Spam, which Rudy somehow managed to make appetizing with spaghetti, vegetables, or a new gravy for our suppers.

The second night was spent at "Baba Camp," where Rudy had caught a *baba*

(small alligator) on a previous trip. We made camp on a high bank under leafy trees overhanging a broad sandy beach covered with dead, barkless logs, bleached by the sun, a site similar to many found in the United States' north woods, except for the lack of evergreens. The next morning I discovered why we had not made camp on the sandy beach below. It was completely covered with water. With the heavy rains during the night the river had risen almost six feet and was lapping at the bank almost directly beneath my jungle hammock. The main river was now churning with a raging current.

It was a dangerous river, almost impossible to travel on. Rudy decided it would be safer to spend the day in Baba Camp, hoping the river would recede and the current diminish by the following day. Though the river was high, the day was sunny and warm, and we passed it lazily, swimming, eating and watching the huge grasshoppers with bright red, yellow, and blue wings, which looked more like birds than insects as they hovered over the river.

Other insects we encountered on the trip were not always as pretty or as harmless: At one camp Rudy was stung by a scorpion. At another we found that our packs, which had been placed on an old log, had become infested with termites. While beating his way through the brush in one of our detours by foot, Charlie suddenly broke into a wild charge, which we learned was due to a direct and unexpected encounter with a wasp's nest. In addition, throughout the trip we were constantly afflicted with a great quantity of gnats, mosquitoes, and ants.

The next night it rained again. By the following morning the river had risen another foot. We could lose no more time. If we remained marooned another day, we would not have sufficient time left to reach the Falls and return. Our only recourse was to try to fight our way upriver. We broke camp quickly and set out, carefully pushing and pulling the canoe upstream with a rope. We stuck close to one bank where even so the current was strong, the water deep, and the footing treacherous. Farther on, Rudy and José ventured out onto the river under power and were able to negotiate the current with the lightened load. The rest of us spent much of the day walking through the thickening jungle and along the banks with the Indian boy cutting our

way by machete. Although our progress was slowed, we made sufficient advance, that on the following day when the river subsided somewhat, we were able to reach our final camp, only two hours from Angel Falls by foot.

Our arrival at the base camp gave us a feeling of relief and of accomplishment. We knew that no white man had touched foot there for a whole year since Rudy's last trip the preceding July. But Angel Falls was still a mystery. During the final lap by canoe the previous day we had caught one brief glimpse of the top of the Falls, half-hidden by clouds, its full descent concealed by a protruding shoulder of rock. Happy with excitement at the anticipated confrontation with the Falls the next day, we spent an animated evening after supper, listening to Rudy's stories, smoking Dutch panatelas, and playing cards in the glow of our kerosene lamp.

The following morning we set out by foot up the trail that leads to the base of the Falls several miles from the Churún. On the way we crossed the cascading mountain river which flows

into the Churún from the Falls themselves. En route we caught our first glimpse through the trees of the upper three-fourths of the Falls. But it was not until after a fairly steep climb, when the trail suddenly came out on a rock promontory well above the jungle-covered valley floor below, that Angel Falls could be in all its glory, looking like a bride on her wedding day.

Angel Falls does not flow directly over the crest of Auyantepui but instead issues from a subterranean river about forty feet below. It then plunges straight down in a long, slender, free fall. As the spurts of water within the Falls descend one after another, they appear to be moving in slow motion, an illusory perception caused by the great distance the water has to travel. By the time the water reaches the end of its fall, it is mist rather than falling water, and there is no noise. The roar one hears comes from further below where the water running down between the great rock pile at the foot of the Falls comes together again in a stream

forming a smaller falls, just before the river disappears into the jungle on its way to the Churún.

Unlike Tugela Falls in Natal, South Africa (the world's second highest falls), of which the total 3,110-foot length includes a maximum free fall of only 1,350 feet,* Angel Falls drops in an uninterrupted straight graceful line for 2,648 feet. Years of water action have formed a great hollow, curving in at the base of Auyantepui's face, thus providing the Falls with an unimpeded funnel through which to fall. The length of this descent is hard to appreciate; through binoculars it appears to be falling through space forever before its base is finally reached.

During the dry season the Falls shrink to a thin ribbon of water. We had risked the dangers of the rainy season and succeeded in reaching Angel Falls at its mightiest. We also had the satisfaction of knowing we were among the select group of those few to ever have reached the base of the world's highest falls.

*"The World Almanac," Waterfalls.

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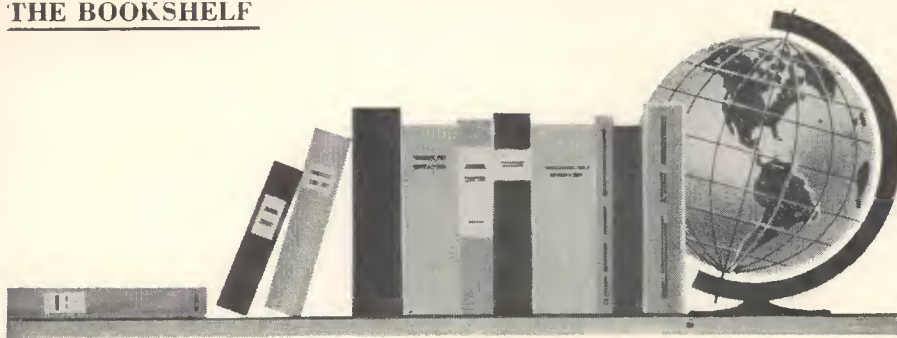


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"Toward an Atlantic Community"

Governor Herter's book, completed just before he became Special Representative for Trade Negotiations for the United States, is one of the most important books of the year.

Governor Herter opens his book with the stirring words of the Paris Declaration: "We, the citizen delegates to the Atlantic Convention of NATO Nations, meeting in Paris, January 8-20, 1962, are convinced that our survival as free men, and the possibility of progress for all men, demand the creation of a true Atlantic Community within the next decade."

Governor Herter endorses the four specific recommendations of the NATO Citizens Convention in Paris in January 1962: a Special Governmental Commission charged with the responsibility of drawing plans for the formation of a true Atlantic Community: a permanent High Council at the highest political level; the development of the NATO Parliamentarians into an Atlantic Assembly (possibly dealing with NATO and OECD matters); and the establishment of an Atlantic High Court of Justice.

An excellent and persuasive plea for European and American partnership in an Atlantic Community comes from Dr. Birrenbach, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Bundestag since 1957. He believes that if the tasks of NATO and the OECD are ful-

ly accomplished, the Atlantic Community will develop almost as a matter of course. This, he states, will greatly strengthen the Free West militarily, politically and economically, and "the Free West need no longer worry about the outcome of the Cold War."

Mr. Cerami has an easy flowing style and his "Alliance Born of Danger" makes excellent reading. He predicts that the European Economic Community will grow during the 1960's to twelve or more full members, with as many as thirty associate members linked to it economically. The full members, he feels, will make steady progress toward political union as well. He foresees a European flag during the 1960's which will fly alongside each nation's own banner. He foresees steadily increasing association of the United States with the free countries of Europe. He envisions in time a Council of Atlantic nations which will become "in effect a foreign policy-making body for the group."

—JOHN D. HICKERSON

European Unity

HERE are three very useful and—considering the complexity of the subject matter—very readable volumes on what is one of the most significant historical processes of the twentieth century. Professor Schmitt traces the origins of the movement toward European Unity with particular attention to the European Coal and Steel Community, forerunner of the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. His contribution consists primarily of an enlightening account of the origins of the movement and the efforts and experimentation which went into the first attempts to make European institutions work. Insufficient time has passed to

We are all involved in mankind and simply cannot take the kind of Olympian view of our country, our culture, our tradition, that habitually refers to "they" and never to "we."—John Cogley at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

make truly detached and objective judgments of the value of many of the initiatives—some successful, others, like the EDC, failures—toward the achievement of European integration and greater cohesion of the western world. Therefore many will not share some of the judgments made by Professor Schmitt—as distinct from his account of the facts—but this does not detract from the value of his book.

In the William L. Clayton lectures at the Fletcher School Dr. Hallstein presents the philosophy and objectives motivating the leaders in the movement toward unity in Europe as well as those who staff and operate the European institutions. Professor Hallstein also explores the economic and the political implications of the emerging Europe not only for itself but for the rest of the world and particularly for the United States and the Atlantic partnership.

Professor Humphrey's book is a background study which, in such fields as tariffs, wages, payments equilibrium and agriculture, examines the facts forming the basis for the now evolving new economic relationship between the United States and the European Common Market. While originally intended to facilitate intelligent discussion of the Trade Expansion Act and designed for the generalist rather than the expert in any one of the fields it touches, this background study is of continuing value to all those interested in the future development of relations between Western Europe and the United States.

—WOLF LEHMANN

TOWARD AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, by Christian A. Herter. Harper & Row, for the Council on Foreign Relations, \$2.95.

THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, *Toward European-American Partnership*, by Kurt Birrenbach. Praeger, \$3.50.

ALLIANCE BORN OF DANGER, *America, the Common Market, and the Atlantic Partnership*, by Charles A. Cerami. Harcourt, Brace & World, \$3.95.

THE PATH TO EUROPEAN UNION, by Hans A. Schmitt. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, \$6.00.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMON MARKET, by Don D. Humphrey. Praeger, \$4.50.

UNITED EUROPE, CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY (the William L. Clayton Lectures), by Walter Hallstein. Harvard University Press, \$2.75.

Guerrilla Warfare

"TROUBLED New World" is the title of Chapter Two of "Conflict in the Shadows," by James Cross; in the course of this chapter, Mr. Cross crystallizes a major aspect of the trouble thus:

The government of an underdeveloped country is likely to face its greatest strains and challenges during the period when its people are making the greatest strides in their early moves toward modernization. . . (The troubles of underdeveloped nations), as they progress, will not so much stem from lack of experience and shortages of trained men and leaders as from the inevitable discrepancies that will show up between the reality of a modest rate of progress and the wholly unrealistic expectations of new standards of living and new ways of life that should somehow appear overnight.

Subtitled "The Nature and Politics of Guerrilla War," this book is highly recommended reading for those who have participated or are scheduled to participate in the Interdepartmental

Seminar on Problems of Development and Internal Defense. For those not fortunate enough to have any prospects of being assigned to the Seminar, the book is a *must*.

"Conflict in the Shadows" is deceptively brief, deceptively because Mr. Cross packs into two or three sentences the information and punch which many others fail to do in an hour's lecture.

"Conflict" does not confine itself to social, economic, and political aspects of the problem. The military is covered in chapters such as "Sabotage and Espionage" and "Military Technology and the Guerrilla." Mr. Cross also provides a few useful reminders, such as "the United States was conceived in subversion and born in insurrection." In dealing with current and upcoming "wars of national liberation," as Khrushchev calls them, we may still have something to learn. More than we may have thought, however, we can, perhaps, learn from our own history.

—S. I. NADLER

CONFLICT IN THE SHADOWS, by James Cross. Doubleday, \$3.95.

Fulbright of Arkansas

THE most remarkable thing about this wide-ranging collection of speeches by Senator Fulbright is the appositeness of many of the speeches, some of them made over twenty years ago, to the problems and crises of today. Senator Fulbright's ideas have not always won out, nor have they always been right, but this book demonstrates that they have consistently been vigorously expressed and, above all, to the point.

Many members of the Foreign Service will find Senator Fulbright's speeches of 1954 during the height of the McCarthy furor as stirring now as they were then. Others will be more interested in his recent utterances, such as the speech at Cornell University on the role of the Senate in the conduct of foreign relations. All, I think, will be inclined to understand and forgive his occasional swipes at the "few polished and cultured gentlemen in the dark and dignified recesses of the State Department" to whom he is reluctant to entrust the exclusive formulation of American foreign policy. Perhaps that quotation, which dates from 1945, is one of the few passages in the

book which has become severely outdated. The present environs of the Department are neither so dark nor so dignified as they were then and, one suspects, few of us are as polished and cultured as Senator Fulbright used to think we were.

Karl E. Meyer of the Washington Post, who selected and edited the material which appears in this volume, has also contributed a perceptive introduction as well as brief, helpful commentaries on each selection, setting each into its historical context. Mr. Meyer has been careful to include items which, while they add no shine to the halo of the Senator from Arkansas do serve to illuminate his dimensions as a man. The Senator's losing battle with Mrs. Clare Booth Luce over a point of English usage, for example, can only endear him to all of those who have ever tangled with the Correspondence Review staff.

—E.L.K.

FULBRIGHT OF ARKANSAS, *The Public Positions of a Private Thinker*, edited by Karl E. Meyer. Robert B. Luce, Inc. Washington. \$5.50.

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Books for those Long Autumn Evenings:

The National War College preliminary reading list, as furnished to the 1963-1964 class, may be of special interest to Foreign Service officers looking forward to those long autumn evenings.

Bemis, Samuel F., "A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy." New York, Holt, 1959. A standard introduction to American diplomatic history.

Bloomfield, Lincoln P., "The United Nations and U. S. Foreign Policy; A New Look at the National Interest." Boston, Little, Brown, 1960. An objective evaluation of the U.N.'s capacity to present Western ideals to the uncommitted nations.

Fuller, J. F. C., "The Conduct of War 1789-1961." New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1961. A study of the impact of the French, Industrial, and Russian revolutions on warfare.

Goodman, Elliot R., "The Soviet Design For A World State." New York, Columbia University Press, 1960. A historical and analytical treatment of Communist theory and practice regarding the creation of a world state under Communist direction.

Huntington, Samuel P., "The Soldier and the State." Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957. An analysis of American and foreign experience and current problems in civil-military relations.

Riker, William, "Democracy in the United States." New York, Macmillan, 1953. A lucid introduction to American governmental structure and political ideals.

Robinson, Marshall A., "An Introduction To Economic Reasoning." 3d ed. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1962. A text designed to help the reader explore the meaning of economic events and acquire skills for thinking economic issues

through to some conclusion. (Note: This book will be mailed to each class member.)

Rostow, Walt W., "The Stages of Economic Growth, A Non-Communist Manifesto." Cambridge, England, University Press, 1960. A general historical essay on world economic growth.

Seton-Watson, Hugh, "Neither War Nor Peace." Rev. ed. New York, Praeger, 1962. A history and penetrating analysis of world politics in the postwar era.

Thompson, Kenneth W., "Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy." Durham, N. C., Published for the Lilly Endowment Research Program in Christianity and Politics by the Duke University Press, 1959. An analysis which includes the views of prominent western thinkers on the conflicts met in relating Christian moral tenets to three problems: armaments, colonialism, and diplomacy.

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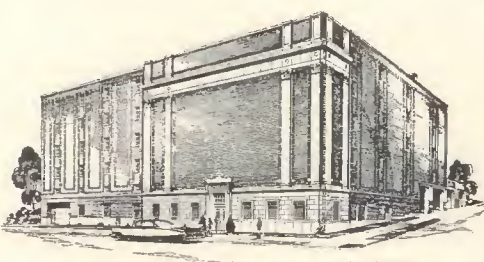
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Quite apart from the pleasure of reading these outstanding pieces, their perusal amounts, in effect, to an introductory course in present-day American and British literature. Those who have long appreciated the PARTISAN REVIEW will be glad that this anthology preserves much that they have enjoyed in the past and will wish to re-read in coming years.

—R. W. R.

THE PARTISAN REVIEW ANTHOLOGY, edited by William Phillips and Philip Rahv. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, \$8.50.

International Law

THIS CASEBOOK prepared by Professor Bishop of the University of Michigan Law School follows traditional lines. Designed primarily for college and law school students, it deliberately presents the American point of view and emphasizes law as applied in courts or in relations between states. However, even as a textbook for future lawyers, this book seems to neglect unduly the impact of international organization upon international law. Despite this omission this work should be useful to all persons concerned with the legal relations between states. It includes a useful bibliography, is well footnoted, and the editor's notes are readable and helpful.

—BARBARA B. BURN

INTERNATIONAL LAW, CASES AND MATERIALS (second edition) by William W. Bishop, Jr. Little, Brown, \$13.00.



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China: An Academic Appraisal

by GEOFFREY ANDREW

AN invitation to visit China as guest of the Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was a handsome return for some hospitality offered a year earlier to members of the Peking Opera Company, then touring Canada. I was delighted to accept and doubly pleased to join forces with Dr. Claude Bissell, President of the University of Toronto, who had also been invited. The purpose of the trip was to learn as much as possible about education—in particular higher education—and the arts in Communist China.

In the three weeks we were in China, we traveled to Canton, Peking, Shanghai, Hangchow and Wuhan and crisscrossed that part of China by rail and air. We visited eight institutions of higher learning: two "general" universities, two technological, two pedagogical and two special institutes—the Foreign Language institute in Peking and a Fine Arts institute in Hangchow. We also visited museums, an opera school, handicraft and print "factories," a nursery

school and kindergarten; and we attended a variety of theatrical performances and concerts.

We discussed education and the arts with a variety of university professors and administrators, representatives of the All China Federation of Writers and Artists, and the Director of the Central Office of Education, as well as with some Canadians, Americans and British who were living and working in China because of their sympathy with the aims of the Chinese Government. Our contacts with students and the general public were only casual, being limited by time, language and circumstance. During the May Day celebrations we were presented to Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-ch'i and Chu Teh; we had brief words with Chou En-lai and an interview of some forty-five minutes to an hour with the Foreign Minister, Chen Yi. Although our purposes were primarily educational and cultural, we saw something of the industrial growth of China and had one fairly thorough look at a rural commune.

Neither Dr. Bissell nor I had visited China before: nor were we China specialists. We were handsomely—even royally—treated, and I find it natural to want to repay generosity with generosity.

That we did not share our hosts' ideological position did

GEOFFREY ANDREW, executive director of the Canadian Universities Foundation and the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, until recently professor of English and deputy to the president of the University of British Columbia, has studied higher education in North America, Europe and Asia, most recently in China.

not forbid, but did in some measure inhibit, discussion. There was a time in my youth when I was more impatient with what I regard as the oversimplifications of the Communist dialogue—or dialectic. On this occasion, advancing age and the responsibilities of our position as guests prompted a philosophic acceptance of the preliminary statements of political orthodoxy that preceded each exchange of views. We affirm (they implied, sometimes stated) the unity for the first time in history of the Chinese people and the fraternal nationalities.

When the preliminary statement was made by the young manager of a commune or the assistant manager of a precision tool factory, it seemed most emphatically to mean: I affirm the political solidarity of our people among whom I am a leader. I am a leader in part because I have studied and mastered the meaning of Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Chairman Mao. In this doctrine is truth—not only for the Chinese people, but for all people.

When the statement was made by persons of more sophisticated background, it frequently seemed to mean: I identify myself with China's present leadership because I think it is the best China has "ever had." No present alternative is thinkable.

These preliminary statements, which related the speaker to the basic authority of this society, varied only a little. It was in the discussions which followed that one discovered the levels of understanding of the relationship of the individual to the society.

I came to have a kind of grudging respect for these initial statements as an important means of affirming the political unity of the Chinese people, although one couldn't help wishing they weren't considered invariably necessary. However, as a well-wisher of China, I became troubled by the extent to which industrial and agricultural leadership seemed to use political orthodoxy as a crutch or cure-all, as an almost acceptable substitute for technical and technological competence. In two of the factories we visited I felt that there was evidence of too great reliance on political faith to help them reach the quota. Faith had already—to mix the metaphor—gotten well into the works.

It seemed to me that the Chinese leadership must define much more clearly the respective roles of the political leader and the specialist. It remains to be seen whether they can do this, when some of the most firmly held political orthodoxy is among the top leadership. If they don't, however, both the present agricultural and industrial drivers are unlikely to yield the results that are urgently required.

We have become accustomed in recent years to hearing, and to some extent accepting, the claim that strong political leadership is needed in newly liberated or underdeveloped countries, particularly in those in which the dominant cultural traditions deny the validity of material progress. We have heard and seen some evidence that Western liberal democracy and its institutions too frequently seem to lack the toughness and resilience to uproot deeply embedded—and socially unproductive—traditional habits. The Chinese leaders have shown both toughness and resilience on many fronts. They are now, however, face to face with the problem of how to modify the toughness and multiply the resilience of the lower echelons of the party leadership, in



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CHINA

order to make the best use of the limited amount of agricultural and industrial expertise available to them. The political power and authority, which were necessary to inaugurate their sweeping land reforms, must discover ways and means of recognizing and giving play to the intellectual and technological authority without which the reforms cannot be successful.

Political orthodoxy from the earliest days of the revolution carried with it that social uniformity that derived from the puritanism of the revolutionary leadership. The blue or gray uniform dress—for men and women—the conspicuous self-denial, the disciplining of all appetites, the personal humility and the national hubris (both of which yield so strong a sense of moral elevation), the emphasis on plain living, high thinking and “right” thinking: all these reinforced the individual's sense of identification with Chairman Mao and, through him, with the high purposes of the New China and, through it, with Marxism-Leninism everywhere.

To the visitor, the impression of a puritan revolution is much sharpened by the contrast between China and the doorway by which you enter and leave—Hong Kong. Returning from China to Hong Kong suggests stepping out of eighteenth-century puritan New England straight into the Broadway of the 1920's. In China you can see so many of the strengths and weaknesses of a puritan socialism; in Hong Kong many of the advantages and disadvantages of the free market.

It remains to be seen how long this present puritan abstention can be maintained. The traditionally humanistic Chinese would seem to have fewer natural gifts for self-denial than the protestant North Americans, although at the moment stringency limits their indulgence as thoroughly as affluence corrodes our puritanism.

That puritanism is not native to the Chinese becomes very clear when one follows them from the enforced drabness of their public and official life to the crowded worlds of the theater, the opera, the movie, the museum or the neighborhood street. Here ceremony, costume and color, and delight in individual variation abound. The red geranium in the window frame, the tattered uniform individualized by patterned patching into the semblance of a Joseph's coat, the sumptuous costumes of the Peking Opera, the ancient Buddhist temples and other architectural monuments now restored to do honor to the ancient arts of China, the complex tracery of the May Day fireworks display in Tien an Men Square; the gradual reappearance of femininely dressed women on high days and holidays; indeed the fact that their best architectural masterpieces were created to deify man, not as in Western Europe to glorify God: All these testify in greater or lesser degree to a persistent humanism that does not want its reward in another world and that will not willingly accept a colorless social uniformity for an indefinite period. It is no accident that Mao Tse-tung thought it appropriate and wise to utter his famous dictum about a hundred blossoms flourishing, and a hundred opinions contending. Despite the limitations that are imposed (and recognized) on contending opinion, we found that the Chinese whom we met were fond of remembering that the statement had been made, and liked to assert that contention was theoretically and, they claimed, within limits practically possible.

We had one memorable argument on this subject with

very able and intelligent representatives of the All China Federation of Writers and Artists. In response to a question by my colleague about the function of laughter in Communist literature, we all became involved in trying hard to suggest good subjects for ridicule in the Chinese society. We tried quite a number, only to have them rejected on closer examination. The conclusion reached, as I remember it, was that bureaucrats and mothers-in-law were perfectly safe. All else was doubtful—or risky.

Mao Tse-tung's statement recognizes the need for social and cultural diversity in a socialist society, and such recognition in itself creates a pretty persistent demand for its exercise.

I have explored briefly the strength and weakness of China's present political orthodoxy and social puritanism, because they both have an important bearing on the main point I want to make.

China is now engaged in a truly herculean effort to wrench the whole of that vast society out of a tradition-bound inertia into what they conceive of as a scientifically shaped society in a technologically controlled environment, all in the interest of improved human well-being.

One could feel the effort, almost physically; one could sympathize with the purpose of the effort; and yet one kept counting up the factors: first the resources, the natural wealth, in minerals and productive land; second, the people, as pairs of hands—but also as mouths; and third, and very important for the success of their experiment, people not as hands, but as brains, as special skills, as teachers and researchers; and somehow, when all the factors are added up, and due allowance made for the orthodoxies they seemingly consider necessary, the addition does not promise the quick transformation that their friends promise, or that their enemies try to threaten us with.

China, no matter how much one would like to see her people enjoy a better life tomorrow, is in no position to become a scientifically and technologically advanced nation within one, two or three decades. If we assume, as many observers will not assume, that China has, and will discover, within her boundaries, mineral resources in the quantities required to support an industrialized society growing from the present population of 700-750,000,000 at a rate of approximately 3.5 percent per annum; and if we further assume that, with better rainfall more appropriately distributed, the application of science to Chinese agriculture will make it adequate not only to support the growing population but also to provide the tax base for industrial transformation, we then must (even if these assumptions are made and prove valid) examine the facilities for the creation of adequate skills, scientific, technological, professional and management, to spark, spearhead and support the transformation on all fronts. This was the center of our inquiry.

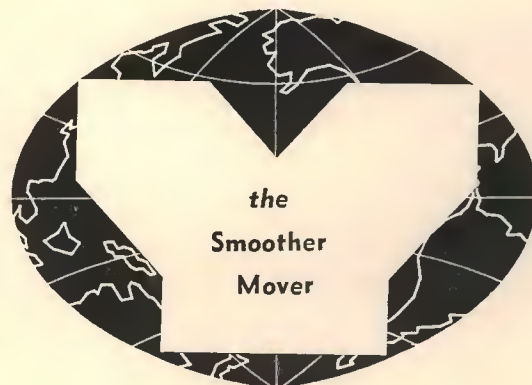
There are, we were informed, some 90,000,000 children in the six grades of elementary school. These 90,000,000 children represent 85 percent of all Chinese children over the age of seven; 95 percent in the city, and 50-60 percent in rural communities. There are some 9,000,000 students attending the six grades of academic middle school, and another 3,000,000 in the vocational, technical or agricultural middle schools.

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CHINA

In addition there are, and most important for our purpose, about 900,000 students attending 745 institutions of higher learning, of which only 7 percent are comprehensive universities: 33 percent are technological; 13 percent devoted to agriculture or forestry; 20 percent to secondary teacher training; 17 percent medical and 10 percent institutes of foreign language, economics, politics, et cetera. Among the technological institutes are ones in such special but important fields as soil conservancy, petroleum engineering, mining and metallurgy, and precision tool designing.

All these institutions offer programs of study extending over five years beyond high school. During these years, both students and staff live in dormitory or staff apartments "on campus" except for the short summer holidays when students are expected to work with their hands—to learn the dignity of labor, to increase production and to foster social solidarity. In addition, during the winter a physical fitness and/or athletic program has been compulsory, but this, we were informed, was relaxed during the past year because, with stringent food rationing, the students needed to conserve their energy for studying.

The emphasis in higher education, as can be seen from the categories of institution already mentioned, is on the side of immediate practical utility. Geology is needed in the hunt for minerals, foreign languages because of the need for interpreters. The needs of the state provide opportunities for the individual.

Great as the effort has been, the Chinese are aware that they have not yet begun to produce university and technological graduates in anything like the quantity required. They point out that China is only educating at the university level 13 out of every 10,000 of population, compared with 186 in the United States, 107 in the U.S.S.R., 73 in Japan and 72 in Canada.

Further, they have as yet no graduate schools in China. They are desperately short of experienced and fully qualified teaching staff and they are not in a position to do what Canada has done in recent years—recruit almost fifty percent of its university teaching staff from foreign but friendly countries.

The Chinese have been making a tremendous effort to develop all the skills they need to make the real leap forward. At present they are handicapped by too widespread a conviction that Marxism contains the "correct" answers to technical—as well as political—problems. They are also handicapped by the sheer weight of numbers to be educated or reeducated, by as yet inadequately developed natural resources, and by the unprecedented "natural disaster" of a devastating three-year drought. As a result they have now decided that they have to postpone further educational advance for a period of three years, the situation to be re-examined at that time. I have no doubt that the decision was necessary, that all energies have to be concentrated on the agricultural front—both for food and to strengthen what is, in effect, the only substantial "tax base" for further industrial advance.

It is only too easy to see why that figure of thirteen university students per ten thousand of population cannot be multiplied by five or ten in the immediate future. What they have done already since "liberation" is remarkable enough.

They have increased the university student body from 150,000 to 900,000 and the teaching staff from 17,000 to 135,000, even though some 70-80 percent of that 135,000 are what we would call teaching assistants or teacher-learners. They have had to build classrooms, libraries, laboratories and living accommodations for the total increase, and in many cases provide almost total replacement of former facilities. All this building of university facilities is only a small part of the construction record of the first ten years. But now the further training of eighty percent of the teaching staff, the provision of new premises (in competition with other desperately needed facilities), the need to broaden the base of middle school education in order even to open up the possibility of higher education to a large segment of the population, the provision of an adequate corps of specialist secondary teachers the provision of adequate numbers of elementary teachers; all of these problems will take some years longer than the present pause of three years to sort out and cope with.

A vivid illustration of the scale of each of the educational problems the Chinese face is provided by the fact that there is a very widespread demand throughout China that formal schooling begin at the age of six instead of seven. Everyone seems agreed about the desirability of doing this. With 90,000,000 children now in six grades of elementary school, this modest reform would add approximately 15,000,000 additional children, requiring 400-500,000 additional teachers. It is in the face of a multitude of problems of this magnitude that one comes to recognize that the transformation of China will not take place in any short span of time. A lot of factories can be built by hand labor. The vast complex of skills that modern technological societies require takes a much longer time to accumulate. The preconditions for the real leap forward do not yet exist and must be assembled over the next decades.

At this point the question also arises whether or not the Chinese people will be willing to postpone even modest increases in consumption to provide the rate of saving required for the most rapid possible transformation.

Despite all the political exhortation and the example of leadership's self-denial there is evidence that the dream of a socialist land of plenty is not sufficiently immediate to stimulate the intensity of both work and saving that would make it seem quicker in coming. The intensity of work and self denial alike have been subsiding, and the theater queues lengthening, as people express their desire for some present pleasure instead of future promise.

This is not a conclusion from which I take any pleasure, ideological or other. I admire the present effort; I would like to see the West assist in the effort, in particular by helping out on the educational and technological fronts. Even with Western help—and that will neither be offered nor accepted for a few years—it will take a long time to transform China. Without Western help, and when the full implications of their most persistent inadequacies are fully appreciated by the Chinese leadership, the situation will become more dangerous for all of us, for in that case the mirage of national aggrandizement will be all they will have left to offer in place of the socialist dream.

Reprinted from Dr. Geoffrey Andrew's article "China: An Academic Appraisal," in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Summer, 1963, published by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

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Lao Ta's mud-walled hut, roofed with reeds, stolidly squatted upon a bank of the Long River at Anking. Its one room had been filled to bursting with Lao Ta, Pao Chu and their two small sons. The latest arrival, a daughter, was welcome but clear surplus in this world of struggle.

Lao Ta, born to the lowest estate, as a toddler had plucked discarded odds and ends from the cobbled streets and filthy byways of Anking and, as his strength grew, pulled rickshas, trod waterwheels, peddled knickknacks and seized upon any opportunity that promised a bowl of rice or a few coppers.

Only a handful of fire-crackers, and one more fish in their evening rice bowls, had celebrated his marriage with Pao Chu whose past, like Lao Ta's, had been a daily gamble with bleak subsistence. Her family, without any negotiation at all, had gratefully rid themselves of her extra mouth.

Lao Ta and Pao Chu were well matched. Both worked without grumbling for the scantiest reward. Each regarded the other with respect and affection, expecting little of life but hoping for better fortune by some wholly unpredictable and, perhaps, miraculous event. When their first son arrived, they pooled their energies, starved themselves for the necessary handful of coppers of original capital and entered the bakery business.

As Lao Ta surmised, their enterprise should produce steady earnings, meager but enough to keep them alive and much to be preferred to scavenging reluctant coppers from odd chores. Nor should his exertions kill Lao Ta quickly as would be the consequence if he had to load fat old men such as Yu Tai in a ricksha and gallop like mad to and from Yu's country home. Anyway, he thought, food is supreme, for all people eat, and some good windfall might well spring suddenly from such a basic enterprise.

The baking business did not thrive but it persisted. After a lesser beginning, Pao Chu each day baked about one hundred buns, plain bread unembellished, and Lao Ta peddled them for one copper each. If all were sold in the day, as sometimes happened, one-third of the one hundred coppers received were profit, enough to buy rice and patches for their scanty clothing but little else.

Pao Chu prayed regularly to Kuan Yin for just a little good fortune, even risking a copper's worth of joss-sticks on feast days, but the Goddess of Mercy had not yet answered, and perhaps not even heard, for all she knew. Nevertheless, the two sons and the surplus daughter arrived in turn, each with hearty appetite.

Each morning Lao Ta faithfully met the river steamer at the wharf. The passengers, cooped tight for a full day and

night, usually disembarked hungry and in fair humor at their release to shore. Often they bought more than half of his daily quota before the last of them stepped off the gangplank.

One sweltering July morning, he sat in his usual place, not unlike an emaciated Buddha perched behind a basket pyramided high with the daily stock of one hundred buns. The passengers had gathered at the rail and, the gangplank fast, in single file, gingerly shuffled along to their escape.

All Chinese, old and young, rich and poor, dowager and country woman, with their bundles, baskets, pots and bird-cages, trudged, one by one, down the plank towards solid earth and destination.

Lao Ta sang his wares, "Small bread," his alert eyes seeking communion with the eyes of each passenger, in turn.

Luck was low and only one bought, a country woman paying him two coppers for two buns which she stuffed into her shirt for future consumption.

The motley tide of natives had flowed to a peak when Lao Ta saw the foreigner riding it. Clad in the hot summer wear of all foreigners, white ducks and straw hat, he presented among the blue-clad Chinese the usual elegant and prosperous appearance of these strange white interlopers. His light blue eyes glanced, interestedly, around him.

Lao Ta, hardly daring to hope for a rich foreign client, nevertheless, on impulse, waved a bun at the stranger and smiled. Foreigners did not buy common small bread but, with their great wealth, how fortunate if one of them just happened to fancy it.

"Great man!" he called.

The foreigner hesitated, stopped and, now within reach, surveyed first the basket and then Lao Ta.

Lao Ta, hand extended over his basket, displayed the bun. The foreigner looked at it, started away, turned back and stopped, now staring hard at the proffered bun. Two Chinese passengers paused on the surmise that any act of a foreigner should be unusual and, therefore, of interest. Here was one who contemplated a cheap bun, poor food for even a poor Chinese. Why would he bother?

The foreigner came to decision. Grabbing the bun, as though it might be snatched from him, he reached into his pocket, pulled out a copper and tossed it to Lao Ta.

Lao Ta grinned. No more than the regular price but a sale, nevertheless, which might draw more. The foreigner gave Lao Ta a sly and meaningful wink, which was puzzling. The two Chinese onlookers had become five.

Slowly, before his growing audience, the foreigner tore off a piece of the bun and dropped it on the ground. All

Kuan Yin May Come

by Warrack Wallace



Street Scene in Old China

by Dong Kingman

eyes were hard on him now. Of course, a foreigner didn't want to *eat* it. He would have some strange idea. But why buy it just to tear it up and throw it away? That would be idiotic, even for a foreigner.

He, apparently in doubt, carefully tore off another small piece and dropped it. Another and another,—then, plunging his fingers into the heart of the bun, he extracted, and held high for all to see, a silver dollar!

Lao Ta caught his breath.

The watching Chinese gasped. "Ai yah!"

The foreigner hesitated no longer. Quickly, he pocketed the dollar, produced two coppers, tossed them to Lao Ta and snatched another bun from the top of the basket.

Eagerly, he tore off piece after piece and, again, plunged his fingers deep into the bun and, again, extracted a silver dollar.

The onlookers, fascinated by this treasure trove from a basket of common buns, broke into excited ejaculations and, eyes bright, calculated the chances. A copper or two for a

bun with a dollar in it? And a whole basket of such buns? Impossible—yet their own eyes had seen that two buns held silver.

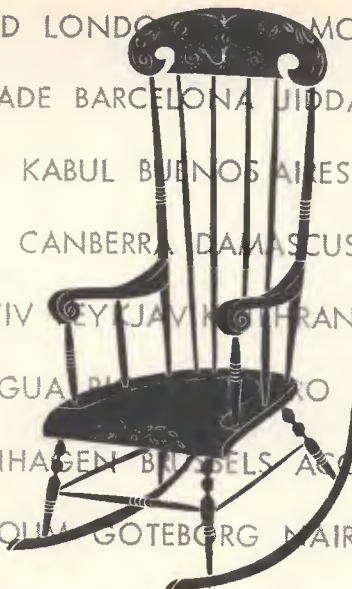
Two of the bolder Chinese pressed forward, offering coppers to Lao Ta, but the foreigner indignantly motioned them aside. This was his discovery. Only he and the peddler were concerned.

He tossed, not a copper but a piece of small silver, to Lao Ta and reached for another bun. The price had burgeoned. How all this had happened Lao Ta could not imagine but it was very plain that these buns had special properties. Maybe Kuan Yin had come at last.

One copper or two coppers for a bun hiding a silver dollar was a ridiculous price. A small silver piece, though a dozen times better, was ridiculous, too. If all these buns

WARRACK WALLACE lived on the Yangtze River for six pre-Communist years. Since 1921, he has been a practicing lawyer in the United States with both professional and personal interests in the Orient.

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KUAN YIN

by Warrack Wallace

had dollars stuffed away in them, a fortune had crept stealthily into his basket.

Lao Ta had had enough. He jumped to his feet, tossed the silver piece back to the foreigner and, grabbing his basket, broke through the now dense circle of spectators and made for home. Lao Ta's last quick glance showed the foreigner to be beckoning frantically. Foreigners were queer devils!

He trotted all the way, puffing a little on arrival. Pao Chu, startled at this hurried return with a nearly full basket, followed the normal assumption that anything different boded evil. Saying nothing, she waited anxiously.

"Kuan Yin has come," said Lao Ta.

Big news, thought Pao Chu, if so.

Lao Ta hastily laid his basket on the floor, squatted beside it and seized a bun. His fingers worked quickly, tearing the bun to small bits and flinging them to the floor. The three children, open-mouthed, stared at their father's outrageous behaviour. The small surplus daughter, of practical mind, transferred some of the discarded pieces to her own eager mouth.

Two, three, four buns demolished, and Pao Chu could no longer suppress her amazement. "What thing? Throwing good buns on the ground! Are you crazy?"

Lao Ta's excitement suddenly deflated. Strange, the foreigner didn't miss—always a silver dollar. He picked up one more bun and, slowly this time, dissected it. Nothing!

Maybe it was not Kuan Yin after all. Just a foreign devil with his own self-serving powers.

Dismayed, he slowly explained to Pao Chu what had happened.

"How much money did he give you?" she asked.

Lao Ta exhibited three coppers. "I would not sell another bun for the small silver piece he offered."

"And how many buns are destroyed?"

"Seven."

"Go out and sell some more while there is time. It is a bitter loss but not ruinous."

"But why is there a silver dollar in each bun the foreigner buys and nothing if I keep it for myself?"

Pao Chu thought a moment. "You remember the Chinese peddler who sold ground tiger claws to cure those who are weak and afraid?"

Lao Ta nodded as the light broke upon him.

Pao Chu sighed. "It is easier to take silver from buns than pluck it from the air like the tiger claw man did. Even the foreigner can do the trick in that fashion. But first, always must there be one silver dollar to put in the air or in the bun before it can be taken back."

Lao Ta lifted his basket and shuffled away without a word. He had missed the morning boat sale. It would be a very poor day.

Pao Chu's eye glistened but the tear did not drop. She was used to waiting for Kuan Yin.

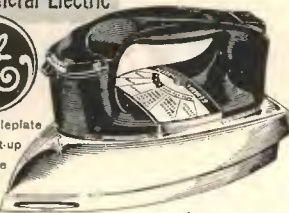
When the foreigner next visited the Shanghai American Club, he told, over a pair of martinis, a rather unbelievable story about Chinese buns and silver dollars. He did not mention Kuan Yin.

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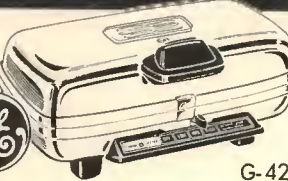
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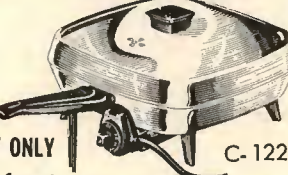

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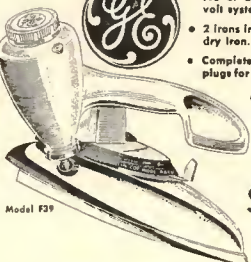
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An Early Intern Reports on:

A Week on the Hill

by JOHN P. CRAWFORD

IN 1919, Woodrow Wilson departed for Europe with an American Peace Commission appointed without the advice and consent of the Senate. He was at that time still convinced of his earlier assertion in his "Congressional Government" that the President would be able to so commit the nation before the world that it would be virtually impossible for the Senate to repudiate him. Few responsible statesmen would risk important action on such a tenuous assumption today. Today two members of the Senate sit on the United States Delegation to the United Nations, the offspring of President Wilson's defeated Covenant.

Wilson's ill fortune demonstrates that it is imperative for a Foreign Service officer to know both legislative process and the Congress' rightful, constitutional place in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. This is true whether he be a consular officer, a commercial or political officer or a member of a negotiating team. It is also true that Congress wants and needs the best and the most expert advice obtainable from the Foreign Service officer as to what actually is happening abroad and what course should be taken in the best interests of the United States. Armed with that advice and its political sense, the Congress can more effectively deal with the heavy responsibilities thrust upon the USA following World War II. It becomes clear then that great effort should be made to enhance and improve the working relationships between the Congress and the Department of State.

In the summer of 1962, a new and significant contribution was made toward that end. After a number of Congressmen expressed an interest in the substance of foreign policy and in the training of those who will one day be its instrument, the office of Assistant Secretary Frederick G. Dutton initiated a program in which young FSO's would spend a portion of their training period in congressional offices, and thereby gain first-hand knowledge of the legislative process. Toward the end of the session of the 87th Congress, twelve Foreign Service officers spent a week on the Hill. I was one of them.

The assignments varied. On the Senate side, FSO's worked for a week in the offices of Senators Mansfield, Sparkman, and Dirksen and with the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On the House side, assignments included the office of the House Majority Leader, Carl Albert, and the offices of Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton.

JOHN P. CRAWFORD, FSO-7, is now acting as junior staff assistant in IO. He was assigned at Naples from 1960 to 1962.

and Congressman Brademas and the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The letter from Assistant Secretary Dutton introducing the young FSO to the Senator or Congressman to whom he was assigned read in part:

"We hope that you may be able to make good use of him for actual working purposes."

My colleagues and I found that the introduction was taken seriously. During the course of the day, one young officer wrote to constituents, sometimes referring a query to the Department of State for response. Another helped draft speeches for use on the floor of the House and Senate on the UN bond bill and the Cuban situation. One young officer prepared what are known in the vernacular on the Hill as "half-sheets": summaries of the situations in Berlin, Laos or Algeria, for use in the election campaign. Another wrote a chronology of the Cuban crisis for use in a Senator's newsletter to his constituents. Still another summarized the legislative history of the Mutual Security Acts of 1961 and 1962. He followed the bills from the President's requests, through the Committees of the House and Senate, to the debates on the floor, on to the conference and finally to the actual signing into law. Everywhere, we adapted ourselves to the routine of the office, from the opening of the legislator's mail to reading through his proposed private bills.

But the tasks we performed were not nearly as important as what we saw and heard. The FSO's were encouraged by the legislators and their staff assistants to leave the work assigned to them and attend Committee hearings and debates on the floors of the House and Senate. Foreign Service officers were present when the sponsors of the Berlin resolution came before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. An FSO sat in when members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Senegalese legislators tossed parliamentary notions back and forth. FSO's sat in the galleries during the floor debates on the UN bond bill and the Cuban resolution. There were frequent opportunities to chat with the members of the Congressman's or Senator's staff, and, less frequently, with the legislator himself. We found the staff personnel to be competent and energetic; able and willing guides into the complex and sometimes confusing committee and floor proceedings. The informal meetings with the staff seemed to be the most rewarding and instructive activities of the week.

The trial period of the Congressional Internship Program, as it came to be called, was assuredly a success. It gave to these twelve officers a concrete personal experience with a far greater impact than could be obtained from a lecture series on the vital importance of State-Congressional relations. One young officer wrote to Assistant Secretary Dutton, "the experience will serve as a memory key whenever and wherever questions concerning Congress and foreign policy arise."

The consular officer at Naples, Italy who participated in the Internship program will find it easier to remember the Congressman's point of view when he receives the second congressional letter asking why Antonio Esposito has been refused a non-immigrant visa. The political officer at the Mission in New York will better understand the Congressman's concern with the funding of certain projects at the

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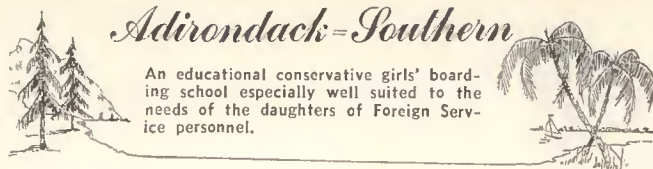
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United Nations. Just as the Congressman is frequently enlightened by his travels abroad or by his participation in an international conference, so the Foreign Service officer is enlightened by his week on the Hill. A single day spent reading constituent mail alerts the FSO to the anti-State Department, anti-UN and anti-foreign aid sentiments of too many Americans. He then sees the value of a prompt and informative reply to a congressional query.

Our week was well spent. If anything, it was too short. We had just come to know the staff personnel, just come to understand the meaning of the many quorum calls and just acquired a feeling as to how a Senator wanted his correspondence answered. This year's interne group will spend a period of three or four weeks on the Hill. In addition, there will be a more extensive range of assignments. If the extended program proves as successful as the trial, we may expect it to become a part of the Department's permanent training program; a highly useful extension of the orientation course for FSO's-8 given at the Foreign Service Institute.

The Foreign Service officer, who helped draft speeches for the debate on the UN bond bill, also drafted a paper to inform the Congressman of the issues involved in its passage and attended the debate on the floor. He came away keenly aware that our foreign policy rests largely on expenditures which must be appropriated by the representatives of the people. He sensed his responsibility to the Congress and the need to provide the best information available. He saw clearly that foreign policy is a collaborative process between the Congress and the Executive.

We cannot expect miracles of increased understanding and appreciation of the other fellow's point of view to result from spending a week on the Hill, but no one has ever found a better way to know another man's burden than to help shoulder it for a while.

"Final Brief Briefing"

WILLIAM WEEKLY, during his rebellious years as vice-consul, had once come across a pile of briefings with the final brief briefing attached. Having no visas to sign, he attempted to boil down the railway timetable of the trains from Civitavecchia to Rome, on the same system. Having eliminated all small country stations, all slow trains, all special trains and all trains running at unusual hours, he arrived at a brief condensation of the gist of the timetable, which consisted of one train a day, and omitted, for brevity, that it ran at totally different hours between July and September. Taking home this cynical memorandum, he said to his wife that the resulting brief brief timetable was excellent for an occasional traveler, but would not be, perhaps, the best basis for a stationmaster to run the railway. His wife replied tartly that if he went on any more like that they would land up for life in Addis Ababa. He had agreed with this and now put in his reports with good grace along with all the rest.—AUBREY MENEN in his novel "SheLa" (Random House).

New Journal Board Members



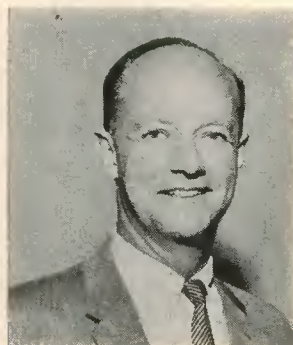
Edwin M. J. Kretzmann
Vice-Chairman

My career in the Foreign Service could be summed up in a phrase: "From pigs' bristles to outer space." My first assignment took me to Shanghai in the twilight days of Free China as Assistant Commercial Attaché with an insistent responsibility for tung oil and pigs' bristles. Within two weeks of my arrival Nanking fell to the communists, within six weeks Shanghai followed. I

then embarked on a short intensive course in consular duties becoming successively: Evacuation Officer, Assistant Security Officer, coordinator of plans for protection of U. S. lives and property during the Communist take-over, and finally Executive Officer of the Consulate General. A year later, with over 500 refugees riding our coattails, we closed the last consulate and left China.

Since then I have been in and out of public affairs: in with the Voice of America in New York, out with the Political Section in Belgrade, in with NEA and later P, and out again in the green pastures of Switzerland as DCM. Now I'm taking a quizzical and political look at where science is leading us, including in atomic energy and outer space.

My only claim to journalistic experience is the fact that while at the Theological Seminary my brother and I became so tired of the fawning tone of our local school journal ALMA MATER that we joined in publishing a rival PATER BELLICOSUS. It had a short and contentious life, but the tradition has never died.



Robert S. Smith

ROBERT SOLWIN SMITH has been with AID since the spring of 1961. He is the Director of the Far East Office of Development Planning, responsible for programing and funding AID activities in that region. In the early fifties he was a Foreign Service Reserve officer in Paris on the Permanent U. S. Delegation to UNESCO. During the intervening years he did research in the Middle East and

Asia, worked in New York for the Asia Foundation, and served five years with an organization in Geneva connected with the UN.

Bob was born in New York City in 1924. He holds his doctorate from Harvard and his B.A. from Yale, both in Government and International Relations. He was a Naval officer in the Pacific in World War II. Bob and his wife, Sally, have three sons.



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NEW JOURNAL

BOARD MEMBERS

CHARLES S. WHITEHOUSE was born in Paris in 1921 where his father, Sheldon Whitehouse, was serving as Counselor. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Yale. During World War II he served as a pilot in the U. S. Marine Corps. Mr. Whitehouse entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and has served in Brussels, Istanbul, Phnom Penh and Pretoria. He is presently OIC. Congo Affairs.



Charles S. Whitehouse

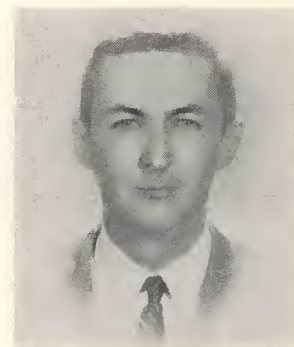


Gordon Chase

GORDON CHASE was born in 1932 and comes from Worcester, Massachusetts. He graduated from Harvard College and spent two years in the Marine Corps before joining the Foreign Service in 1956. On his first assignment, he served as an economic trainee in the Bureau of Economic Affairs. He went to the field in 1958 and served as an Economic Officer in Karachi and as Assistant to

the Administrative Counselor in London before returning to Washington last fall. He is currently assigned to the National Security Council Staff at the White House. He and his wife, Robin, and their two sons live in Chevy Chase, Maryland. The Chases are expecting a third child this fall.

JOHN W. DEWITT, Virginian by birth, was reared in Pennsylvania, California, and Vermont. Upon graduation from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1955 he entered the Marine Corps and after five years at such exotic posts as Jacksonville, North Carolina, and Quantico and Chincoteague, Virginia, resigned his Captain's commission and entered the Foreign Service in August.



John DeWitt

1960. Upon completion of FSI he was assigned to his first Foreign Service post, Monterrey. Two years and 6,000 immigrant visas later he returned to the Department where he is now a placement officer in the European Branch of the Personnel Operations Division. John, his wife Mary, who is a 1955 graduate of Florida's Rollins College, and daughters Helen and Susan reside in Glover Park, Washington.

"For Pioneering Services . . ."

by DELIA KUHN

"FOR her pioneering services in India as a United States Social Welfare Attaché. . ." So reads a recent citation presented to Evelyn W. Hersey. And thereby hangs a little-known but bright tale of the Foreign Service.

Little known was the creation in 1947 of two positions in the Foreign Service called Social Welfare Attaché. The Department of State allotted one of them to newly independent India, and sent out Evelyn Hersey to fill it. She filled it to capacity and overflowing. A seasoned social worker, she had made a professional reputation over many years of service in Philadelphia. About Asia she knew little. But after five years on her job in India, she knew intimately the country's social trends and their relationship to economic and political problems.

What was a Social Welfare Attaché supposed to do? Evelyn's first duty was to assess and interpret India's social condition to her superiors. A second duty was to represent; as she put it, "to tell India (when desired) about our United States social problems and programs." India did desire to be told. India enveloped Evelyn, enlisted her imagination and drained her experience. Evelyn, for her part, absorbed India through her pores, losing in the process not one grain of her crisp New England crust. There never was the least risk of Evelyn's "going native." She remained a stalwart Yankee and became a "pro" in her new field of diplomacy, as well as in her old field of social work. The mixture made Foreign Service history.

In 1952, the Department of State was forced to eliminate the two social welfare attaché positions, "for lack of funds." Evelyn was rified. Consternation hit New Delhi. It hit the embassy, which leaned on Evelyn's knowledge and wide acquaintance. It hit the scores of Indians in high positions who relied on Evelyn's professional counsel. You might abolish her job; you simply could not abolish Evelyn.

So the Ford Foundation picked her up and put her on its Delhi staff. The ICA (or whatever AID was then called) set clearance in motion. Four months later, Evelyn found herself on the U.S. foreign aid payroll, as Social Welfare Advisor to the Government of India.

But the tale does not end here.

Evelyn Hersey went on to distinguished service for the United Nations in Turkey. By the summer of 1963, she had retired, seriously ill, to her native Vermont, whence came this testament, an interview with Ruth W. Page published in her home town newspaper the SUBURBAN LIST, Essex Junction, Vt. from which parts are quoted below:

MISS HERSEY has returned to live with her sister and her sister's husband, the Reverend and Mrs. Warren Waldo of Milton, because the doctors have told her she is fatally ill.

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SOCIAL WELFARE ATTACHE

She says, "I want to fight this illness—I want to live. I've had 65 wonderful years of meeting all sorts of people, many of them just wonderful, and I've seen quite a bit of the world, but there's lots more I'd still like to see. I'd like to work in some other country, or tackle a new job, or write a book about India, if only I knew where to start."

Having lived in India from 1948 until 1957, Miss Hersey finds that colorful country her favorite topic. She served as Social Welfare Advisor to the International Cooperation Administration, and was able to visit not only big city centers, but tiny villages "back of the back," as she says. She can speak some Hindi, but as there are fifteen languages and many dialects in India, she traveled with an interpreter much of the time.

Americans always worry about what is happening to foreign aid money and know-how sent to such countries as India.

"Americans expect immediate results," says Miss Hersey. "No country with a culture thousands of years old can change overnight. Yet I have seen numerous changes just since the war. When I first went to India, for instance, it was almost impossible to find a school in the villages. There were very few for boys, and absolutely none for girls. Now, thanks not only to aid money but to the people's own efforts, the majority of the towns have schools. Forty-seven per cent of the youngsters are learning to read and write; for a nation which was almost totally illiterate fifteen years ago, that is almost incredible improvement.

"Nehru decided years ago that all the money he could muster was needed for social and economic development for his poverty-stricken people, and that that was far more vital than military preparation. That is the answer to those who say, 'Why wasn't India prepared for the Chinese invasion?' India has been working in every town and village on self-improvement, on new schools, better roads, improved agriculture, cleaner water—on the necessities of life.

"It is fascinating to see the changes in India; there are many little examples. When I first went there, it used to



Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the American Library in Britain are: Edward R. Murrow, Director, USIA, Mrs. Murrow, Hamish Hamilton, publisher, Cyril Connolly, author, Mrs. Menuhin and violinist Yehudi Menuhin.

be a common sight to see a woman dip one end of her sari (a draped garment) in the water, wash it, and wave it in the breeze to dry; then she'd whip that end around her, and wash the other end the same way. She had to; she had only one. You never see this any more. Things are better. The women have two saris.

"I remember one tiny village, 'way back at the end of nowhere.' The first time I visited, with an Indian knowledgeable in agricultural affairs who had come to help the people, all they did was murmur, 'Yes, Sahib,' to everything he said. Nobody volunteered another word.

"When I visited again just one year later—mind you, after only a single year of work by the Rural Development people—I wouldn't have known it for the same village. As I approached, I saw a government man talking with a crowd of villagers under a tree. Or rather, I saw a Vermont town meeting on an Indian hillside. The villagers were all talking, all filled with ideas. There were even some women present, an unheard of thing a year ago.

"Not only that, the villagers were telling the government man what they wanted. They weren't asking any longer, they were explaining. They had decided that with advisory assistance about the technical matters, they could and would build themselves a school, and a new road, and a deep well for pure water. They were trying to find out in what order they should plan the construction, and how they could get the cement.

"Of course, though few people realize it, until India was conquered she was accustomed to running her own affairs in a democratic way. India had a true 'Greek-style' democ-

racy before the Greeks did. Each village had its panchayat or Council of Five, some of them elected by the people to help solve common problems. The spirit of the small villages is still that of independence and self-help."

"India has everything! It is a beautiful country. If you're interested in birds, the birds there are wonderfully beautiful—there are even peacocks in the little villages. Sports-lovers could spend months there learning about new games and sports. Anyone interested in people and organization could study the immense programs in public education in all sorts of matters, from farming to malaria control. And the dance—India has had 3,000 years of the dance, and in some of the ancient dances every motion of the hand, arm, knee, even the six movements of the eye, have meaning. Their art and sculpture are marvelous."

Of course it is hard to discuss India and not mention birth control, as that teeming country no matter how fast it tries to improve its agriculture is unable to keep ahead of the rapidly-growing population.

"Indians would welcome a method of birth control which is cheap, and which is easy to understand. Their religion permits it, and the mothers who watch child after child die before it is five years old because there is not enough food to nourish all, would welcome it. Men and women both beg for this help. But almost none can afford the help now available. They hope that a cheap method, something simple, will be found to assist them."

Miss Hersey's illness has had no effect on her youthful spirit and interest in the world around her.

—R.W.P.

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AFSA : Correspondence

The following letter was sent to both Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, and to David E. Bell, Administrator, Agency for International Development:

May 7, 1963

I feel sure that you and many of your associates will welcome a change recently made in the By-Laws of the American Foreign Service Association broadening membership provisions to give full voice and vote in the activities of the Association to personnel of USIA, AID and other agencies who are appointed for service overseas under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. This change is in keeping with the heightened participation by these agencies in the conduct of our foreign affairs. It also reflects the country team concept under which our operations are being conducted today so effectively.

Both USIA and AID are already giving valued assistance on the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service JOURNAL which is the house organ of the Association. We hope for increased participation by these agencies in the affairs of the Association as well as broader membership.

I would welcome it if you would give due publicity to this development throughout the Agency and if possible in your own house organ.

LUCIUS D. BATTLE
President

May 17, 1963

Dear Luke:

I am sorry Ed Murrow is not in the country to thank you personally for your letter of May 3, 1963. We appreciate the decision of the American Foreign Service Association to give full membership to Agency personnel appointed under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. I am sure many of our Foreign Service employees will take advantage of this opportunity to participate more actively in the Association.

We are making arrangements to include an item on the Association's new membership rules in the June issue of the **USIA CORRESPONDENT**.

DONALD M. WILSON
Acting Director

June 21, 1963

Dear Mr. Battle:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the broadening of membership eligibility in the Association to include A.I.D. staff. The increased interest and participation should be mutually beneficial to the members and to the Association.

The next issue of **FRONT LINES** will contain information concerning the Association and the expanded membership provision.

DAVID E. BELL
Administrator, AID



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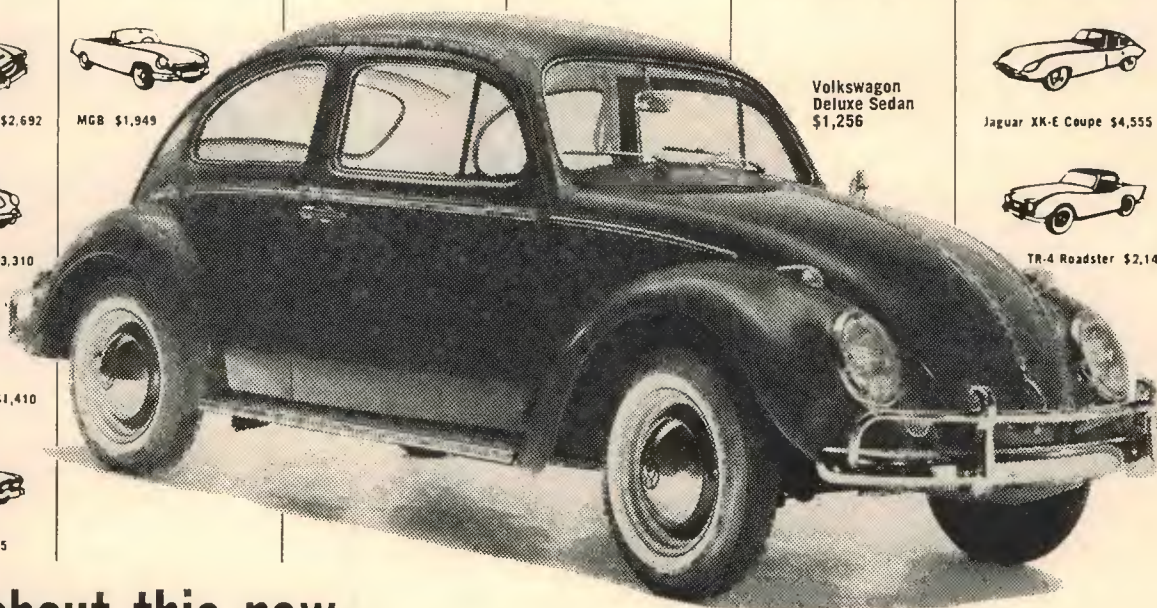
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Letters to the Editor

Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's full name. The Journal takes no responsibility for its writers' opinions. All letters are subject to condensation.

Home Leave Regulations

I HAVE READ in the State Department "News Letter" of May 1963 an article entitled "Foreign Service Act Amendments Proposed by the Department," which related to a change (the fourth listed) which would provide the Department with more discretionary authority in granting home leave. The object of the proposed legislation would be to limit officers, other than those who have completed a tour of duty at certain hardship posts, to annual leave only when they return for assignment to the United States. Payment for travel for them and their families to their homes for the purpose of annual leave would be covered, so presumably the intent of the law would be to cut down on the time they would be absent from work, with the attendant saving in salary.

This proposed legislation seems to me to be directly contrary to one of the major purposes for which home leave is granted: that is, to give Foreign Service personnel an opportunity to know their own country. One of the principal criticisms aimed at members in the Foreign Service is their lack of knowledge of the United States. Knowledge of our capital city does not rebut this charge. If this legislation is enacted and enforced, it would mean that Foreign Service personnel serving a four or five-year tour abroad, with one home leave, would have little opportunity to get around their own country. Theoretically, they should be able to

do it during annual leave in the United States, but when personal considerations such as family, the necessity to visit close friends and relatives and the need to get settled in Washington are taken into consideration, this theory would often have little validity. The situation would, of course, be aggravated should an officer have extended tours of duty at two or more posts prior to return for a Washington assignment. Enactment and enforcement of the proposed legislation would also have the effect of making Foreign Service personnel more unwilling to extend service without home leave from two to three or even four years.

My argument may be largely academic, given the fact that a very large number, perhaps even a majority, of Foreign Service personnel do not get the leave that is due them, but I fail to see any valid reason for legally restricting them from taking a proper leave when circumstances, i.e., the exigencies of the Service, permit.

RANDOLPH A. KIDDER
Foreign Service Inspector

Bad Godesberg

"Poorly Pensioned Retireds"

THE hundred-odd families of the FSO's—Retired in California, while appreciative of the Association's sympathetic interest in S.745 and 746, would welcome just a trace of righteous indignation within the Editorial Board at the inaction to grant relief to remove the iniquitous discrimination against the poorly pensioned Retireds in order to place them on a par with the active service, the military and other civilian branches of our Government.

What can be more grossly unfair than to require the Retired officer (many have been paying for ten or many more years) to deduct, from a meager annuity, 50%, while the active Service pays only 2½% (up to \$2,400, which covers most of the Retireds) to provide a widow's pension.

I know the French saying *Les absents toujours ont tort*, but here is an inequity that cries to heaven, a unique injustice against those who served long and valiantly and have tried to provide a widow's mite out of slender means.

ARTHUR C. FROST
FSO—Retired

Menlo Park, Calif.

Cutting Orders in WWII

I HOPE that I can make some very small return for the enlightenment so gratefully received from John Ordway's article on the assignment process, let me comment on one of the technical puzzles to which he refers. The phrase "cutting orders" was very familiar to us in OSS London during the war when we got travel orders from our military patrons. These orders came in a score of mimeographed copies, one of which we handed like a ticket to uniformed personnel each time we got on a military conveyance for another lap on the way to whither we might be going. (It was astonishing—and delightful—how roundabout a route you could achieve between any two places by skillful manipulation of these orders as long as the supply held out). It has always been my understanding that the phrase reflects the process of typing or "cutting" the stencils from which our mimeographed orders so generously flowed.

In this world of instant copies the mimeograph is doubtless more and more confined to the Smithsonian. One may be pleased to think that its memory remains enshrined in the parlance of PER.

ALLAN EVANS

Deputy Director for Research
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

Washington

Cameliciously

JIMMY Stewart, in his Service Glimpses for the June issue of the JOURNAL, has used my name as a camel expert on the subject of plowing in Morocco. Lest you may think that he has taken my name in vain I enclose a photo confirming his item. As to the why of the matter, anyone who has lived as long in the desert as I have will have observed that camels, in caravan or otherwise, never go tandem.

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Tangier



Plowing in Tandem

Ringmaster?

TO those of you who know Guiseppe (Joe) Guilano, it will appear he's still cracking the whip. Actually he's trying to assemble some American children who all live in the same apartment house in Beirut for a group picture.

L. H. W.

Beirut



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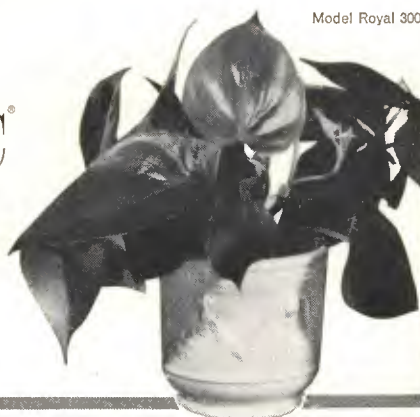
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