Foreign Service Journal

NOVEMBER 1963 50c

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

The American Foreign Service Association is composed of active and retired personnel who are or have been serving at home or abroad under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. It groups together people who have a common responsibility for the implementation of foreign policy. It seeks to encourage the development of a career service of maximum effectiveness, and to advance the welfare of its members.

The dues for Active and Associate Members are either $13 or $10: For FSO's in Class V and above the rate is $13 and is the same for FSR's, Staff officers and Civil Service personnel in corresponding grades. For Active Members in lower grades the dues are $10. The annual dues for retired members and others who are not Active Members are also $10. Each membership includes a subscription to the Foreign Service Journal. Those interested in membership or in a separate subscription to the Journal ($5.00), should write to the General Manager, AFSA, 1742 "G" Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal considers the articles submitted. If accepted, the author will be paid one cent a word at time of publication. Art photographs, if accepted, will be purchased at two dollars each. Negatives and color transparencies are not acceptable. Photos should be black and white glossies, measuring approximately 7 x 10 inches, and should be mailed between extra heavy cardboard. Photos are not returned, and the Journal is not responsible for the return of unsolicited material.

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Marriages

PRICE-CONSOLINI. Miss Mary Alice Price and John Francis Consolini were married on July 6, at the Church of the Annunciation in Washington. Miss Price is the daughter of FSO and Mrs. William E. Price of Toronto. Prior to her marriage she was employed by the Organization of American States.

COLEMAN-CARNETT. Miss Margaret Anne Coleman and John Berton Carnett, III, were married on September 7, at the Presentation B.V.M. Church, in Penn Wynne, Pennsylvania. Miss Coleman is the daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Edwin S. Coleman.

Births

FLOYD. A son, Christopher Hugh, born to Mr. and Mrs. Arva C. Floyd, on July 24, in San Juan, Porto Rico. Mr. Floyd is serving as Principal Officer at Martinique.

GARDNER. A daughter, Amanda Jane, born to Mr. and Mrs. Paul F. Gardner, on August 17, in Washington.

GEBUHR. A daughter, Rebecca Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Carl Gebuhr, on March 30, in Frankfurt. Mr. Gebuhr is the Public Affairs Officer at Lahore.

KIRK. A daughter, Barbara Engla, born to Mr. and Mrs. Northrop H. Kirk, on March 26, in Beirut.

LANE. A son, Joel Michael, born to Mr. and Mrs. Larry E. Lane, on August 19, in Hamburg.

MCINTOSH. A daughter, Jena Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Clarence J. McIntosh, on September 7, in Chula Vista.

MUCCIO. A daughter, Moira Elizabeth, born to the Honorable and Mrs. John J. Muccio, on July 23, in Washington.

PETTERSON. A daughter, Julie Anne, born to Mr. and Mrs. Donald K. Petterson, on September 3, in Zanzibar.

RICHMOND. A son, David Page, born to Mr. and Mrs. Yale W. Richmond, on September 6, in Washington.

STARBIRD. A son, Robert Frederick, born to Mr. and Mrs. Linwood R. Starbird, on January 13, in Hong Kong.

TICKNOR. A son, Scott Brian, born to Mr. and Mrs. Joel D. Ticknor, on August 30, in Usumbura.

Deaths

BLESSING. Mrs. Madge Middleton Blessing, an employee of the Department of State for 39 years, died on August 13, in Washington.

BROPHY. James J. Brophy, Foreign Service Staff Officer, USIA, died on June 2, in Adana, Turkey. Before entering the Foreign Service in 1957, Mr. Brophy served with the Departments of Defense and State, and with USIA. His posts were Madras, Kabul and Adana, where he was assigned as Branch Public Affairs Officer and Vice Consul.

SHOLES. Walter H. Sholes, FSO-retired, died on September 26, in Washington. Mr. Sholes entered the Foreign Service in 1911 and retired in 1947. He served at Aden, Nantes, St. Michael's, Berne, Nuevo Laredo, Göteborg, Brussels, Milan, Lyon and Basel, where he was Consul General at the time of his retirement.

SOMERVILLE. Mrs. Olga Somerville, wife of FSO-retired James Somerville, died on August 24, in Washington.

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AFSA : Report on Meetings

August 13, 1963—The Board received for study the terms of a possible group insurance policy on personal effects. Preparations for the Annual General Meeting to be held on the last Thursday in September were discussed.

August 27: The Board discussed a report that some retired Foreign Service local employees who come to the United States to reside have difficulty finding employment to augment their small pensions, and agreed to make further inquiries. The Board also agreed that the proposed group insurance policy on personal effects be submitted to underwriters for bids. Amendments to the Foreign Service Act of 1946 which were included in the Foreign Assistance Act just passed by the Congress were noted. The Board suggested that the JOURNAL seek for early publication an article on the Department's efforts to increase the recruitment of Negroes into the Foreign Service. The Board accepted with regret and appreciation for his valuable services the resignation of Mr. H. Freeman Matthews, Jr., as Secretary-Treasurer and member of the Board. Mr. George B. Roberts, Jr., formerly Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, was elected to succeed him as Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Nicholas A. Veliotes was elected to succeed Mr. Roberts. The Board approved the appointment of Mr. Raymond E. Lisle as Chairman of the Committee on Public Relations succeeding Mr. Edwin M. J. Kretzmann who has joined the JOURNAL Board.

September 17: The Board heard with regret Mr. Woodruff Wallner's announcement that he must relinquish the Chairmanship of the JOURNAL Board because of his imminent departure for a field assignment. It thanked Mr. Wallner for his outstanding contributions to the improvement of the JOURNAL and approved the recommendation of the JOURNAL Board that Mr. Edwin M. J. Kretzmann succeed him as Chairman. The procedure for the meeting of the Electoral College was discussed, and it was agreed that the Board would not submit to the College proposals for nominees. The Board decided that the special William Benton Scholarship should this year be named for the Honorable Charles E. Bohlen. It was agreed that unless there were some new development, the Board would give no further consideration to the establishment of a welfare fund. The appointments of Mr. Earl D. Solm as Chairman and Mr. Arthur K. Blood as a member of the Committee on Education were approved. The president of the Association reported that the Department had decided not to propose major new legislation for the Foreign Service at this time but would seek to give effect to most of the recommendations of the Herter Committee by administrative action. There was further discussion of the difficulties of retired Foreign Service local employees who come to the United States to reside, and it was decided to refer this matter to the incoming Board for further consideration. The Board received progress reports on proposals for group insurance policies on personal effects and automobiles.

September 24: The Electoral College met to elect a new President, Vice President and Board of Directors for the American Foreign Service Association for 1963-64.

The College, as selected by written ballot from AFSA's active members, included: Llewellyn E. Thompson, U. Alexis Johnson, Tyler Thompson, Norris S. Haselton, Francis E. Meloy, William Tyler, G. M. Godley, Frank E. Cash, Edward W. Mulcahy, Willis C. Armstrong, David D. Newsom, Edward Nef, Nicholas A. Veliotes, Christopher Van Hollen, Thomas M. Judd, Grace E. Wilson, Woodruff Wallner and Howard R. Cottam. U. Alexis Johnson and Frank E. Cash were unable to serve and were replaced by Coulter D. Huyler, Jr. and Ralph J. Ribble.

Named by the Electoral College were: President: U. Alexis Johnson; Vice President: Marshall Green; Members of the Board of Directors: Willis C. Armstrong, Taylor G. Belcher, Leslie S. Brady, Nathaniel Davis, Harry A. Hinderer, Edward V. Nef, George B. Roberts, Jr., Nicholas A. Veliotes, Benjamin Weiner, and Grace E. Wilson.

September 26: In his valedictory address at the annual general meeting of the American Foreign Service Association, September 26, President Lucius D. Battle declared that AFSA "must speak up" on issues affecting the welfare of the Foreign Service, though it should be careful to state its views with tact, dignity and restraint and avoid public difference with those in authority. He suggested

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that AFSA undertake to keep members informed on developments, particularly cultural, in the United States, and that members in turn do more to spread knowledge and understanding of the Foreign Service among the American people. He proposed that the Association make a greater effort to tap foundation funds and "our financially-fortunate alumni" for scholarships. He welcomed the opening of membership to members of other agencies working in the foreign field and emphasized that "there can be no class structure among us."

Chairman of the Board Elbert G. Matthews reported that the financial condition of the Association was sound and that AFSA had been particularly successful in the past year in maintaining fruitful contacts with higher officers in the State Department on matters of interest to the membership. The annual report of the chairman was approved.

October 8: At the first meeting of the new Board of Directors, Taylor G. Belcher was elected Chairman, Leslie S. Brady, Vice Chairman, George B. Roberts, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer and Benjamin Weiner, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

National Cultural Center: The response to the appeal of the Association for donations to the National Cultural Center has been heartwarming. An initial contribution recently was sent to the Cultural Center by Assistant Secretary of State Lucius D. Battle as President of the Foreign Service Association. In acknowledging it, Mr. Roger L. Stevens, Chairman of the Cultural Center, made the point that gifts of this type are more important than the amount of money involved for the reason that the Cultural Center had been asked by many of the foundations it approached whether foundations are the principal contributors or if there is public participation.

Contributions are still being received by the Foreign Service Association and will, in due course, be forwarded to the Cultural Center to boost the impressive donation already made.

AFSA Scholarship: Geoffrey M. Swan, son of Marshall Swan, USIA, received an AFSA Scholarship for 1963-64. Mr. Swan, a freshman at Harvard, was not listed among the scholarship winners published as Part II of the October JOURNAL, since he was an alternate. The original winner plans to study abroad and is therefore ineligible for the scholarship.

The annual financial report of the operations of the Association and the JOURNAL for the 1962-63 fiscal year was distributed to members in the Washington area and was subsequently approved at the Annual General Meeting of the Association which took place on September 26, 1963. Additional copies of the report are available and will be sent to members overseas who so request. Those wishing to receive a copy should write to the General Manager, American Foreign Service Association, Suite 301, 1742 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C. FOR OCTOBER 1963.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher: THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, 1742 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

EDWIN M. J. KRETZMANN, Chairman, Journal Editorial Board, 1742 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Editor: GWEN BARROWS, 1742 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

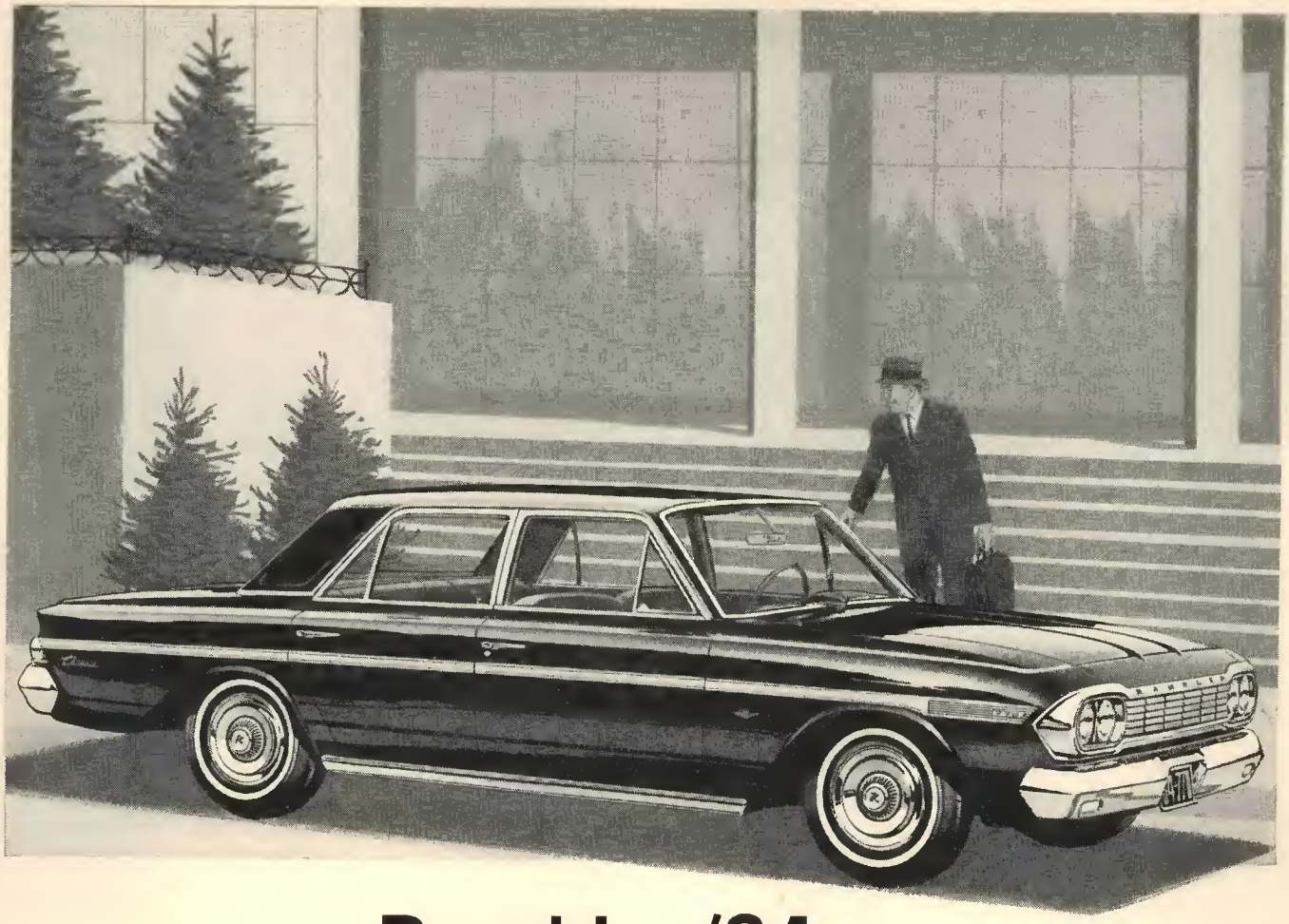
Business manager: JULIAN F. HARRINGTON, 1742 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

2. The owner is: The American Foreign Service Association (a corporation not organized for profit and in which no capitol stock is required or is to be issued), 1742 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. President, U. Alexis Johnson; Chairman, Board of Directors: Taylor G. Belcher.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 6617.

JULIAN F. HARRINGTON
Business Manager



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AAFSW : News

THE Association of American Foreign Service Women is writing letters these days in behalf of the welfare projects of American women at overseas posts.

It all started with a reader's query in Clare Boothe Luce's column, "Without Portfolio," in the August issue of McCALL'S:

> "There must be hundreds of American women living overseas with their foreign service husbands. What are these women doing to better our relations with these countries? Isn't there a great opportunity here for service?"

In answer, Mrs. Luce wrote a lively 900-word piece on the tremendous volume of welfare work being done by foreign service wives all over the world, in Taiwan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tanganyika, and numerous other posts. She invited readers interested in supporting welfare projects of their American sisters abroad to write to the AAFSW.

About half of McCALL'S readers who responded to Mrs. Luce's invitation were officers of women's clubs, or others who wanted to know how to contribute their bit abroad. The remaining letters were from students hoping to go into foreign service, or from missionary groups wanting literature on foreign lands.

In its letters to McCALL'S readers, the association is trying to give concrete suggestions on how American women can participate in some measure in overseas projects.

Now that their highly successful annual Book Fair of October 14-15 has infused new life into the Scholarship Fund, members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women are relaxing by joining the crowds in the Exhibit Hall of the Department of State to take a leisurely look at their "Showcase of American Women Around the World."

This unusual exhibit was opened October 16 by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Due to space limitations, the official opening was by invitation only. Guests included principal officers of the Department of State and their wives, prominent government officials and their wives, representatives of press, radio and television, and a number of community leaders.

The show, which will remain open for six weeks, is an exciting visual report of the tremendous achievements of American women stationed at various overseas posts, not only in great cities but in remote corners of the world, where each small achievement is the product of trial and error, and trial again. Here is the dramatic picture story of women working in hospitals, teaching the blind and other handicapped, caring for children, teaching illiterates, painting, designing, reviving ancient crafts, and raising money for various welfare projects—all the varied activities that fill the daily lives of American women far from home. Craft works produced through some of these unofficial efforts are also on display.

Mrs. George Morgan, chairman of the event, has urged all AAFSW members to spread word of the exhibit among members of other organizations to which they may belong. Student groups are especially invited to visit the show.

Easiest access to the Exhibit Hall is by way of the C Street or 22nd Street entrances.

Several letters from wives on overseas assignment, asking whether they are eligible to belong to AAFSW prompt the association to issue a cordial invitation to all women connected with the American Foreign Service to join the association. The annual $3 fee includes a subscription to the organization's NEWS LETTER, which will keep overseas members in close touch with all activities. The address is P.O. Box 4931, Washington 8, D. C.

FISHER for 1964

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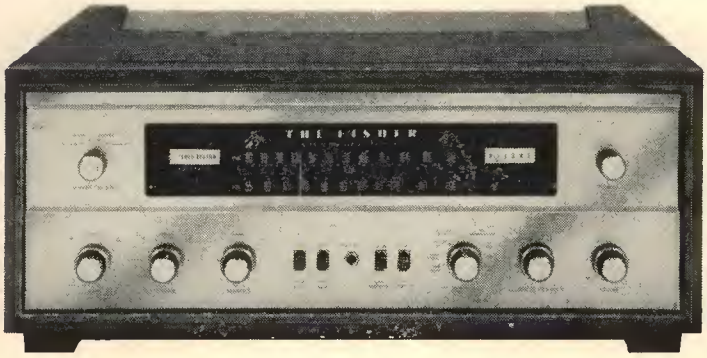

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We just love Washington. The Kennedys have brought so many new and exciting people to town that we are always in a whirl. I really think it is more important these days to be at the center rather than across an ocean somewhere. Of course, it is important to have someone at our posts abroad and I know that you and George like to feel that you can be of some use.

Do let us hear from you.

Your dearest friend,
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Chère, chère Ophelia:

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King Size	$4.82	☐ Cartons
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1 doz. 14-oz. Tins	14.19	☐ Tins
1 doz. 1¼-oz. Pouches	1.52	☐ Pouches
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show off. Be bad sports to refuse. Also have to show visitors around, you know—La Tour d'Argent (terribly touristy but still four-star), Maxims, Grand Vefour and others. Certainly envy you in Washington where NOWHERE to eat except home.

How is Peter, by the way? Remember how he used to complain about going out. Wonderful have husband so appreciative pork and bean casserole you do so well.

Any news on next assignment? Heard rumor you may go to Ouagadougou. Certain you can save money there!!

Avec toute amour,

MELLY

* Just thought you might not know who Coco and Guy are. Guy la Roche is just the rage here, that's all. Coco, of course, is Chanel.

La Paz, Bolivia

Dearest darling Melisande:

Here we are in the Land of the Sky. A truly fabulous place which makes us feel so close to the wonders of Nature. Your city life sounds gay and all that—but there is bound to be something shallow there, don't you agree. And do be careful about all that eating. You always did have a tiny tendency toward plumpness—becoming to you now, of course, darling, but you know, in those later years . . .

We are still in our suite of rooms at the hotel here until we get a suitable house. Our only problem is where to put all the furniture and bibelots I have been picking up. The old aristocracy here used to be terribly rich and always bought their things in Europe—Venetian glass, Louis XV pieces, and all that. Now they are just willing to sell everything for a song, my dear, just a song. And of course the old Colonial silver and carved gilded wood figures from private chapels and so on are just literally lying around to be picked up.

I don't know where you could have heard about our going to Africa. You sure were wrong that time, weren't you. I hear in fact that after Paris, George's excellent French will very likely get him an interesting spot in old French Africa. I've been told that Bangui looks just like Lugano.

Must stop here since we have to go exercise our horses. We'll probably ride out by one of the rivers to picnic while the children look around for some of the gold fishhooks the Incas used to fish with. The trouble is that this will keep us from drifting around the Indian markets in town. I got some jaguar skins for a stole there the other day for almost nothing. And vicuña, my dear, it's no more than a plain old sheep in Bolivia. We just throw it around for rugs in our rooms.

Wonderful to hear from you. Do write some more.

OPHELIA

MORAL: never let the grass look greener on the other side.

25 years ago in the Journal

November 1938

by **JAMES B. STEWART**

An Embassy Goes on a Party

EDWIN Plitt, Consul, Paris, in his own vivid way, describes a party, in the October JOURNAL: "The Ambassador (William C. Bullitt) was recently host to all the personnel of the American Government Buildings at Paris and the local representatives of the American press, who were invited to usher in the New Year with him. By ten o'clock the Avenue d'Iéna Residence vibrated with the rhythm of a sepia octette of swing experts from the Cotton Club Orchestra, and the Embassy enthusiastically went on a night shift schedule which looked very much as though the regulatory seven hours would be scrupulously observed as the strict minimum.

"As the hours rushed by . . . our journalist friends seemed to have found each of the resplendent salons inviting settings for a number of impromptu and hilarious press conferences in which some of the latest trans-Atlantic jokes seemed to be the front-page news.

"The party continued, except for some sit-down incidents when the lovely strikers were generously plied with caviar and champagne, until the machine-gun-like rat-tat-tat of thousands of hammers, wielded on the Exposition buildings across the street, announced the beginning of another day."

Election Held: The Electoral College of AFSA met in September. The following officers were present: Achilles, Ballantine, Chapin, Davis (Pen), Flack, Hosmer, Huddle, McBride, Moffat, Shaw, Summerlin, Jacobs, Villard, Vincent, Warren (Avra and Fletch were both in the Department at the time), Wendelin, Nielsen, McKenna. Consul General Clarence E. Gauss was elected President and Robert D. Murphy, First Secretary and Consul, Paris, was elected Vice President.

Her Arm Mistaken for a Water Main

Hooker A. Doolittle, Consul, Tangier, Morocco, tells about "Digging Up the Past" in the November JOURNAL. The writer and a friend, erstwhile of New York, became infected through the exploits of some Moorish workmen who, while engaged in strengthening the foundations of a house near the Tangier Legation, unearthed a life-sized statue of a determined Roman matron, intact except for a broken forearm which the workmen had evidently mistaken for a water main and tried to dig through. With a simultaneous high fever . . . we incorporated ourselves as the joint Cornell-Columbia Archaeological Expedition to North Africa."

Hooker tells about their work in great detail and continues: "Well, we have not found any fabulous jewels or beautiful ladies in wonderfully-sculptured sarcophagi. . . But we have had a fascinating time and a collection of Roman grave furniture of over a hundred pieces is now gracing

25 Years Ago

by JAMES B. STEWART

shelves and show-cases of the Roman section of the Tangier Museum. . .

"We must continue. . . About one hundred thousand dollars will be enough to swing a thorough excavation. Has any one in the Service that amount of spare cash? We would be glad to elect him a life member; even call the expedition by his name. Don't be bashful. Send remittances to H. A. Doolittle, American Legation, Tangier."

A son, William Theodore Johnson, was born to Mr. and Mrs. U. Alexis Johnson on August 9, 1938, in Keijo, Korea, where Mr. Johnson is Vice Consul.

Comment, 1963: William was born in Seoul, not in Keijo. He is a nuclear physicist with the Army's Diamond Ordnance Laboratory in Washington. Older brother Stephen is an FSO assigned to Montreal. The oldest daughter Judith is married and lives in Omaha and has two children. Jenmier, the youngest, is also married and lives in Bangkok. Their father is Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

A son, Charles David Clattenburg, was born on August 9, 1938, to Mr. and Mrs. Albert E. Clattenburg, Jr., in Batavia, where Mr. Clattenburg is Consul.

Comment, 1963: Charles expects to finish in industrial design next spring at Maryland Institute. Charles' brother Ned is employed by Life of Georgia at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. There are three children. Their proud Granddad is Deputy Director of the Visa Office.

And More Recently . . .

► Word of the death of William R. Langdon, retired FSO, and of Gerald Keith, retired FSO, came in the same mail. J. Graham Parsons, Ambassador to Sweden, had served with Bill when the latter was Consul General in Mukden before World War II. The following few words from Jeff on his so-admired friend will be appreciated by those who knew that "profound scholar of things Japanese: If knowledge, experience and selflessness—as well as industry and integrity—are to be sought as primary qualities in our Service, we would do well to honor Bill and Laura Langdon who shared many a year in posts where self-reliance and resourcefulness were the common currency of a strong band of American specialists in East Asia."

► Word of Gerry Keith's death came from his admiring old friend, Arthur Frost: "Gerry was a colleague of mine both at Calcutta and Bern and I never knew anyone with his generosity of spirit and splendid character."

► Tom Sutton, our dear and valued friend of many years, died July 24, in Tampico, Mexico. He was not a Foreign Service Officer but for many years Tom Sutton was the first man an American Consul would look up upon his arrival in Tampico. Tom became President of Rotary International but spent most of his life as a successful American business man in Mexico. He was a one man Peace Corps!

► October 22, 1963. Happy birthday to Charles L. DeVault, FSO-retired, of Carmel, California, born 1874.


la iglesia
ojo
uña
3

Democratic Dilemma

by JOHN M. CATES, JR.

IT IS quite clear from conversations with visiting groups of Latin American leaders, with University students in Latin America and with diplomatic representatives of Latin American countries, that the anti-communist Latin American intellectual leader who turns to the United States to "get the word" is finding himself frustrated and baffled. The intellectual and the political liberal who sought to reform a government, or even to overthrow an absolute dictator, used the only doctrinal approach he knew to fight vested government interests: an absolute opposition and an opposition based on a dogma, or as it is sometimes termed locally a cosmology or a *mistica*, which provided its adherents with a definite doctrine, a political faith which had the answers and suggested an uncomplicated and uncompromising course of action. Often this dogma was Marxism.

Was it that communism presented the only organized source of resistance to absolute dictators, as for example, Gomez in Venezuela, which led his young opponents to Marxism? Or was it that in Marxism they found another and truer answer to oligarchic society's ills as represented by Gomez—a clear, unquestioning answer based on a dogma as definite as Gomez' machine but idealistically different and in clear opposition? Fight dogma with dogma would have seemed the natural reaction.

The attempts and the reasons for the failure of Simon Bolivar and other anti-monarchical, anti-colonial leaders in Latin America to establish their ideal democratic republics are familiar. The differences between the comparatively cohesive, individualistic North American colonies and the sprawling royal colonial empire of Spain were striking. On the one hand there were the largely self-governing, do-it-yourself English colonies, brought up on Anglo-Saxon local self rule and in the tradition of the Puritan political and social revolution of the Cromwellian Commonwealth. These were largely individual farmers and artisans, accustomed to do their own work, dedicated political and religious nonconformers. On the other hand, the Latin Americans were the descendants of the conquistadors from a feudal Spain ruled by an absolute monarch and an Inquisition-controlled Church. Mixed in them was the blood of the collectivist-minded Indian. These people were used to regulated lives. The individualism of the Latin American was of the most extreme form, the individualism which has its culmination in anarchy and nihilism rather than in a form of representative individual decision-making and action. More, however, than just noting these differences as among the reasons for the delay in establishing in Latin America viable political democracies as we know them in the United States, we must understand and accept these differences as basic to the intellectual and political development of Latin America and as influential in developing the thought habits of the intellectuals and the *modus operandi* of the political rebels.

Picture the dilemma today of the Latin American intellectual social reformer and political innovator. Far from being a pariah as he was not long ago, he is now accepted throughout Latin America and the world as "respectable"; he has made enormous advances in local reform. Throughout the Western Hemisphere, the dictator, the "personalist" ruler, traditional in the 19th and early 20th century, is largely disowned. The workers are now organized. Literacy is growing. The "leftist" is accepted socially and politically. The 19th and early 20th century ruling forces of darkness seem in retreat if not actually routed. A "people's" government, based on the *mistica* of Marx, is a world power in Russia while a local Latin Marxist has overturned the dictator Batista and for the first time in history has riveted United States attention on Latin America. Everything should be going just fine, but something is wrong, something is missing. What happened in this leftist revolutionary Eden?

I submit that several recognizable things happened: the first was that the fruits of the political and social "leftist" revolution at home, instead of being joyfully and unanimously welcomed by a grateful people, engendered the same type of uncompromising opposition to the new liberal government from the "new leftists" that the new government leaders had themselves mounted against the previous dicta-

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JOHN M. CATES, JR., Latin American Adviser to the U.S. Mission to the UN since July, served as Deputy Director of Regional Political Affairs (ARA) and as Alternate U.S. Representative on the OAS Council in 1961-62. Previously he served in Washington in UN Affairs and in embassies in Bonn, Mexico City and Venezuela with one year at the National War College.

← **Peruvian Woman Learning to Read, *by Ken Heyman***

tor or oligarchic government they had turned out. The second baffling blow was that a Latin American people's leader, Fidel Castro, formed in their own idealistic mold of twenty years before, abdicated control of his initially traditional American revolution and his Latinized culture to an extra-continental power. The apogee of his treason was revealed by Khrushchev's unconsulted offer to exchange Cuban missiles for Turkish missiles, brutally publicizing the extent of Cuban subservience and Russian arrogance. Another cause for his concern was that despite the attacks on the Alliance for Progress, especially from the Soviet bloc and Cuba, the Latin American liberal had a gnawing realization that the Alliance was a true expression of Latin American needs and aspirations. Evidence of this could be seen in the drive to capture or Latinize the Alliance by established Latin American democratic leaders: Betancourt, Lleras Camargo, Figueres. Kubitschek claimed it was merely the child of his Operation Pan America. No responsible leader criticized the ends. It was only the means, and the slowness, which came in for adverse comment.

An understanding of these factors and of the motivations of the Latin American leaders is essential to an understanding of the political, economic, social and ideological challenge facing the United States if it is to survive and to supply the leadership and inspiration for the attainment throughout Latin America of the beliefs we hold sacred, consider essential to our success, but have come to take almost for granted. To get across our hopes and idealistic plans we must be effective in our expositions and use terms which make sense to our neighbors.

In Latin America, the Marxist dogma developed within what was basically a liberal academic tradition under the shield of, or in the tradition of, 18th century European liberal thought. Marx as the intellectual, as the revolutionist, offered concepts and terminology for all academic commentary on the social, economic and political scene—an interpretation of society and its wrongs. Whether a student or an intellectual was a Marxist himself made no difference, the Marxian concepts and terms crept into his thinking and his language. As one young Asiatic replied to Justice Douglas when asked why he had read Marx, "We were under colonial rule, seeking a way out. We wanted our independence. To get it we had to make revolution. The only books on revolution were published by communists." Justice Douglas might have found this same young man in Latin America under a dictatorial rule.

In the United States, our political revolution also developed out of 18th century European liberal thought. Here, however, the influence of Anglo-Saxon 18th century political tradition, stimulated by French, German and Eastern European political and intellectual thought currents, developed into the fascinating complex represented by American thought today. In the process, various one-time shibboleths have been overturned, traditional ways of doing things have altered and new forms and concepts appropriate to our needs have been accepted. Various dogmatic concepts, whether of Calvinism, Puritanism, the Inquisition, laissez faire or capitalism, have undergone striking changes. Our common law tradition, as inherited from England, assisted greatly in this process and within this tradition the influence of Justice Holmes and Justice Cardozo (in turn influenced by the pragmatists William James and John Dewey) have had the effect of freeing us from the dogmatic approach to a whole host of problems and situations. An American intellectual civilization, unique on our continent, has developed out of this ferment. The only absolute dogma which has developed is an anti-dogmatism and the only unquestioned approach is the one of questioning everything. This ferment, the American dialogue, the "no answer" answer, has never been made clear to the Latin American who is still seeking a "cosmology," a mystique, a dogma which will clearly give him the answer to his problems. The failure of the Latin American to understand modern capitalism in the United States, his failure to realize the vast differences between the system on which Marx based his still revered doctrine and the current United States product as it has evolved under our pragmatic social, legislative and legal approach is at the bottom of his failure to understand the United States. In the light of his Marxist conviction, our social reform becomes just a gimmick. His failure to understand our evolution, and the why, is largely responsible for his very suspicion of our attempts to convince him of these differences from the Marxian prototype. Marx, the authority, had warned him against such blandishments and had given him a doctrine to bolster him in his belief.

However, as the dogmatic Latin American seeks to bring about the kind of society he hopes for in practice, he meets a serious dilemma. The reformer interested in achieving practical advances runs up against the Marxian dogmatist who will accept these advances only if achieved within the terms of his dogma. Establishment of the dogma far overshadows improvement of living conditions.

It is becoming evident to the well-intentioned Latin American political and social reformer that the communists are not fundamentally interested in social reform and have no practical programs to improve the lives of the people, or to fulfill their growing aspirations. The communist shows little interest in seeking ways to feed, house, clothe and edu-

El Misti, near Arequipa, Peru
photographed by John C. Grover

cate liberally the people unless his espousal of these goals is a means to his political ends. In contrast, all thought, all activity must contribute to and be in the unquestioning tradition of Marxist dogma. There are few cheers on the part of the communists for a new water line, a new school, a children's feeding program, a new road or a trained police force. Instead of interest and excitement over the contribution these make to the lives and comfort of the people, there are only criticisms from the communists and the political opponents of the extreme left that these improvements are a Yankee trick; that their acceptance is the badge of subservience; that the government in power is buying votes; that public order by the estahlished government is a betrayal of the people's right to liberty. The well-intentioned, idealistic government leader of today who has battled twenty years to gain these improvements for his people is baffled by the fury of the attack now turned against him by the political "outs" and hurt by their indifference to the people's needs and to his accomplishments.

The new leaders in power, although conditioned to suspect U. S. motives and leery of an Alliance for Progress which may be just another American strategy, are now coming to see an identity between the aspirations and the programs of the Alliance for Progress and their own economic and social aspirations and programs as enunciated over the preceding years. This should not have been a surprise to them since the Alliance concepts are those of Kubitschek's Operation Pan America and the OAS-sponsored Bogota Pact, both purely Latin American concepts. These new leaders are beginning to make the uncomfortable political discovery that their hopes and ideals are perhaps on all fours with those of the people and the government of the United States! The somewhat shattering impact of this realization on the one hand, and on the other hand the vicious attacks against them at home by student leaders and leftist extremists which impugn even the good aspects of their own governments and of the U. S., confuse them. These attacks are particularly maddening to the once undisputed leaders of liberal and leftist thought, such as Juan Liscano and Luis Esteban Rey in Venezuela, who resent deeply being accused by the political "outs" and the University student leftists of reactionism, counter-revolution and pragmatism. Undermined by new extremist dogmas at home, apprehensive about their ability to continue in political power, realizing that the new revolutionaries of Cuba are now leagued with their own local opponents, the democratic Latin American reformers realize they must turn elsewhere. They turn to the United States and what do they find? Questions and pragmatism—but no doctrine.

This reference is not apocryphal but the actual experience of a group of Latin American journalists recently in the United States under the auspices of a local North American Society and of Harvard University. The group contained representatives from the leading political parties as well as independents and excluded only the communists and the extreme leftist opposition. Many of this group rather fit the mould of the baffled social reformer mentioned above. They want neither communism nor Fidel Castroism. They have long been suspicious of the motives of the United States. Yet they are aware of U. S. support for their President as well as help to their development plans. They were thus intellectually prepared to listen to the U. S. dogma, our "word." When they ran up against our inquiring approach, our "no answer" answer, our pragmatic experimentation, social and legislative, they were disappointed; some of them felt misled; one (the most conservative) broke down.

What is needed, then, a dogmatic non-dogma? A reformulation of the definiteness of change? A pragmatism chocolate-coated with dogmatic words? Dogmatic pragmatism? We must be aware, at least, of a widespread negative reaction to our own unquestioning pragmatism. We must be careful of our words, or at least educate our hearers, before we use them.

In approaching this problem, several factors present difficulties: Why does the Latin American intellectual eschew pragmatism? How can one reconcile the dogma of Marx with the deep individualism of the Spaniard? Are these really inconsistencies or merely the expected norms of Hispanic-Indian civilization?

Perhaps it is the result of Latin attempts to build a group. A group is built in the image of its leader. The individual leader is dogmatic in his individuality; dogmatic in his nihilism, in his anarchism. A group can allow no differences or it is not a group, merely a split personality. This cannot be, so the individual group must have the word and the word cannot be questioned.

Ironically, in both the Anglo-Saxon and the Spanish American societies, the influence of the individual, the habit of looking at things from an individualistic point of view, is ingrained. Yet the working out of the societal relations from the point of view of the individual differs sharply. In Latin America, individualism flourishes in the cult of the leader (*caudillismo* or *personalismo*) with whose person other individuals equate themselves. "Individualism is king; we are all one monolithic individual, our head being one particular individual whose place I could easily take." The Spaniard thus cannot contemplate a disparate, inquiring collectivity. Where is the individual? He who knows the answers? In Madariaga's view, every Spaniard knows intuitively that he alone commands the truth; every Spaniard, while opposing Franco, is potentially a Franco. This same strain can be seen in the leadership cult which still pervades Latin American politics, each party being impressed with the image of its leader; each revolt against the supreme leader, as in Venezuela's AD party, being headed by its own leader who impresses his individuality in turn upon his own splinter group.

Anglo-Saxon individuality has led to a reasoned form of rationalizing the rights of the individual with the needs of an ordered society. Where the Spaniard will put one individual in charge, the American has developed the theory of representative democracy, a practice which might be described as collective individualism which permits all individuals to take part, on an individualistic basis, in the decision-making process through elections, thus turning the executive power over to their representatives who are in turn responsible to the community.

This representative democracy may be considered as the pragmatic solution to the conflict of the individual rights of large numbers of individuals whose very number prevents direct individual action. Being responsive to the needs and wishes of a number of persons whose ideas change, this

system must be the antithesis of any dogma or fixed doctrine.

Is the Latin American difficulty concerned with ends rather than means? There are strong indications that dogma or doctrine is more important than the social program. The American pragmatist would go along with James' view of the uses of pragmatism: "Theories thus become instruments, not answers to enigmas, in which we can rest." The Latin American tends to seek theories as ends; the American sees them as methods.

Yet, oddly enough, to the Latin American we preach as though we had a dogma. We preach idealistically of something called democracy; we talk of equality, of freedom, of brotherhood. But the Latin American cannot find the doctrinal statement of this. He sees merely actions, inquiries, experiments, attempts, successes and *fracasos*. The American sounds like Don Quixote, but then, as a State Department colleague puts it, he also acts like one! This appears like madness to the Latino, who is happy to talk like Don Quixote but who then acts strictly in the pattern of Sancho Panza!

In any event, the Latin American coming to the United States for answers or guidance as he belatedly realizes the dangers Marxist dogmatic thought and political intervention pose for his own struggling would-be democratic-social reform regime is confused. A non-doctrinal civilization of political compromise, free expression, acceptance of a majority adverse political vote, the Socratic dialogue put into political practice, gives him no guidance or comfort for his political problems at home. Equally unhelpful, and slightly suspect, particularly in view of his political problems at home, are the definite, somewhat dogmatic, answers he receives from government: "Contain Fidel! Outlaw communist parties! Break relations with Cuba! Encourage private enterprise!" What are to be his means to these ends?

We in the United States must make a supreme effort to see ourselves as others see us and also to see others as they see themselves. We must seek to see the Latin American needs as they see them. A synthesis should be attempted of these aspects of the problem along with our views of ourselves, our convictions and practices, both economic and social. We must abandon the view that we can mould others in our mould. We must seek a way to cooperate with the Latin American in meeting his aspirations along his own lines and in terms of a statement of doctrine, or even non-doctrine, he will understand and can live with. These lines will not be, and cannot be in the full history of our development, antithetical to our interests. They may be different from, but need not be destructive of our interests. The practical, the pragmatic, the questioning route must be shown to be the route or the method of results. Self-help, community responsibility, individual effort, criticism without destruction, introspection without despair, all these and other ideas and approaches must be given currency. The living force of democracy, politically, intellectually and socially, as expressed through the various revolutions in these fields in Western Europe and in the United States, the excitement and the ferment of our intellectual society, the energy and the achievements of our industrial civilization, the experimentation of our literary and artistic world, must be laid open, explained, made available to the Latin American. The Spanish term of *fuerzas vivas*, the living forces or the live forces of our community, must be shown to be a surging reality. As different as we are, in some of the ways suggested above, as different as we are in language, in racial and cultural strains, we do have a great reservoir of common heritage, of common aspirations, of identity of interest which binds us spiritually just as we are indissolubly linked geographically.

The answer does not lie in our seeking a quick solution or an easy answer such as anti-subversion. Communism will not cease to be a threat because Castro is contained, the missiles recalled, Betancourt fêted and Arevalo cold-shouldered. The answer lies in developing a *via America Latina* by which Latin America may reach its own aspirations in its own way, but in a democratically representative way.

Somewhere along the way we must demonstrate that communism does not necessarily imply social reform and, conversely, that social, economic and political reform can be achieved without communism. This raises the question as to whether the new leaders of today, the intellectual left, are seeking an ideology or a social reform. They appear to confuse opposition to a government in power with reform. Opposition they are familiar with; reform they are not familiar with. Do they merely parrot the reform slogans out of a ritualistic, revolutionary habit? If they really oppose absolutism, expose the absolutism of Communist dogma on politics, economics, society, thought, religion.

We must in contrast show that there is another way, the way of the free and inquiring spirit, a freedom to differ and a freedom to cooperate; a freedom to experiment and a freedom to fail. The only thing we can be dogmatic about is the necessity for experimentation, for trial and error, in other words, for non-dogma, which might be thought of as dogmatic pragmatism.

It should be our responsibility to help the Latin American define his problem, and to give him our suggestions for solutions, in terms he can appreciate, understand and respect.

In place of the dulled satisfaction of the dogmatist—spiritually untroubled, though hungry in his dogmatism—we must implant the satisfaction of the pragmatic positivist, often spiritually restless, but housed and fed under a workable system or methodology of experimentation, of inductive reasoning. This is no mean task, but even the attempt, if couched in stimulating terms, should stir up interest among leaders of an opposing system. It might bring about an interesting confrontation of civil law and common law which is "at bottom, the philosophy of pragmatism. Its truth is relative, not absolute." In any event, it would put the United States in the class of an intellectual opponent as worthy in the spiritual field of the political intellect as in the materialist marts of trade.

Ideas: the Ultimate Weapon?

by Sax Bradford

The American people are becoming aware, rather slowly and hesitantly, of a new and potentially powerful means of advancing our interests in the world.

This instrument is the induced movement of men's ideas.

The flow of creative thought and knowledge by conscious stimulation is still in a very primitive state. It happens almost absent-mindedly in the process of carrying out the Department's international educational exchange programs, the media services of USIA, the university contracts of AID and various other federal activities overseas.

The full and stunning concept of the power of ideas has not yet come to government planners, even those who grasp the essentials of military, economic and political power. Consequently there is not yet a real policy, certainly not yet adequate budgets or staffs.

Yet international education, essentially the movement of the results of free inquiry, is the most potent human force the world has ever known.

The military, political and economic successes of the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans proved ephemeral. But the spread of the ideas of their citizens, a process which went on through the rise and fall of politicians, city states, nations and empires, completely revolutionized the "known" world and gave it the present western character.

The interchange of the thoughts of men does not seem very dramatic alongside the development of a weapons system. Furthermore, this interchange cannot be fully controlled in the narrowly conceived national interest. For these two reasons it is easy to see why Government has not yet fully responded to the possibilities of applying this potent lever to the attainment of our international objectives.

But the long-run interests of the people of the United States can be served by its effective use. If it is not used, our best political, military and economic efforts may come to nothing.

The advance of the Hebraic-Greek-Roman man was made by the process of education moving across early international boundaries. One needs only to trace the path of the medieval students of Maimonides and Averroes through the kingdoms of Cordoba and Castile and into France and Italy to grasp the means by which Western civilization became a reality. Beyond that reality, on the other side of it, were superstition, barbarism, the apeman. Down this new path came the modern man, science, logic, humanism. It takes only a few hours of research to confirm that what there is of enlightenment in our daily lives is the fruit of this educational process: the intertribal, interregional, international exchange of ideas.

Could some master mind of the Tenth Century have seen the world in one flashing glance, seen the people on it in their variety and in their diverse stages of civilization and savagery, and watched the movement of the great liberating ideas through and among them as in a laboratory today the isotopes can be seen to circulate through physical materials, the very pattern of the modern world would have been revealed to it.

Could some master mind in the year 1963 see into the emerging world pattern, see the thought of Asia and Africa being added to western knowledge to produce the future greater, richer civilization of black and white and red and brown, it would be able to comprehend both the process and the result that is to shape the lives of our grandchildren's grandchildren.

But whereas the time from the first contemplation of the atom by Heraclitus or Democritus to its fission in 1945 was more than two thousand years, the time from the first contemplation of the thought of this decade to universal acceptance and use may be only three or four generations, such is the accelerated speed of the movement of men's ideas today.

The United States preens its feathers from time to time over the success of a national policy such as that which produced the Marshall Plan and changed history. But it ought to be realized that there are essential policies waiting to be conceived and executed which could profoundly alter our prospects for the better. One of the more obvious is the vigorous stimulation of the process by which man's valid ideas mature and circulate in the modern world.

I have called this the process of educational exchange, since this seems to fit what has happened slowly in history and what can be induced to happen more rapidly in the future. Already there have been attempts to quicken this process. Some of these steps have been taken in the belief

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Sax Bradford, now Public Officer in Mexico City, has served in various posts overseas as well as in the Department and in the Information Agency.

by Sax Bradford

that quickly measurable short-range material benefits will derive. Nothing could be more misleading. The present trickle of men with minds across international boundaries represents only a token movement of valid thought against the overwhelming volume of demagoguery of the political opportunists with their hands on the mass means of confusing the busy, the preoccupied and the ignorant. But even if that trickle were a flood and if it drowned out all the voices of ambitious interest, of political expediency and megalomania, still it would not yield a quick, measurable return. Faith and patience are required. When St. Paul, traveling on an early international grant, addressed the Athenians he was not required to measure the immediate effect of his words against the standards of some primitive Christian General Accounting Office.

When the United States becomes fully aware of the power of ideas to move and mould men and decides to use its resources and its advanced techniques, then international educational exchange will take its place in our arsenal.

Television, books, radio, motion pictures, the international movement of scholars and talented minds—there is every reason to believe that in time all of these things will be brought to bear on our long-range responsibilities for survival and growth. Government will do its part; private scholars and teachers will do their part; institutions will do their part. The present hesitant and unrelated first steps will become a steady stride, the tread of an advanced, intelligent and purposeful people bent on fulfilling a great national responsibility. A few minds are already sensing the possibilities. There is a quickening interest among people who have already seen the first, heartening results of the Fulbright exchanges and the others. For the first time, I hear ambassadors say that even the small token programs now being carried out in their embassies may prove to be the most important things they are doing.

One of the greatest handicaps that face the American advocate and practitioner of a vigorous interchange of ideas is the long-obsolete notion that a cultural office in an embassy is supposed to deal in chamber music and the like. This pleasant concept went out with the water wheel.

The entire public affairs staff of an embassy should be facilitating free inquiry, the development and testing of significant thought and the movement of that thought across international boundaries. The concern of a public affairs staff should be Man and his advancement toward new ground. His bureaucratic skill should be employed to level barriers. His media skill should be bent to multiply the voices of free men with ideas and mingle them with other free voices of free men. I can't conceive of a higher calling or a more rewarding one.

The Roman Government moved the ideas of civilized man into the dark forests of Northern Europe. The Moors moved them even more vigorously to the Iberian mountains. These were neither the ideas of Rome nor of Islam. They were universal ideas born in the minds of men within the territories these two powers at different times governed.

Nor are the ideas that move with modern facility in the international programs of the United States Government and private American institutions, American ideas. They are mankind's ideas. They are moved in the academic and cultural wrappings of science or philosophy or sociology or art. They are moved by scholars or lecturers or by some mechanical device like printing. They shine through the stifling banality of Hollywood gossip, political polemics, sexual titillation and Wild West euphoria that makes up the international commerce of the cheap movies, the magazines and the comics.

They contribute to our common understanding and growth. They offer the only known way out of the crazy mixed-up present to a realizable future. They represent, in the human race, the hope that the communication of the alphabet represented three thousand years ago.

They are not the property of one nation. It is juvenile of us to suppose that the cultural achievement of the United States lies in a girls' string quartet in Omaha learning to play Bach, or even in the perfection of a process invented by Pasteur. Our real cultural achievement is the national determination to share and pass on to others the greatest art, science, social and political ideas and academic discipline of which free man is capable. We should help the interchange that will make all men great and "a part of God." We should do this with all our effort, and we should do it with humility. Humility, because it is a small offering in terms of world history and the world's peoples.

And yet, the paradox of our work is that we are dealing with great power. It is the paradox that is the essence of the great religions: The overwhelming force of the thought that comes to the small man in the still moments of his contemplation. No nation, no people has been great in the historical sense except it used its will and its resources to advance and propagate great thoughts; to create, recognize and spread valid ideas by which men can find their way.

"Remember, Rundfunk, you're supposed to be a diplomat—look worldly!"

Preview of a new and indispensable reference book for government speech makers and ghost writers! Another FSJ exclusive for its discriminating readers:

Instant Ready-Mix Source Material

by S. I. NADLER

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *The following is an excerpt from Nadler's "Unfamiliar Quotations," a book to be published this fall by Vanity Publishing House. An abridged version will be put out in paperback edition by Impermabooks under the title "The Shorter Nadler's Unfamiliar Quotations." (The taller Nadler specializes in the familiar and writes under the name of Bartlett.)*

To an ever-increasing extent, government officials are being required to give talks—usually before audiences comprised of other government officials belonging to other agencies. At the same time, more and more officials are being sent to schools, courses, and seminars, the curricula of which demand the production of research papers. Listeners to the talks and readers of the papers have come to expect the inclusion of copious illustrative quotes, preferably —one might almost say exclusively— from ancient Chinese, Persian, Greek, or Roman sources. These quotes are usually obvious statements of fact, but the degree of profundity with which they become endowed appears to increase geometrically with the time elapsed since they were first uttered or written. Consider, for example, the old Chinese adage: "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step."

What has happened is that there remain very few ancient quotable quotes which have not been used to death. Following, then, in Group I, are a dozen (the book will have a thousand) new, unfamiliar quotes, designed to sound ancient and vaguely familiar, and—properly enunciated or worked into a paper—guaranteed to take on an aura of profundity. Group II contains names to which the quotes can be attributed, and Group III offers specific sources. Any item from Group I can be combined with any item from Group II and both may be associated with any one from Group III, depending on the flavor to be imparted to the speech or paper.

Group I

Political

"There are rich and powerful nations, and there are poor and weak nations; it is better to be a citizen of a rich and powerful nation."

"The wise ruler does not stand near walls, keeps out of corners, and turns his back on nobody."

"Power corrupts those who do not have power and want it, and absolute power corrupts absolutely everybody."

"The common man is also a common denominator."

"There comes a time in every rebellion when all true insurgents must be prepared to stand up and be countered."

Military

"The force which attacks quietly under cover of darkness has better chance of success than the force which attacks noisily in broad daylight."

"Military might never solves political problems, but it often settles them for a long time."

"An army which loses battles gains no new territory."

Economic

"A surplus is better than a deficit."

"A profit is never without honor."

All-Purpose

"You cannot fit a round peg in a square hole without a hammer."

"The wise executive keeps most of his wisdom to himself."

Group II

Hu Hi
Neurosis II
Ngo Pax Vo Biscum
Miserius
Liz Tai Lor
Ivan the Meek
Sunniliston
Aristocratus
Hu Shi
Sophomoricles
Aly Genghis
Hu They
Mo Bhi Dhic

Group III

"Dialogues," Bremen Edition
"Monologues," John Solo translation
"Red Sea Scrolls"
"Paeans of Praise for the Little People All Over the World, Wherever They May Be"
"More Dialogues," privately printed in Delhi
"Persian Versions of Greek Proverbs Adapted by the Romans," translated from the French
"Peking Dhuc"
"Songs of Poor Philosophers and Wealthy Landowners"
"The Art of Diplomacy and the Causes of War"
"Still More Dialogues," re-issued in Washington, D. C.
"The Weekly Annals"

Russia and the West (Part II)

by J. W. FULBRIGHT

THE evolution of Soviet policy from Lenin to Stalin to Khrushchev has largely reflected the intrusion of traditional nationalist attitudes upon an internationalist ideology with universal aims. This intrusion has occurred not by conscious design and in measurable quantities as some students of the Soviet Union have suggested, but pragmatically and by evolving stages. Lenin acted at first, but only for a brief period, on the orthodox Marxist assumption that Bolshevism could survive only if the Russian Revolution were followed quickly by revolution in the most advanced industrial countries of Europe, especially Germany. The failure of this universalist policy was quite clear to Stalin, who, at the outset of his rule, came to the practical if unorthodox conclusion that if communism were to survive it would have to survive, at least for a time, in Russia alone. He proceeded to pursue a policy of "socialism in one country" while attempting to secure Russia against "capitalist encirclement" by building up the strength of the Soviet Union and by the expansion of Soviet power into surrounding territories, which were of course the same lands that had historically been coveted by the Russian tsars.

Stalin, whom Djilas describes as "one of those rare terrible dogmatists capable of destroying nine tenths of the human race to 'make happy' the one tenth,"[6] pursued a foreign policy which reflected an amalgam of traditional Russian national interest, his own hard-headed interpretations of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and, not least, the megalomania of his own personality. Stalinist policy, both before and after World War II, was motivated by a drive for absolute control, both within Russia and over the satellite empire which Russia acquired as a result of the victory of the Allies in the war. His policy, in short, was one of crude and traditional imperialism. "Everyone," he said in April 1945, "imposes his own system as far as his army can reach. It cannot be otherwise."[7]

Stalin's policy was in some respects a sensible adaptation to objective reality, but "Stalinism," in all its harsh excesses, was the product of a cruel and abnormal personality. Stalin's death, accordingly, marked a decisive turn in Russian history and world politics.

Russia after Stalin underwent something of a psychological revolution, a readjustment of Soviet policy to the realities of the postwar world. The world policy of Khrushchev may be defined in general as an effort to realize the same goals which Stalin pursued, but by more subtle means. Free of Stalin's psychotic fears and suspicions, Khrushchev has revised the policy of total belligerency in favor of varied and more sophisticated techniques and combinations of techniques. No less than Stalin's cruder methods, however, Khrushchev's flexible maneuvers of cautious military pressure, summit diplomacy and *detente*, foreign aid and "peaceful coexistence," have had the central objective of weakening and undermining the Western military alliance and the broader system of Western unity.

Under Khrushchev, the obsession with absolute control has given way to a drive for *influence*, wherever promising opportunities for gaining it arise. In effect, this has meant a concerted drive to influence to whatever degree possible the nationalist revolutions which engulf Asia, Africa, and Latin America. With influence rather than total domination as an acceptable short-term goal of Soviet policy, Khrushchev has increasingly resorted to the traditional instruments of foreign policy, such as diplomatic contacts and trade, economic and technical assistance, educational and cultural exchanges. These are instruments relying more on persuasion than coercion, designed to convince non-Communist countries all over the world that it is safe and profitable to do business with the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev, in short, has radically altered Stalin's policy of expansion into and total domination over adjacent territories. He has in effect revived the universalist policies

This is an excerpt from the first of Senator Fulbright's three Clayton Lectures (April 29-30 and May 1) at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, a graduate school of international affairs administered by Tufts University in cooperation with Harvard University at Medford, Massachusetts. It is printed by permission. The full text of Senator Fulbright's lectures has recently been published by Harvard University Press under the title "Prospects for the West."

[6] Milovan Djilas, "Conversations with Stalin."
[7] *ibid.*

of Lenin but with methods which are new and unorthodox in Marxian terms. These methods are essentially a skillful and flexible utilization of the enormous new power of the Soviet state. They have carried Soviet influence in varying degrees to distant areas of the world which, while Stalin lived, were beyond the Soviet grasp. Pragmatist and opportunist that he is, Khrushchev, no less than Lenin before him, is caught up in the mystic vision of Marx, a vision of humanity caught up in a force of historic predestiny that transcends human choice. "It is necessary," he writes, "that everybody should understand the irrevocable fact that the historic process is irreversible."[8]

Means have a way in human affairs of consuming their ends when the latter, despite continuing and concerted effort, remain distant and unrealized over a long period of time. It is for this reason, it seems to me, that it is the operating strategy rather than the theoretical objectives of Soviet communism that are of direct relevance for the West in the shaping of its own policies.

It is not beyond the power of the West to encourage the Soviets further along the course toward more moderate and less dangerous methods than those used by Stalin in Korea or by Khrushchev in Cuba. Their own predisposition for caution works in our favor in this respect. There are a number of ways in which the West can encourage Soviet moderation: first, and most obviously, by maintaining such strength that any departure from moderation on the Soviet side would involve unacceptable risks; secondly, by making it clear to the Soviets at every possible opportunity that it is not communism which is at issue between the Soviet Union and the West but communist *imperialism* and that, insofar as it renounces expansionist and subversive ambitions, the Soviet Union can enjoy a safe and honorable national life without threat or danger from the West; thirdly, and most important, the West, through the utilization and unification of its own immense human and material resources, can so strengthen the internal fabric of the free societies as to make them impregnable to external ideological assault and at the same time magnetic examples of social justice and material well-being for the entire world.

It is of course possible that the third of these approaches could have the opposite of a moderating effect. The narrowing of the horizons of Soviet ambition in the face of growing Western strength and unity could conceivably lead irresponsible or incompetent leaders into some desperate gamble to reverse the tide. Or, in tsarist fashion, they might raise new barriers to contact and communication in order to seal off the Russian peoples and the peoples of Eastern Europe from the magnetism of the West, thereby widening the gap between two worlds. We must attempt, therefore, while building the strength and unity of the Atlantic world, to find limited ways of acting directly on the Soviet Union itself, of communicating with the Russian people in such a way as to exert some influence on the development of Soviet society. We must try to convey accurate information to the Russians about Western life, about the aims of Western policy, and about the heavy price that the cold war exacts from both their people and ours. I do not know whether we can influence Russian public opinion and strengthen it as a brake against dangerous and adventurous policies, but I believe that we must try to do this as a matter of responsibility, not to the Russians but to ourselves.

In these ways we can encourage Soviet moderation. It is by no means certain, but neither is it inconceivable, that if we are patient and wise and strong in our dealings with the Soviets, we can encourage moderate means to consume immoderate ends, consigning the dream of a world remade in the Soviet image not to destruction by some apocalyptic act, but to a gradual "withering away," to starvation in the thin, dry soil of Marxian illusion.

The one thing about Soviet society and Soviet foreign policy that is very clear is that they are in continuing change and evolution. Those who attribute to the Soviet leaders a permanent, monolithic, and unalterable determination to destroy the free societies of the West are crediting the Soviet Union with an unshakable constancy of will that, so far as I know, no nation has ever before achieved.

I do not pretend to foresee the future course of Soviet policy. I do suggest, however, that the trend over recent years, as evidenced by the rejection of Chinese importunities for a more adventurous policy, has been toward relative moderation by the Russians and that it is within the power of the West to encourage and reinforce this tendency. If it is ingenuous to predict the "mellowing" of Soviet policy, it is equally ingenuous to regard Soviet policy and goals as absolutely intractable. It is certainly possible, although not necessarily probable, that the changes in the character and structure of Soviet society which have occurred since the death of Stalin, such as the abatement of police terror and the development of the Central Committee into a kind of rudimentary parliamentary body, will in turn generate further and more significant changes in Soviet policy.

Powerful forces for change are at work within the Soviet Union. Soviet society and the Soviet economy are becoming highly complex, too complex to be completely controlled by a highly centralized dictatorship. Many of the same factors are at work within Russia as those which over many centuries shaped the evolution of the free societies of the West. Modernization, writes Walter Lippmann, "is changing the character of the Soviet State—changing it from a Byzantine despotism into what might be described as a Western state in the very earliest phases of its development."[9]

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democratic Senator from Arkansas, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1942 and soon became a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. In 1944 he was elected to the Senate and, after serving as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, became chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

[8]Nikita Khrushchev, "On Peaceful Coexistence," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October, 1959.

[9]Walter Lippmann, "Soviet-American Relations Today," Washington POST, February 13, 1962.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by TED OLSON

"The Prince at the Wall"

Plus ça change . . .

RETURNING to Washington after even a relatively brief absence involves a measure of cultural shock. Familiar vistas have blurred and shifted as if in a mirage. Glittering new buildings rise, complete with landscaping, where a few months ago old ones were tagged for demolition. The little shop where you used to take your Homburg to be reblocked has given place to a new branch of the Third National Bank.

Traffic patterns have been radically reorganized. You head for the office by the long-familiar route, kinetic memory taking charge of the steering-wheel, and suddenly find yourself impaled on a one-way arrow, while oncoming traffic brays reproof.

A scrap of conversation on the hus is revelatory:

"You have a beautiful new huilding."

"Yes, but the scuttlebutt is we're going to move next week."

Speaking of huses, the DC fare has gone up a penny plus: four tokens for 85 cents instead of five for a dollar. The service—well, let's not be bitter. Let's try not, anyway.

As for parking, the situation around New State is desperate. AID's house organ, FRONT LINES, printed pictures of a vast devastated area—Yokohama after The Bomb—with a sign "THIS LOT CLOSED TO STATE DEPT. PARKING." That's the new highway project that some day is going to give Arlingtonians and Falls Churchmen still another access and egress artery, the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge. E street is ducking underground, 23rd Street climbing overhead, and feeder traffic corkscrewing through the neighborhood. It's a mess.

Things aren't going to get any better, either. A research outfit has told the National Capital Transportation Agency that it had better plan for five million people by the year 2000. That's two and a half times the number milling about now.

There are some things to be said in favor of an assignment to Abidjan.

The Washington POST's POTOMAC magazine digs up a few current statistics:

> . . . the Federal service in Washington would stagger a Byzantine hureaucrat. There are 21,000 clerks, 1100 messengers, 5600 stenographers, 9600 typists, 98 postmasters, 3900 accountants, 281 internal revenue agents, 1200 doctors, 1400 nurses, 3900 lawyers, 1400 physicists, 54 astronomers, 8 archeologists, 1600 intelligence specialists, 522 mathematicians, 1475 statisticians, 1900 economists and 173 historians.
>
> There are also 171 interpreters and translators, 15 barbers, 23 chaplains, 90 U.S. marshals, 80 veterinarians, 1600 librarians, 602 photographers, 266 architects and 41 tour guides.

State, by the way, makes a relatively modest contribution to those multitudes—6,468 as of May 31. Defense comes first, according to POTOMAC, with 74,613 employes, Health, Education and Welfare next with 22,583 employes. Congress, "an outfit rather fond of swinging a budget cutter's axe" (the quote is POTOMAC's), has 21,982.

Anyway, the number of intelligence specialists *ought* to be reassuring.

. . . Plus c'est la meme chose.

One thing, though, hadn't changed in five and a half months: Congress was still in session. "What goes on down there?" we asked a friend who works on the Hill. "The newspapers say all that oratory is just for the record: practically nobody's listening."

"You forget the constituents back home," she said. "Anyway, don't think they aren't busy. Mark-ups."

"Mark-ups? I thought that was what the retailer added to the wholesale price."

"Not here. It's filling in the final figures in the appropriation bills, after all the testimony is in."

"Wouldn't mark-downs be more accurate?"

She admitted it might.

Anyway, nobody in the executive branch can remember waiting quite so long for the last word on appropriations. With spending frozen at the going rate, nearly every bureau in the Department was feeling the squeeze, and forward-planning remained a hypothetical exercise, like war games.

Hints for Home-Seekers

Where should you put down roots when you come back for that two-to-four-year tour in Washington—assuming you haven't already been accumulating equity in a four-bedroom rambler or colonial somewhere within commuting distance of New State? Schools, taxes, personal preferences—geographical, topographical, political—accessibility of those friends you will be wanting to see most often—all these factors have to be considered. On the second item, taxes, the District's Department of General Administration has recently compiled some data that may be helpful. As summarized in the Washington POST:

If you earn $15,000 a year (and have a wife, two children and a car), the District is still the cheapest place to live, and Fairfax is now the most expensive.

Alexandria goes easiest on those in the $5,000-$10,000 bracket, and Montgomery County hears down hardest.

Income taxes are highest in Virginia, real estate levies heaviest in Maryland. Virginia still has no sales tax, but does levy property taxes on cars and household furnishings. The District's income tax is the lowest in the area, but there's a 3 per cent sales tax on the food you buy at the supermarket.

What you gains at the swings, as the cockneys say, you loses on the roundabouts. Since the whole business gets pretty complicated, you may want to study the District's annual tax digest before you settle in.

Culture in the Capital

It looks like a busy season, and a nourishing one. The National Gallery and the Smithsonian led off, practically neck-and-neck: the National with a fabulous collection of Turner watercolors, the Smithsonian with an exotic display of Indian miniatures, one of which is (we hope) reproduced on this page. Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic opened the concert season. Howard Mitchell, celebrating his fifteenth anniversary as director of the National Symphony, wasn't sure, though, up to the FSJ's press-time whether there'd be a season or not: contract trouble. It's a pity our capital can't seem to support an orchestra. The Arena is proudly announcing three world "firsts" on the season's bill, and the National continues to sandwich Broadway tryouts with proven Broadway successes.

And of course there are the Department's own concerts for foreign diplomats, which have proved so popular that the guest list recently was raised to 3,000.

It really *is* a cultured city. Sitting next to us on the N-2 bus the other day was a middle-aged matron poring over Picasso—one of those miniature art books. Across the aisle a pretty teen-ager was devouring "The Collected Poems of Elinor Wylie." Just ahead a young man with a mustache was studying Italian grammar; perhaps he had just been tapped for Rome. Or Mogadiscio.

Glossary

A correspondent just "graduated" from the FSI's Interdepartmental Seminar on Problems of Modernization and Internal Defense (commonly called the "Counterinsurgency Seminar") reports some fascinating new —new to him, anyway—bits of officialese.

A "piece of paper" on its way to the top, he tells us, is now "massaged" to get the kinks out of it. Somebody may be named to "surveil" this paper, thus becoming the "honcho" of the project, while others interested in it "liaise" with him to be sure it has the proper "input" at every stage and the proper "mix" at the end. A group may finally be "tasked with" an overall revision, in the light of the "feedback" early drafts produce.

For greater flexibility, AID is now "deprojectizing" some of its programs. . . . Tactical nuclear weapons are "tacs". . . . We have some military people who have been "sheep-dipped," i.e., disguised as civilians.

That Tired Feeling

Since 10:59 a.m. (presumably Eastern Daylight Time) on September 27, every American overseas has been representing 190 million people—more, of course, as the days go by and the population explosion continues. To those in the service who qualify for mention in Jim Stewart's "25 Years Ago" column that represents an increment of nearly 60 million since they first shouldered the burden—reason enough, surely, for feeling a bit stooped and muscle-weary every now and then.

There'll Always Be an England

NBC's Elie Abel told his audience this little protocol story a few weeks ago:

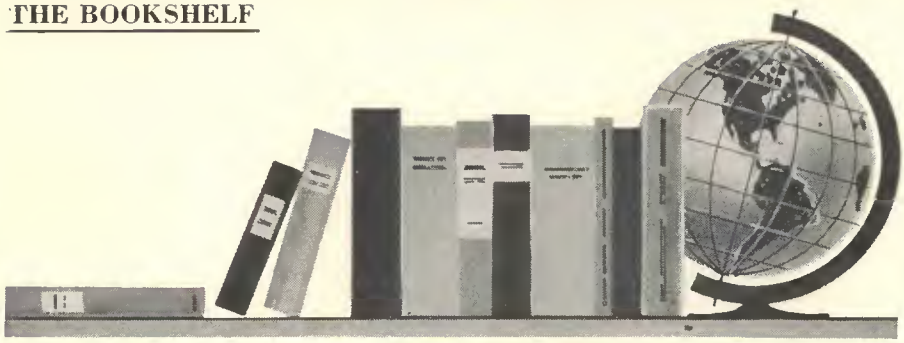
"An American Embassy wife we encountered in London . . . was planning a dinner to which she had invited—among others—two officials of the British Foreign Office: one a most senior official, but a commoner; the other, rather junior, but a peer of the realm.

"The Embassy lady telephoned the protocol section of the Foreign Office. . . . The protocol experts informed her the correct thing to do was to put the peer in the favored chair, the senior commoner second in order of precedence.

"Came the night of the dinner party. Our hostess called her guests to the table. There she was horrified to discover that someone had switched the place cards. The commoner was sitting where the peer should have sat, and vice versa. Then the junior peer whispered in her blushing ear: he had pulled the switch himself. The reason: "The man may be a commoner; hut he is also my boss. I would never get promoted if I snooted him at the dinner table."

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

"Culturally isolated as this post is we do have so much talent in the official family."



And Then I Wrote

LORD Bertrand Russell has collected in this slim volume the various communications he exchanged with world leaders during the Cuban crisis and the Sino-Indian flare-up in the autumn of 1962.

The author finds more merit in the Chinese side of the dispute with India than do most non-Chinese observers. He also makes it clear that he preferred the "rational" behavior of the U.S.S.R. during the missile crisis to the "hysteria" which he discerned in the American reaction. Accordingly, he bestows numerous accolades upon Chairman Khrushchev who, he feels, deserves the world's approbation because his withdrawal of the Soviet missiles saved the peace. This is presumably on the analogy of the man who deserved a medal because he had saved a woman from rape—he stopped chasing her.

Most readers of the Foreign Service JOURNAL will already be acquainted with Lord Russell's highly personal views on the world situation. Those who are not may want to take advantage of their reappearance in this handy format to learn his version of recent world history, particularly since his views are presumably shared, at least in part, by his small but devoted band of followers.

—E.L.K.

UNARMED VICTORY, *by Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster, $3.50.*

"The Man on Horseback"

MILITARY INTERVENTION in the affairs of nations, whether we like it or not, is a political fact of life of increasing concern to analysts of the current world scene. Professor Finer, an established British political scientist, points to the likelihood that "those of the new states which are not overtaken by totalitarianism and attracted into the Russian and Chinese orbits, will oscillate for a long time to come between military regimes and civilian restorations." The liberally-inclined reader may consider this appraisal too sweeping: but even he must agree that thorough understanding of the military role in politics, actual and potential, is essential for anyone who seeks to understand and predict the trend of affairs.

"The Man on Horseback" is a thorough, penetrating, and indeed definitive analysis of this subject, offering a highly useful conceptual framework for understanding when, why, and how military forces influence or overthrow governments. Although the author does not undertake to apply his analysis to the future in any specific way, his ideas should help to anticipate whether and how the military are likely to be politically involved at particular times and places.

The book clearly demonstrates that military involvement is not an isolated or infrequent phenomenon either in space or in time; that it is by no means confined to Latin America; and that it is likely to be with us for a long time to come. Professor Finer points out that since 1789, in addition to Latin America, there has been and continues to be a second zone of military interventions, a "huge arc" beginning in the Baltic states, running through Poland and the Balkans to the Middle and Far East. He cites the New Model Army of seventeenth-century England as the first example of such intervention in the modern sense, and the French Revolution as the lineal ancestor of more recent take-overs. As to current regimes, "the military engage in politics with relative haste but disengage, if at all, with the greatest reluctance."

There are very few things to criticize in this excellent work. The author might have considered more fully the sociological factors within armies, since generally not the bulk of the armed forces, but some activist group among them, is actively involved in the political exercise of military power. No reference is made to the effect of the Cold War on national military establishments. The analysis of the Korean *coup d'état* of 1961 is too oversimplified to be useful, but information on it was probably scarce when the manuscript was completed. On the plus side, an excellent bibliography and an exhaustive index by persons, countries, and subjects greatly facilitates the use of the book as a reference.

—DONALD S. MACDONALD

THE MAN ON HORSEBACK, *The Role of the Military in Politics, by S. E. Finer. Praeger.* $6.50.

The Diplomatic Art

THIS book will remind you of "The Ugly American"; it's so different. With humor and perception, Mr. Roetter surveys the diplomatic art and its American, British and Russian practitioners. His balanced interpretation of diplomacy today is enhanced by descriptions of diplomacy in the past. He treats of many things: "How to Become a Diplomat," "How to Behave as a Diplomat," "A DPL-plated Existence," "The Gentle Art of Negotiation," "The Not-So-Gentle Art of Spying," "Summitry"—as these chapter titles indicate. Historical anecdotes and memorable epigrams enlighten his observations.

Mr. Roetter notes that in 1853 the Secretary of State ruled out knee breeches for American diplomats and prescribed "the simple dress of an American citizen." He also notes that the lack of a diplomatic uniform has, on occasion, led to their being mistaken for butlers or footmen. At the turn of the century U. S. Ambassador Choate, on leaving a Court ball at Buckingham Palace, was ordered by a crusty British peer, resplendent in scarlet dress-uniform: "Call me a cab."

"You are a cab, sir," Choate replied, adding with a courteous bow, "At least, you are good enough not to ask me to call you a hansom cab."

After reading this book, you will feel better about yourself and better about the Foreign Service. It is a good book to have around. It is a good book to send relatives and friends who want to know more about the Service. It will give them knowledge and understanding and entertainment.

—R. W. R.

THE DIPLOMATIC ART, *by Charles Roetter. Macrae Smith,* $4.50.

The Mansions and the Shanties

Among today's Left-leaning young intellectuals in Brazil one finds a prevailing bias against Gilberto Freyre as being out of touch with the times. They do not question his eminence as a social historian and chronicler of Brazil's coming of age as a nation; what they do question is his relevance to present-day Brazil. What most of those who share that bias do not realize is that their own awareness of themselves as Brazilians—as latter-day products of that unique concoction of colonialism, imperial tradition, slavery, republicanism, socio-economic imbalance, and racial and cultural heterogeneity which is Brazilian history—would scarcely have been possible without the pioneering work of Gilberto Freyre. This book is one of the principal fruits of that work, and as such should be regarded as required reading for those in search of a real understanding of the phenomenon that is modern Brazil.

"The Mansions and the Shanties" was first published in Brazil (under the Portuguese title "Sobrados e Mucambos" in 1936, as a sequel to Freyre's earlier classic work "The Masters and the Slaves." Whereas the earlier book described the rural patriarchy which held sway over Brazil up to the end of the 18th century, the present work, only now available in translation, covers the breakdown of that older society and the rise of the urban society, progressively less patriarchal in nature, which has come to rule the country during the past century. It is a brilliant tapestry depicting the evolving relationships, not only between social and economic classes but also between races and between sexes, which characterized Brazil's emergence out of her rich past into her uncertain present.

The greatest service which such a brief review can do for a book as abundant and varied as this one is to flag its importance and urge that it be read. The editing and translating were done by Harriet de Onis, whose talents do full justice to this extraordinary author and his extraordinary work.

—Niles W. Bond

The Mansions and the Shanties, *The Making of Modern Brazil, by Gilberto Freyre. Edited and translated from the Portuguese by Harriet de Onis. Knopf,* $10.00.

The Dividing Heritage

This is the revised edition of Professor Crawford's book, first published in 1944. In it the former Cultural Attaché at Rio has abstracted the basic ideas of thirty-five social thinkers of Latin America, writing since the achievement of independence; many are contemporary. The volume also contains an excellent introduction and conclusion analyzing the works presented.

The *pensadores* reflect their universal intellectual background — democratic, Marxist, Falangist. Most interesting is the conflict among the hemispheric thinkers, who would model Latin America after the United States; the subscribers to the Marxist panacea and those who would preserve the status quo. The spirit of nationalism pervades among most.

Their themes are ethical, social and political. The ideas and ideals are all there; the perfectibility of man; self-government, in the terms of Emersonian self-reliance; religious toleration; the pursuit of happiness. Also, there is the bewilderment at the failure of the horrowed constitutions that did not produce the promised Utopia. The "inner freedom" that the Americans and French achieved before their revolutions is the missing keystone; therefore, a break with Spanish tradition, mores and Catholic heritage is urged by some. Others argue for the preservation of the region's "Latinity" and resistance to North American "spiritual and material imperialism." The Mexican Vasconcelos urges the creation of an "aristocracy of the spirit," an elite dedicated to the good, the beautiful and the true. The Spanish heritage is the foundation for this spiritual renaissance, which must not be subverted hy Pan American diplomacy.

Many of these prolific writers are long on generalizations and purple passages addressed to Latin emotions. They are often lacking in the logic, order and method of Anglo-Saxon philosophical discipline. In the intellectual confrontation of the two cultures recriminations are mutual. The conflict between our order, specialization and pragmatism and the universality and generalization of the Latin engenders much misunderstanding. Herein lies the importance of Mr. Crawford's contribution—not to the Latin American specialist, but to the neophyte seeking to understand the heritage which tends to divide us from our friends.

—H. Franklin Irwin

A Century of Latin American Thought, *by W. Rex Crawford. Harvard University Press,* $6.00.

Indians of the Amazon

by Antonio Vladimir Porunov

Case For Hope

GLOBETROTTING correspondent Dan Kurzman's 557-page book about the Communists' "Subversion of the Innocents" in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia is topflight journalism, good current history, and (in the concluding, strike-the-balance chapter) pretty good foreign policy. At all events, Kurzman —unlike most of his colleagues—finds some nice things to say about the way the Kennedy Administration is handling things abroad. And he reports that under Edward R. Murrow "the vigor of the United States propaganda services has increased."

Indeed, in that final chapter, the Washington POST writer reports that there is an excellent "case for hope" to be made. He is very far from underestimating the advances the Communist Bloc has made since World War II. But he also lists its failures, along with the victories—some of them tentative and partial—the West has won.

The last sentence of the book is sound advice to the American policymaker:

"America . . . can best frustrate Communist designs by convincing these [developing] nations that we genuinely desire to strengthen their independence—an effort that will pay increasing dividends as communism gradually, but inevitably, bares its thinly disguised imperialistic nature to the millions of political innocents interested not in ideology but in a better life."

Kurzman bases his book about equally on firsthand observation during his fifteen years of traveling abroad, and on wide reading in the *materia*. He devotes one chapter to each of the key countries in the three geographic areas (and, for reasons he gives in an author's note, one to Japan, albeit Japan can hardly be considered underdeveloped). His sharp reporter's eye for picturesque and meaningful detail brightens every page. The book is, in fact, so good that it were mean to cavil at several minor errors of fact (or, to put it more properly, at several instances where Kurzman's version does not jibe with the official one).

Of late the POST has had our author on the Latin American beat, and some perceptive writing has come out of these assignments. A book will, also, it is to be hoped.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

SUBVERSION OF THE INNOCENTS, *by Dan Kurzman. Random House,* $6.95.

"Outer Space in World Politics"

THE beauty of this small book is that it does not plunge into incomprehensible discussions of rockets, space vehicles or the wonders of outer space. Neither does it get lost in the intricacies of international law or current negotiations. Instead, it provides a good, brief survey of all the main space questions and possibilities confronting foreign policy makers and executors. The first of the seven papers which make it up has the same title as the book and is almost enough by itself to give the hurried reader the background he needs, in a mere forty-two pages.

The average Foreign Service officer is not and need not be concerned officially with the techniques of voyaging through space or whether bombs in orbit are more useful than warheads in silos, but he should know what the discussion is all about and some of the pros and cons. Mr. Goldsen's compilation tells him. With space activities agitating not only outer space but also Presidents and ex-Presidents, the Congress, the bureaucracy and the press, the book is recommended reading for any but the most narrowly specialized FSO.

—JOHN D. JERNEGAN

OUTER SPACE IN WORLD POLITICS, *edited by Joseph M. Goldsen. Praeger, in paperback,* $1.95, *in hardcover,* $5.00.

Selective Readings

by MARTIN F. HERZ

Communism

The first chapter, entitled "Some Soviet Techniques of Negotiation," in Philip E. Mosely's book *The Kremlin in World Politics* is full of interesting insights on Soviet negotiating behavior. First published in the book *Negotiating with the Russians* in 1951, it has been used as a training aid by the foreign services of some other Free World countries. Mosely draws attention, for instance, to the importance of language —how the word "propose" might easily be mistranslated into "direct," how "alliance" may become "union" and how the word "compromise" carries no favorable empathy. (Mosely says that the word is habitually used only in combination with the word "putrid.")

Here one must bear in mind, perhaps, the passage of time. For it is interesting that Khrushchev in his speech of last December 12 said that "in relations with the imperialist countries it is possible to accept mutual compromises" —using the Russian word *Kompromiss* in two places. By the way, Khrushchev's speech to the 22nd Party Congress, found in a reasonably-priced paperback, is in itself a chapter in the history of a diplomacy which deserves to be read and re-read.

The introductory section of Nathan Leites' *A Study of Bolshevism* contains what the author describes as a kind of operational code of the Politburo. The headings, "Politics is a War." "Push to the Limit," "It Pays to be Rude," "Do Not Yield to Provocation," etc. give the flavor of these vivid sections of a brilliant 35-page summary which I have found useful, although here, too, some passages might be written a bit differently today.

What is strategy in communist behavior and what is tactics? And what do the communists consider to be western capitalist "tactics" as distinguished from our long-term strategy? Chapter IX of Donald Zagoria's book, *The Sino-Soviet Conflict*, furnishes interesting insights not only regarding the communists' dilemma, but also our own. This chapter, entitled "The Dispute over a Détente with the West," shows the Chinese warning against "illusions" about the peaceful nature of capitalism. Chapter X, entitled "The Dispute about the 'National Liberation Movement'" involves the crucial question of timing.

*Full titles of the books cited herein will be found at the end of the article.

Certainly the Chinese and Russians agree on the desirability of burying us. How significant is their dispute over how, and how quickly, this is to be accomplished?

Here others may find it as illuminating as I did to go back to one of George Kennan's most thought-provoking pieces, the address he gave before the World Affairs Council of Northern California in 1956 in which he deals with proximate, as against ultimate, objectives—and the important bearing this distinction has on national behavior. Originally printed in HARPER'S MAGAZINE, it is now available in Volume II of *The Making of American Democracy*, a collection of essays and documents. "It is true of all of us, I think," Kennan then said, "that our achievements in personal life are more often conditioned by the way we behave ourselves than by the foolish daydreams and illusions that most of us like to fancy as being our goals in life." Ultimate objectives must be distinguished from proximate objectives. Perhaps the Sino-Soviet dispute has helped us to understand the importance of that difference.

There can be no better way to throw Kennan's well-sharpened argument further into relief than to juxtapose the contrary argumentation found in Barry M. Goldwater's *Why Not Victory?* "Victory over Communism," says the Senator, "must be the dominant, proximate goal of American policy. Proximate because there are more distant, more 'positive' ends we seek, goals to which victory over Communism is but a means. But victory is dominant in the sense that every other objective, no matter how worthy intrinsically, depends on it and must defer to it." And he goes on to illustrate the other objectives that he would be prepared to sacrifice to the "proximate" one. Although he opposes our present foreign policy, I have no hesitation in recommending Chapter II of his book because, just as the Chinese attacks may help us to understand Soviet policy better, Goldwater's attack can make us understand present American policy better.

Compare, for instance, the thrust of the foregoing work with the thrust of Secretary Rusk's speech, *Winning a Worldwide Victory for Freedom*, which he gave before the Veterans of Foreign Wars in August, 1962; or the speech before a conference in Cincinnati in February, 1963 which had taken "Victory in the Cold War" for its theme. The latter speech can be conveniently reread in a recent issue of the Department of State NEWS LETTER. The Secretary conceives of the Cold War not as one engagement or even a series of engagements, but as a secular struggle in which what is needed above all is perseverance.

Policy Planning

As a matter of fact, it is almost always helpful in considering diplomatic problems to look at two or more (for there need not be only two) conflicting viewpoints. Nowhere has this been done more brilliantly than in the essays on the utility of unified concepts and contingency planning, one by Walt W. Rostow and the other by John T. Noonan, which first appeared in 1957 and were then picked up in the *Senate Report of the Jackson Committee*. Rostow's essay, entitled "The Fallacy of the Fertile Gondolas," made a number of trenchant criticisms of the policy-formulating process as he then thought it to be. ("We assume that unified courses of national action and unified conceptions of the world of things and of human beings will somehow emerge

by rattling around in high-level committees a collection of special problems, or by laying together, side by side, narrow fields of specialized knowledge.")

The Noonan article is a rebuttal of some things that Rostow had said and of some things he hadn't said but which were then, and still are, widely held misconceptions about the feasibility of detailed contingency planning and the utility of vast abstractions in foreign policy. ("The great states that time has swept away—say, Carthage, the Spanish Empire, the Third Reich—have all gone down wedded to most unpragmatic notions of destiny.") Some good has come from this discussion and similar ones held within the Department. We do have more detailed planning today. But we have less contingency planning than had been thought possible, and more contingency studies and gaming exercises. Unfortunately, there doesn't yet exist a good book on the latter device to educate the policymakers.

In any case, no one should be permitted to engage in such studies and exercises unless he has read one highly important and still widely neglected text, a very short essay which I unhesitatingly recommend to every practitioner of the art (or science) of foreign affairs: the story *The Emperor's New Clothes* by Hans Christian Andersen. It is not just a story of a myth which people wanted to believe. It is also a story of the behavior of courtiers, of the penalties attaching to dissent, and of how eventually the king himself becomes a prisoner of a myth. ("The Emperor writhed, for he knew it was true. But he thought, 'The procession must go on now.' So he held himself stiffer than ever, and the chamberlains held up the invisible train.")

Political Theory

A storehouse of political thought will be found in *Contemporary Theory in International Relations*, edited by Stanley Hoffman, who has excerpted for us some key passages from Hans Morgenthau, Raymond Aron, Kenneth Thompson and Arnold Wolfers. Hoffman's own introduction to Part II of his book, in which he distinguishes between "theory as a set of answers" and "theory as a set of questions" is most helpful to an understanding of the current state of this particular art.

As a counterpose to the high level of abstraction of some of the texts, with their forbidding intellectualism, one might turn to the introductory chapter entitled *The Limits of Foreign Policy* in the little book by the same name, by Charles Burton Marshall. It helps to restore modesty after the heady brew of theory. "The merits in argument for and against an acceptable line of action never occur in ratios of 100 to 0 or even 80 to 20. They tend rather to occur in the order of 55 to 45 or even 51 to 49 . . . Yet these small margins of difference constitute the distinction between success and failure and are all-important."

In books on the problems of underdevelopment, two chapters have struck me as particularly thought-provoking: the chapter by Everett E. Hagen, entitled "A Framework for Analyzing Economic and Political Change" in the book *Development of the Emerging Countries—An Agenda for Research*, put out by the Brookings Institution. And, on the thoroughly practical side (although it is used as a point of departure for much theorizing), the first chapter, entitled "The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable" in the book, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, by Daniel Lerner. It is not a parable. Rather, it is a concrete illustration of what economic development means in terms of a particular Turkish village—how its prevailing scale of values changes, and how the social standing of the grocer and the chief, the two most marked personalities of the village, undergo a profound transformation. Here, in microcosm, is what all the theorizing is really about.

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by Robert Sivard

So Brief a Honeymoon

by JOHN L. BROWN

WHEN the excitement of the first few days of the Liberation had died down, I set about looking up old friends and visiting old haunts. After my long absence, I was happy to find Paris physically unchanged, almost untouched by wartime damage. It even seemed more beautiful perhaps, in the splendid September light, since there was no traffic except for military vehicles, and the air was clearer, the trees greener, with more birds singing in them. But most of all, I was struck by a new spirit of fraternity. This society, always so closed, so impermeable, with such a hard, brilliant surface, seemed to have opened up, to have taken on a spontaneous warmth which I had scarcely ever felt in it before the war.

Albert Camus, in his editorials in the newspaper COMBAT, caught this spirit better than anyone else.

I remember particularly the number of August 25, the number of the morning of the Liberation. (I have preserved for years now in my files a copy of this small, 4-page, poorly printed daily which expressed so nobly so many hopes, so many high, never-to-be-realized aspirations). Camus' editorial was entitled "*La nuit de la vérité*," the Night of Truth, and in it he said: "Having been united for four years by our common suffering, we are now united in a common exaltation. We have won this solidarity. And we realize with astonishment, in the deep emotion of this night of liberation, that we have never really been alone. The years which we have gone through have been years of fraternity."

Even today some Frenchmen who were young then still have a nostalgia for those harsh but exalting "années de fraternité." They still remember that brief honeymoon of the months following the liberation when hope was still high, when people thought that a real "change of heart" had taken place.

My first visit was to Jean Paulhan, the *éminence grise* of modern French literature, the successor of Jacques Riviere as director of the NOUVELLE REVUE FRANCAISE, the most influential of all the French literary magazines in the period between the two wars. Paulhan lived near the Halle aux vins, (the wine market) immediately in front of the ruins of the Roman theatre. The ruins stand in a little park where, faithful to the habits of his youth in Provence, he still plays *pétanque* on Sunday mornings with his neighbors, the novelists André Bay and Jean Blanzat. His house, full of objects, pictures, books, manuscripts, is, nevertheless, as ordered as the impeccable calligraphy of his letters. These letters—and he has written tens of thousands of them over the years—are beautifully put on the page, invariably witty and pithy. Although his actual literary output has been relatively small in the light of his very considerable reputation, I believe that his correspondence, if and when it is

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After a year at Wesleyan University, JOHN L. BROWN will soon go to Mexico City as Cultural Attaché. His book on the changing relations between Europe and the United States, "Il Gigantesco Teatro," has just been published in Rome.

made public, will confirm his position as a key figure in the history of contemporary French literature from 1920 onward.

Paulhan received me cordially, with his quick handshake, his fugitive, always rather ironical smile, his curious glance, his mannered graces. It is easy to understand why he has been called "The Mandarin." After a few words of inquiry about Chagall, Léger, Tanguy, who had spent the war in New York, he indicated a large canvas of a violently red and purple cow with enormous udders propped up against the wall on a divan in the corner and murmured "ravissant, n'est - ce pas?" "Ravissant" was certainly not the adjective that I was willing to apply to that picture, the first work of Jean Duhuffet I had seen. He had been a revelation of the war years and Paulhan was one of those responsible for introducing him to the public. Paulhan's other enthusiasm in painting at that moment was Fautrier, and he showed me a number of striking canvases in a series "The Hostages." From the time of Apollinaire and Pierre Reverdy onward there has been a close association between writers and painters in France. If symbolist poetry felt a kinship with music, modern French poetry has been closely allied with the plastic arts, as is clear in the work of Eluard, of Michaux, of Jacques Prévert, of Francis Ponge.

When Paulhan had concluded his "test" in confronting me with Dubuffet and Fautrier—and with Paulhan, lover of ambiguity, one never knows if one "passes the test" or not—I asked him to tell me about what had been happening in French literature. This was the broadest of questions, but no one could handle it better than Paulhan. He defined four basic tendencies: 1) the existentialism of Sartre with its emphasis on *engagement*, on "socially efficient" writing, and its predilection for the document, rather than the work of art; its emphasis on ideas, rather than on form, "une littérature de normaliens;" 2) orthodox communism, whose major literary ornament was Louis Aragon, shared some of the convictions of existentialism, such as the necessity for "engagement" and for creating a "socially efficient" literature for one's own time, but, insisting on optimism and rationalism, violently opposed the basic pessimism and "absurdity" of Sartrian doctrine; 3) a certain sector of non-Communist youth was drawn to the "heroic humanism" and the poetry of action as expressed in the works of Saint-Exupéry and of André Malraux; and 4) there was also a neo-Catholic movement, represented by poetry of such writers as Pierre Emmanuel and Patrice de la Tour du Pin, but most effectively, in Paulhan's judgment, by essayists such as Emmanuel Mounier and the ESPRIT group, by the Dominicans of La Tour Maubourg, who published the daring and courageous LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE, and by the Jesuits of the rue Monsieur, who numbered among their community such outstanding figures as Teilhard de Chardin, de Lubac, and Daniélou.

Paulhan was also well placed to speak about the development of clandestine writing. Immediately after the débâcle, he had resigned as editor of the NOUVELLE REVUE FRANCAISE, in order not to submit to German censorship. The

by John L. Brown

magazine was continued under the direction of the brilliant, but unstable and opportunistic Drieu la Rochelle. Upon the founding of the underground literary paper LES LETTRES FRANCAISES, Paulhan immediately became a member of its editorial committee and contributed a number of pieces to it. He had also worked with the underground publishing house "Midnight Editions," which in the course of the four years of the Occupation had issued over twenty volumes (beautifully produced by the Paris printer Allard). Paulhan showed me the complete collection, which included titles by writers of the distinction of Mauriac, Cassou, Aragon, as well as the much discussed "Les Silences de la Mer," the first book by an artist, Jean Bruller, who wrote under the pseudonym of Vercors. But it was clear that Paulhan, involved in it as he might be, had serious reservations about the so-called "Literature of the Resistance." He was a man of the twenties, nourished on the elegant detachment of the NOUVELLE REVUE FRANCAISE, closer really in spirit to Gide than to his younger colleagues of LES LETTRES FRANCAISES. He instinctively disliked the heroic gesture and had always avoided the noble phrase. Even in the articles he wrote for underground publications (whose tone was often perfervid he remained elegant and ironical in his patriotism, and was often criticized for it.

As we walked along the Seine to go to dinner—how the Parisiens could *walk* in that taxi-less time!—he made it clear, through the delicate innuendo of which he is always a master, that he was not at all happy about the confusion of *poétique* and of *politique* which characterized the literary situation in 1944. Artistic values, he implied, must remain independent of, superior to, political and ideological considerations. "You see," he smiled furtively, "I always have unwholesome opinions." And he went on to suggest that the invasion of literature by ideas could be as dangerous as its subordination to politics. The novel, in the hands of the existentialists, had become a thinly-disguised dissertation, a means of "popularizing" philosophical ideas. And he repeated to me the story that Valéry used to tell about the Degas, who said to Mallarmé: "I don't see why I shouldn't write poetry. I have so many ideas." And Mallarmé replied: "But, mon cher, you don't make poetry with ideas; you make poetry with words."

We came to the Place Saint Michel, crossed it, plunged into the dark and narrow rue Saint André des Arts, turned right to the rue des Grands Augustin, to the resturant Le Catalan. Le Catalan, run by a Spanish friend of Picasso's, had been a favorite eating place of painters and writers all during the Occupation. It was, of course, a black market restaurant, but decently so, honestly dishonest. The simple meal, after army fare, had a fine savor—a roast of veal, with braised endives, with a Saint-Amour and a good Camembert. Such, I am embarrassed to relate, was the sort of information that found its way into my notebooks, at a time when even among intellectuals a good deal of the conversation was about restaurants that served real coffee, or barber shops where you could buy butter in the back room.

Paulhan, from the amount of signaling that went on, was acquainted with almost everyone in the room, all members of that relatively small, closely knit, and ferociously critical

family that constituted Paris intellectual and artistic life. Leaving our table, he paused to speak with a handsome couple, who were just finishing their dinner, and introduced me to Paul Eluard, in my opinion the most authentic poet of the Surrealist group, and to Dora Maar, a painter and photographer of Yugoslav origin, who had been Picasso's companion in the late thirties and in the early years of the war. He had often painted her during that period, and it was perhaps the memory of those pictures that gave me such a strong impression of having seen her before. In 1944, Eluard, because of his resistance verse, was perhaps the most widely known and loved poet in the country, even more than Aragon or Paul Valéry, the officially recognized "great poet" of the period. People who had never read poetry before had read and could even recite lines from "Paris a froid, Paris a faim, Paris ne mange plus de marrons dans la rue," or from "Couvre-feu" or from "Liberté, j'écris ton nom." Eluard had become what is very rare in our time—a genuinely popular poet. He immediately insisted that we sit down and finish a bottle of red wine with them; he always enjoyed drinking with friends. His manner was so open and affectionate that I was able to talk very freely, without the sense of caution that always accompanied conversation with the subtle and ironic Paulhan. He wanted to hear about his old friends, Max Ernst and Man Ray, both of whom had passed the war years in the United States. Nothing was said about Dali, who had been consigned to the Surrealist doghouse, ever since he had run off with Eluard's first wife, Gala. When Paulhan told him that I was interested in clandestine literature, he gave me an appointment to come to his apartment to see his collection of underground texts. He himself had founded a series of Resistance publications, LA BIBLIOTHEQUE FRANÇAISE, printed in the isolated little town of Saint Flour, when he had been in hiding from the Germans in an insane asylum nearby.

A couple of days later, I took the subway out to the Porte de la Chapelle. It was a very poor neighborhood. In the food shops, I saw little for sale except turnips and potatoes. Eluard lived in an anonymous gray house like all the rest on the rue Ordener, a couple of flights up worn, uncarpeted stairs. I knocked, and a thin, thin woman, in a black dress, with quizzical eyebrows and great expressive eyes set in an angular, mobile face, opened the door. It was Nusch, Eluard's companion to whom he had written some of his most beautiful love poetry, notably in *Le Temps débordé*, whom Picasso had painted on numerous occasions, and whom Man Ray loved to photograph. Nusch, I was told, as a young woman had been an acrobat in a traveling circus, and she still had the grace and the melancholy of a figure in Picasso's Saltimbanques. Nusch was pressing Eluard's trousers at an ironing board placed in the shadow of a magnificent Max Ernst. For the humble apartment was literally a museum of surrealist art. The walls were covered with excellent pictures—early Chiricos, Chagalls, Picasso, Miro, Ernst, Tanguy. The wall space not occupied by pictures was filled with books: rare editions and manuscripts of Gerard de Nerval, Rimbaud, Apollinaire, and of course, the principal *surréalistes*. I was particularly moved as I leafed through an original edition of Rimbaud's "Illumi-

nations," to find as an insert, a manuscript copy of the sonnet written by Verlaine when he heard of Rimbaud's death. I later learned that all these treasures were not Eluard's personal property. Rather than doing hack writing, he earned his living as a dealer in rare books and many items were left with him on consignment. He showed me various underground newspapers and magazines, particularly those with which he had been most closely associated, a poetry magazine LES ETOILES and the volumes of LA BIBLIOTHEQUE FRANÇAISE, and talked interestingly about his experiences traveling around France distributing this clandestine literature.

In the months to come, I returned frequently to the rue Ordener. I came to know Mme. Grindel, Eluard's mother, who was a *petite couturière* in the neighborhood, and his daughter, Cécile, married to a young poet, Luc Descaunes, still a prisoner of war in Germany. Eluard was most generous in introducing me to his friends—Dora Maar, Valentine Hugo, the poet Guillevic and Kristian Zervos, editor of LES CAHIERS D'ART. He even took me to see Picasso, who was then living on the rue des Grands Augustins, on the top floor of a beautiful, but rather desolate seventeenth century house catercorner from the restaurant where I had dined with Paulhan. We climbed and climbed until we reached the top floor, entered a cold, barnlike, unfurnished room heaped with the most varied objects: stuffed animals, pieces of wood, bicycle saddles, and large unopened wooden cases; we passed into a still more spacious, even draftier room, containing monumental pieces of largely unfinished sculpture. A narrow stairway led up to another large room, likewise unfurnished, except for pictures in every state of completion. At the end of it, another door opened into a tiny room, where Picasso, with his Afghan hound stretched beside him, was waiting for us, sitting by a small stove with a coffee pot on it, firewood piled up in the corner, and books and papers all over the floor. Picasso immediately hauled out a portrait-engraving of Eluard which was to be used as the frontispiece for a collection of his poems, and began to discuss it.

You can well imagine that I was straining my ears to catch significant utterances. Almost immediately they began to talk about Picasso's sore throat (he was enveloped in an enormous scarf) and Eluard recommended honey from Provence to cure it. Then the master started to complain about the ineptitude of the Committee of Liberation of Paris, to whom he had given a small still life for their charity sale. "And they let it go for 50,000 frs," he stormed, "A little beauty worth at least 200,000." At this point, I figuratively put my notebook away.

(to be continued in an early issue)

On Marriage

AN ENGLISHMAN had just been rejected by the girl he was courting. A friend tried to console him by saying, "There are other fish in the sea."

"Yes, old boy," said the Englishman, "but the men in my family have always married women. Tradition, you know."

—R. C. OTTO

Shown here (with permission) is State's new rehash machine soon to be stan ard equipment for every Foreign Service officer

Political Reporting Trends

by THOMAS A. DONOVAN

DIPLOMATS are commonly thought of as a special kind of reporter sent abroad to gather independent information on what is going on in the country of their assignment. They are regarded as people who are, or who ought to be, penetrating fellows with special skill at picking up hard-to-come-by facts about foreign countries. The facts they deal in are supposed to be of primary interest to governments—facts which governments can obtain only by sending overseas their own specialist reporters to dig out and send home. In other words, the information collected by diplomats is specialized information—information not to be found already spelled out in the newspapers.

Though many diplomats are indeed reporters who deal in part with facts of this special kind, we are now so well served by the press in most parts of the world that it is increasingly rare that diplomats will find much of significance to report beyond what they have read, or could read, in their newspapers. Diplomats pride themselves on the original contribution they make to the conduct of the world's affairs, but the novel fact is that today the reports which many write unavoidably consist of little more than a reworking of what has appeared in newspapers.

Let us see how this works in practice. A diplomat in a foreign capital gets up in the morning and during breakfast reads a newspaper. Generally there will be little in the papers which the government at home needs to learn from its diplomats. After all, government employees in the home capitals also read their daily newspapers. These will contain everything which the foreign correspondents and local stringers of the Associated Press, Reuters, and the other wire services will have thought worth putting on the cables. Big happenings will naturally have been reported in the fullest detail, perhaps even by a whole task force of roving journalists flown in especially to cover various aspects of the story. Should the newspapers report only that the local dictator has gone on a visit of peace and friendship to a neighboring country, the wire services will also have sent off a brief item about his movements. If the local opposition party has come out against American bases and if there has been anything newsworthy in the fact, at least one wire service reporter will almost certainly have written something about it. And if he has done so, it is also practically certain that the New York TIMES will have carried the item.

What, one may ask, does the diplomat do in such circumstances? Experience may tell him that reporters will already have put on the wires quite adequate summaries of anything of even remote interest to the outside world.

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Does he then conclude that he can relax? What does he do if the papers of that day have been as dreary and uninteresting as the local scene they describe? Does our diplomat take it on himself to decide that his government need not hear from him that day or that week? He does not. Sometimes, to be sure, he might let sleeping dogs lie for several days without making a report of his own. If his country of assignment is an exceptionally stable and dull one—happy again the land without a history—he might even think he can safely confine his reporting to a weekly summary, sent by airmail instead of by cable. But this would be unusual.

Ours is a neurotic age, and we may take it that neither our diplomat nor his miscellaneous official readership will long be satisfied if he lets well enough alone. In the first place, his readers at home can never be absolutely certain that no news is good news. How would we look, they ask, if something were to happen without word having got to us? And since people in embassies abroad also know about and share this thick atmosphere of permanent concern about everything going on abroad, they too will generally be fairly reluctant to let anyone elsewhere assume from their silence that nothing of significance for America is happening in their territory. Little wonder, then, that the diplomat's intuitive grasp of the kind of permanent show of activity that is expected of him in this competitive world —not to mention his inner sense of duty—drives him to decide that report he must and report he will.

This is not to say that all of the pressure for prolixity in reporting on the press comes from the government at home. People in the Department often criticize the apparent excessive reliance on the press by some reporting officers abroad. The difficulty in such cases may be that the diplomats themselves, though perhaps sharing the views of their superiors in Washington, work for seniors on the spot who are genuine enthusiasts for press reporting. These men, more percipient, perhaps, than their juniors as to the reporting trends of our time, will always find it both useful and convenient to put subordinates to work preparing analyses in depth of the local press. Of course, such assignments may also be given as a way of rationing reporting topics. When little is happening, superiors sometimes decide that they can report all that needs to be reported, and that subordinates can stick to longer range non-topical matters. Background studies on such live topics as "Recurrent themes in the Bulgarian press treatment of the Black Sea as a sea of peace," or "Whither Thuringia: the principality's progress under the New Course" are considered useful for filling the files at home. This is particularly true if the press researcher abroad can pep up his research product with a few eye-catching predictions. The busier people at home will not usually have time to read this kind of material, but there are always plenty of other people whose specalized functions permit them to consume anything vulgarly called a "think piece." From all sides, therefore, we have unrelenting pressure to produce.

What, then, is the diplomat to write who is neither inwardly inclined nor outwardly compelled to turn out longer research studies? For one thing, he can write a strictly factual report from the local newspapers, out of items which the wire services and the highminded New York TIMES editors have passed over as uninteresting to

readers at home: The local parliament has voted the second reading of the budget, a strike in a local industry has broken out or been settled, a local politician has made a routine hackneyed foreign policy pronouncement. All of these can be written up almost entirely from the local papers with little or no effort. Indeed, in big embassies a man might be assigned full-time to do little more than write press telegrams summarizing material which the wire services have for the most part *not* reported.

Since experts within the government at home are often conversant with the press from the capitals of their interest, however, the wise diplomat will dress up his material so that part of his report appears to be based on his own observations or conclusions. He might point out in telegraphese, for example, that "Embassy believes passage of budget without new tax program indicates Defmin's—i.e., Defense Minister's—effort find money for additional regiment now likely fail." All of this may be so obvious to everyone on the spot that nobody thinks of mentioning it. Or it may be something that the local press has written up in headlines. In either case, the diplomat can let his reader understand that the deduction is the diplomat's own, the product of his own on-the-spot weighing of the facts.

If the news item is one which the local stringer for a wire service may have picked up, however, the diplomat must be more careful. It was very well to paraphrase the local news item in this fashion when nobody else was doing this. But if a local foreign correspondent is doing the same thing the matter becomes more complicated. The diplomat's readers at home know that newspapermen often cable their articles even before the local papers they are borrowed from have reached the newsstands. They know, too, that the diplomat abroad will usually write up only *his* news summaries the following morning, will have to get them cleared about the office, and only then can put them into cipher and send them off—many hours consequently after the same thing may have appeared in that morning's Washington POST or Frankfurter ALLGEMEINE.

It helps in such cases, of course, if the diplomat has kept on good terms with the local foreign correspondents. The diplomat can occasionally get a tip about something coming up that the correspondent isn't quite ready to write about, an indication as to the particular line the correspondent is going to give to one of his stories. The matter is of some consequence—at least to the diplomat. How else is he to avoid leaving something out of his reports which the correspondent, and probably then the newspaper-reading government official at home, will suppose is important? Rare indeed the Embassy which does not occasionally receive such queries from home as: "Wire services report PM (i.e., prime minister) may ask for loan from Soviets for industrial development. Please comment." It may be that the old PM had never mentioned the Russians at all, that he was only talking vaguely of his country's readiness to get help from all friendly countries, and in any case that he had said the same thing twenty times over in the past six months. No matter. When the foreign correspondents get around to writing about it, the Embassy had better not be far behind.

by Thomas A. Donovan

Naturally, it is not always possible for newspapermen to keep even friendly and likable diplomats out of this kind of trouble. Though newspapermen can't read what the diplomat writes, they know that most of the diplomat's readers are also their readers. Many journalists, therefore, will keep their counsel and not give away their hands until their articles are safely on the wires or their broadcasts on the air, if then. The knowledge that a clever but uncommunicative columnist has arrived in town to look for something newsworthy where no one else has heen able to find much to write about can make a complacent Embassy very edgy, particularly if there are any half-developed stories lying around which neither the Emhassy nor the local press has yet written up.

Journalists who follow events in the diplomat's post from some other city called a "listening post" are a source of even more annoyance than taciturn resident correspondents and competitive visiting columnists. Vienna has long been such a listening post for newspapermen who live in Austria and subscribe to newspapers from three or four neighboring Soviet bloc capitals. It is no trick at all for one of these Vienna correspondents, subscribing to a Prague or Warsaw political review, to find things in the papers which the diplomat in Prague or Warsaw will have passed over as of no interest to anybody.

The diplomat who has been embarrassed in this way, whether by a newspaperman on the spot or by an off-stage kibitzer, can do one of three things: He can ignore the report altogether *if* the visiting journalist (or the listening post press analyst) is writing exclusive articles for a paper outside of Washington—for the Minneapolis JOURNAL, say. Alternatively, he can quietly eat crow by writing what appears to be a still better-informed and still more up-to-date report of what has appeared in the press. Or he can mention the matter with a superior comment that this topic has lately heen played up in the foreign press but that people on the spot helieve it is actually of no importance, for such and such reasons. This type of comment is very reassuring. Official circles are always anxious to believe that limited distribution diplomatic reports are more reliable than anything available to the public at large. Rebuttals of this sort should not be made too often, however, for the diplomat cannot afford to appear unnecessarily casual about reporting on matters of even minor importance. Here too, then, the diplomat will see, if he hasn't already seen, that he had better not try to hold down the volume of his reporting.

This is not to say that the growing emphasis on press reporting is an entirely new thing. Lord Strang, who for many years was Permanent Undersecretary in the British Foreign Office, has written that: "From the Amhassador down to the most junior member of his staff, the daily preoccupation of everyone will be the hunt for news."[1]

"The TIMES correspondent learns . . .", "the DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent is inclined to believe . . .", "Werth of the Manchester GUARDIAN tells a member of my staff . . .", "Pertinax informs the Press Counsellor . . .", and that invaluable perennial "Madame Tabouis in L'OEUVRE writes . . ." were the phrases that occurred most frequently in our telegrams—even more frequent-

[1]THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER (London, 1962) pp. 16-17.

ly than "It is widely held in informed circles . . ." or "His Majesty's Consul at A. reports . . .", let alone anything as excitingly "diplomatic" as "I have it from a lady on intimate terms with a member of the Government, who must on no account be quoted."[2]

More recently, a former Soviet diplomat who worked in Rangoon a few years ago disclosed that the Soviet Embassy there drew most of its information on local affairs from the four Burmese English-language dailies: THE NATION, THE GUARDIAN, THE BURMAN, and THE NEW TIMES OF BURMA. As he put it,

> Every member of the staff was supposed to read them carefully—the first two hours of each working day were officially designated to this reading. The staff marked interesting items, which were then clipped and carefully arranged in more than fifty files, each set for a special subject. Later, these were used as the main basis for all Embassy reports.[3]

What, all of us must ask ourselves, can be done in this situation to improve still further the collection of the vital foreign affairs information needed by our country's policy makers? This is not the place to consider the overall frame of reference of the problem. For one thing, however, it would certainly seem to be high time that the question be put on the agenda of one of those task forces which now play such responsible roles in the constant reorganization of the American Foreign Service.

For myself, surveying the field from within the diplomatic profession, I can only suggest that progress might most hopefully be sought in the field of measures to raise the calibre of foreign newspapers. It is incumbent on all of us, therefore, to do everything we can to see that foreign newspapers obtain from American schools of journalism the technical help they need if they are to improve their coverage of the news in their countries. And, of course, it would also be helpful, if our own American Foreign Service is to meet the challenge of the times, if more of our leading American newspapers and press agencies could be induced to send qualified, energetic correspondents to the many capitals in the world which are not now supplied with resident American newspapermen.

Though we undoubtedly have more resident journalists abroad than the Soviets, there are no grounds for complacency. We are perhaps already behind the Russians in the systematic collection of information from newspapers. If we do not bestir ourselves, therefore, we may yet wake up one morning to learn that the Soviets have outbid us in the race to read and digest more and more newspapers. Where this would leave us in the larger struggle for men's minds is anybody's guess.

Editor's Postscript:

The press has always treated the JOURNAL fairly, even kindly. It is flattering, for example, when a press agency or a great national newspaper opens a story with the words, "The influential FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL went on record today . . ." and so on. Certainly, therefore, the JOURNAL would not wish to minimize the role of the press in the collection of information on foreign affairs. Nor would the JOURNAL wish to sug-

[2]Valentine Lawford, BOUND FOR DIPLOMACY (London, 1963) p. 319.

[3]Alexsandr Kaznacheev, INSIDE A SOVIET EMBASSY: Experiences of a Russian Diplomat in Burma (Philadelphia: 1962) p. 85.

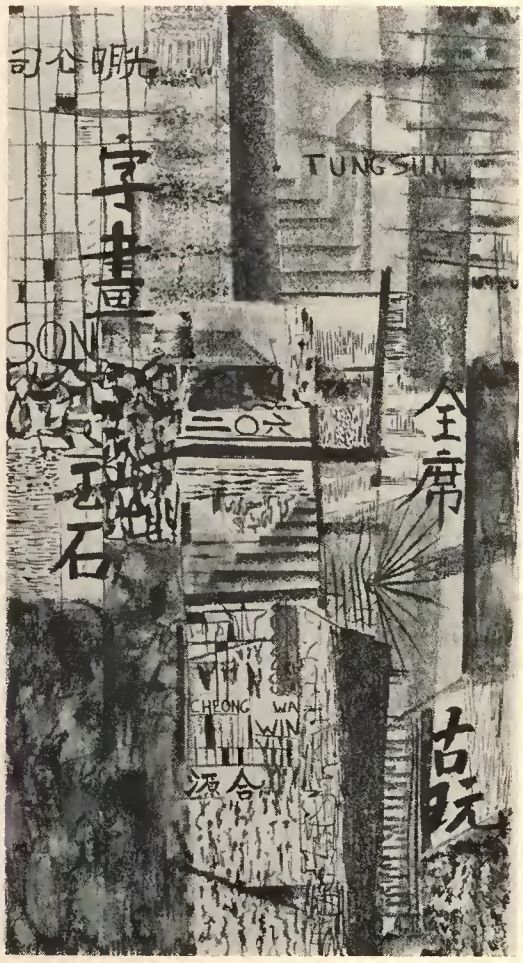
by Thomas A. Donovan

gest that the examples of press reporting in the Foreign Service described in the above article are entirely fictitious.

In fairness to the Service's trained political reporting officers, we must point out, however, that the problems of contemporary political reporting are more complicated than the foregoing article might lead one to believe.

The truth of the matter is that, although diplomats will always have to read newspapers, and newspapermen will always be looking for news leads from friendly diplomats, the two professions—press and diplomacy—are essentially separate. It would be unfair to the best practitioners of both to suggest that either is dependent on or could not function properly without the other.

The forthcoming revision of the Department's political reporting manual will make this clear. In which case, we need have no concern that the Russians, or anyone else, might get ahead of us in the reading of newspapers. Indeed, we might all be better off, Russians and Americans alike, if the Russians *did* catch up to us in the reading of foreign newspapers. Perhaps what we really need is a technical assistance program to raise the calibre of Russian newspapers.



by Sheila Isham

"Middle Street," Hong Kong

The buildings, signs, people, are crowded upwards—bearing every known texture, mark and symbol.

The natives are friendly and the customs quaint, back in the old country. How to keep them that way:

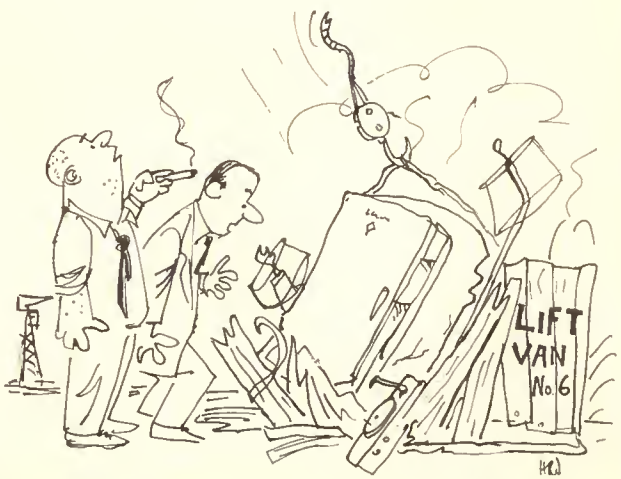
How to Cope:

THERE should be better ways to prepare for your home leave than by a shattering two weeks of farewell parties, together with the mental strain of briefing your replacement and refraining from shooting the packers. Added to these, of course, are the numerous calls for decision and action which fall in the category "checking out of the post." This includes, but is not limited to, indignantly turning down what you fervently pray won't be the last offer on the car; getting an export permit for the car, just in case; deciding to go on and buy the antique chairs; sending the plane tickets back to the travel section to be corrected; selling the car; fighting with the landlord over the inventory; trading insults with the car buyer; and misplacing the passports.

This is capped off at the airport where you're handed going away gifts—flowers, books, bottles of wine, balalaikas, boxes of 100-day-old eggs and fortune cookies. These sentimental impedimenta stay in your arms until the stewardess gets around to taking packages and coats, forty-five minutes after take-off.

Once we've successfully coped with the departure, we must cope with the home leave itself.

Please remember that one copes successfully with home leave only if one is able to go the entire six weeks without causing anyone any trouble; the Department, the relatives, the friends and the friends-in-law. Don't be controversial. Don't pick fights. Don't accuse the transportation branch of



"Strange, we had that cable replaced last week."

Home Leave

by CONSTANCE V. STUCK

not knowing what they're doing, even though it may be true; when you're briefed for your new post, don't say you fail to see any logical reason why we follow the policy we do there; when you're debriefed, just tell the good, kind things. As only one of 182 million fellow Americans, you must bear in mind the absolute chaos that would result if everyone raised a fuss about having things done properly.

Home leave coping falls into two categories: 1) people and 2) customs.

As for the people, keep in mind that they've gotten three years older, while you've remained the same—physically trim, alert, charming, damned intelligent and well-informed. One must be prepared, therefore, to make allowances. One simply cannot cope successfully with people if one approaches them negatively or belligerently. A positive, sanguine attitude is mandatory. For example, visit your brother-in-law on the night he watches "Sing Along With Mitch." Don't argue with him, sing with him. Take an interest in Aunt May's cherry-pit collection. Be sincere, I mean. Let the "friend who's done well" win the golf game. (Possibly a future employer.) Don't take a second scotch if your brother-in-law's wife is around. Teach the children a few basic English words and phrases ("thank you," "milk," "I would like that very much"). Then explain to them that grandmother won't be just another in a long series of nannies, but that she's very special and explain what a grandmother is. Also explain what a grandfather is.

You'll be better prepared to cope with the native customs by understanding that there have been a few subtle changes on the American scene which probably would have gone unnoticed had you gotten home on time instead of getting caught in the annual travel freeze, thus delaying your trip for ten months.

For example, long-distance operators no longer ask each other the lovely question, "Are you paid?" (Or, in the South, "Are you paid, honey?") It simply isn't relevant anymore. Everyone has a long-distance credit card. Temporary visitors in the United States (who don't have credit cards) are accommodated by pay telephones, which still require U. S. coins and still are equipped with four distinct boings for quarters, dimes, nickels and slugs. Long-distance operators not only expect you to know the seven digit number you're calling, but also the three digit area code. Even

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if you give the numbers you're calling in Washington from your Idlewild telephone booth, you'll still be asked for the Washington area code. Geographic proximity is no excuse for you not to cooperate with the system. Please don't guess about area codes unless you're prepared to pay for a call to a complete stranger in Spokane.

Another thing that's changed is Billy Mitchel's "great" atmosphere of air travel. Flying used to be purposeful. Only people who felt their responsibilities greatly, whose presence was required urgently, who "had important things to do," flew anywhere. It was a status symbol; adventurous and respectably fey. All this changed with the jets that carry one hundred and twenty passengers packed together like a box of dates. I won't mention the "food" (breaded cardboard) and "coffee" (powdered acorns, dried, I'd guess) which is "served" in flight. People who fly now don't have homes or families, jobs or vocations. They merely fill up those one hundred and twenty seats on the jets. It's quite Kafka-like, really. But it needs taking a firm grip on yourself not to go over to "them," if you follow me.

The United States now has more of everything than it ever did before—suburbs, children, automobiles, clothing, shopping centers. Shoe stores offer twelve different styles of house shoes and each one comes in five different colors. The variety of every imaginable type of consumer goods truly staggers belief. It's only by the grace of the Almighty that the place doesn't sink from the sheer weight of it. (Could this have happened to Atlantis?) Consumer resistance doesn't arise from not being able to borrow the money to buy things; it comes from not having space to put them once they're bought.

In closing, a few quick hints: You're back in the land of the imperative, so Have your change ready, Join the March of Dimes. Don't talk to the driver while the vehicle is in motion, Order by number, and Watch your step.

And now, happy coping.

The Subway *James Twitty*

How to tell a hock from a Horse's Neck by the Master of Gamesmanship

Winesmanship

by STEPHEN POTTER

Definitions

Winesmanship was once listed as a department of Clubsmanship. But although it is itself only a province, though a vast one, of the area roughly defined as the Gracious Living Gambit of Lifemanship, Winesmanship may play a big part, sooner or later, in the lives of all of us.

A schoolboy definition of Winesmanship is "How to talk about wine without knowing a hock from a Horse's Neck." But in fact Winesmanship is itself a philosophy if not an ethic, and can be used in Young Manship, in Jobmanship, even in wooing.

Winesmanship Basic

A few phrases and a ploy or two, to get our bearings. Consider the simplest approach first. If you are taking a girl, or even a former headmaster, out to lunch at a restaurant, it is WRONG to do what everybody else does—namely to hold the wine list just out of sight. look for the second cheapest claret on the list, and say "Number 22, please." Nominate the wine in English French, and make at the same time some comment which shows at least that you have heard of it before. Say, for instance:

"They vary, of course, but you seldom get a complete dud."

A useful thing is to look at the wine list before the waiter comes and say "Amazing. Nothing here you can be sure of. Yet the food is quite good. But I've got an idea."

Then when the waiter comes, say to him, "Look. You've got a Château-Néon '45 somewhere secreted about the place, I know. Can you let us have a bottle?"

(You know he's got it, because you have in fact read it off the wine list, cheapest but one.)

When the waiter leaves you can say, "They keep a little câche for favoured customers."

With a little trouble a really impressive effect, suitable for average city-man guest, can be made by arriving fifteen minutes early, choosing some cheap *ordinaire*, and getting the waiter to warm and decant it. When the guest comes say, "I know you'll like this. Should be all right. I got them to get it going at nine o'clock this morning. Not expensive but

Excerpted from "Winemanship," a chapter in THREE UP-MANSHIP, by Stephen Potter. Holt, Rinehart, Winston, $4.95.

a perfectly honest wine—and a *good* wine, if it's allowed to breathe for three or four hours."

For Home Winesmanship, remember that your mainstay is hypnotic suggestion. Suggest that some rubbishy sherry, nine bob, is your special pride, and has a tremendously individual taste. Insist on getting it yourself "from the cellar." Take about four minutes uncorking it. Say, "I think decanting destroys it," if you have forgotten, or are too bored, to decant it. Keep staring at the bottle before you pour it. When you have drawn the cork, look particularly hard at the cork, and, of course, smell it.

An essential point to remember is that everybody is supposed to take it for granted that every wine has its *optimum* year up to which it progresses, and beyond which it falls all over the place. *E.g.*, you can give interest to your bottle of four-and-sixpenny grocer's port by telling your guest that you "wish he had been able to drink it with you when it was at the top of its form in forty-nine." Alternatively you can say "I'm beginning to like this. I believe it's just now on the brink." Or I rather like saying, "I drink this now for sentimental reasons only . . . just a pleasant residue, an essence of sugar and water—but still with a hint of former glories. Keep it in your mouth for a minute or two . . . see what I mean?" Under this treatment, the definitive flavor of carbolic which has been surprising your guest will seem to him to acquire an interest if not a grace.

Or if your four-and-sixpenny is only two years old and unbearably acid you can say, "Let it rest in your mouth. Now swallow. There! Do you get it? That 'squeeze of lemon,' as it is called . . ."

Then, if there is no hope whatever of persuading Guest that what he is drinking has any merit whatever, you can talk of your bottle as an Academic Interest treat.

"Superb wine, but it has its periods of recession. Like a foot which goes to sleep, has pins and needles, and then recovers. I think that was Andre's[1] explanation. At the moment it's BANG in the middle of one of its WORST OFF-COLOR PERIODS."

Watch your friend drink this wine, and if he shudders after it, and makes what we winesmen call "the medicine face," you can say . . . "Yes, you've got it? Let it linger a moment."

"Why?" says Guest.

"Do you notice the after-sharpness, the point of asperity in the farewell, the hint of malevolence, even, in the *au revoir?*" If he says "Yes," as he will, be pleased.

Note on Tastingship

Many Yeovil Lifemen are so completely ignorant of wine of all kinds that in our small pamphlet AC/81 we have had to tell them that red wines are red in color and, confusing point, the white yellow. It may not be out of place if I remind general readers here, too, that *method of drinking* is an essential accompaniment to *method of comment.*

Before drinking or rather, sipping the wine, you smell it for bouquet. *Not* with a noisy sniff but silently and deli-

[1] Andre Simon, completely O.K. wine name.

cately, perhaps making a funnel of your hands to concentrate the essence. G. Gibbs used to create some effect by smelling the stem of the glass as well, but there is no real point in this. A good general rule is to state that the bouquet is better than the taste, and vice versa.

In sipping, do not merely sip. Take a mouthful and chew it, making as much noise as you can. Having thus attracted attention, you can perform some of the evolutions favored by that grand old Winesman Bath-Meriton. The most ordinary method he used was to lean his head forward so that his rather protuberant ears were extended like the wings of a monoplane and drink the wine from the far side of his glass. To get the bouquet he would smell it first with the left nostril, closing the other with his forefinger, and then with the right. He would also hold it up to the light and then shine a small pocket torch containing what really looked like a miniature fog lamp through from the other side! He would dip the end of his handkerchief in the wine and then hold the dipped end up to the light. And then, when it actually came to the tasting, he would sip from the *far* side of the glass. Gattling-Fenn once said, "Why not simply turn the glass the other way around?"

Winesmanship Advanced

The average guest, who knows no more about wine than the Winesman himself, can be easily impressed by such methods. But there are men who genuinely know something of this subject, and they are a very different problem.

The only method with the true specialist is what we call Humble Studentship, mixed in with perhaps *two* carefully memorized genuine advanced facts.

There are however lesser specialists, semiamateurs, perhaps trying a little amateur winesmanship on their own, for whom we recommend the following advanced methods.

1. *Beaded-bubbleship.* This obscurely titled ploy is merely the art of speaking and especially writing about wine as if it was one of the O.K. Literary Things. Be vague about being literary. Talk of the "imperial decay" of your invalid port. "Its gracious withdrawal from perfection, keeping a hint of former majesty withal, as it hovers between oblivion and the divine *üntergang* of infinite recession."

Smiling references to invented female literary characters are allowed here. "The sort of wine Miss Mitford's Emily

Mexican Festival *by Earl Wilson*

would have offered Parson Square, sitting in the window-seat behind the chintz curtains."

2. *Percentageship* is, of course, the opposite method, and designed to throw a different kind of haze, the figure fog, over the wine conversation. Remarks like "The consumption of 'treated' vermouth rose from 47.5 in 1924 to 58.9 in 1926 . . ." will impart a considerable degree of paralysis to any wine conversation. So will long lists of prices, or imaginary percentages of glucosity in contrasted champagnes, or remarks about the progress in the quality of cork trees, or the life cycle of *Vinoverous demoliens*, little-known parasite now causing panic in the Haut-Baste.

It is always possible, if a wine completely stumps you, to talk in general terms about winemanly subjects.

If it is a warm summer day, remark that "dear old Cunoisier will be getting worried about the fermentation of his musts."[2]

But if in real difficulties, remember that there are moments when the pickaxe is a more useful instrument than the most delicate surgeon's forceps. And I shall always remember Odorcida thrusting aside sixteen founder members of the Wine and Food Society with a "Well, let's have a real drink," and throwing together a mixture that left them breathless. "Popskull, they called it in Nevada."[3]

A wholly different counter to the U. S. icy hard drink gambit, based on the management of religious men, is to go one better. Serve drinks yourself so cold that they are frozen on the glass and have to be filed out and chewed. Let your martinis be mixed in a much stronger proportion of gin to vermouth than six to one, in fact some counter-U. S. experts pour vermouth into the glass and then pour it out again, lightly mopping the sides with their handkerchief, and then fill the glass with what is of course neat gin. Another ploy is to invent some "little drink" which "everybody is drinking in Nevada" (all Americans admire the suggestion that you have been to Nevada). Call it not "Frozen Larynx" or "Surgeon's Knife" which is 1937-38, but martini, mixing two absolute disparates as in the Odoreida Iceberg described above. Then peck at it and say, "Oh, for a real martini—a big martini, one you can pull over your head like a jersey" (*wording of a U. S. Lifeman 46, spoken to me in April, 1952*), he said and poured two parts of vodka into one of sherry and three of rum, adding a slice cut from the disc of a sunflower.

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[2] If you have reason to think that your guest is not particularly up in American madeiras, quote the following words in a plonking voice: "There was an 1842 which Sohier took the trouble to bring all the way to London from Boston and gave us in 1948 (April 11th) at the Ritz; the voyage had upset it and it had not had time to recover from the shock."

[3] A basic subdivision of Winesmanship is the U. S. hard drink gambit and the question of its counters. The U. S. gambit is to be amused when anybody orders sherry, and to flock around and watch it being drunk, particularly in a club at six o'clock. It is an exaggeration to say that they expect the drinker to bring out knitting or start reading Old Mother Goose, but they are interested.

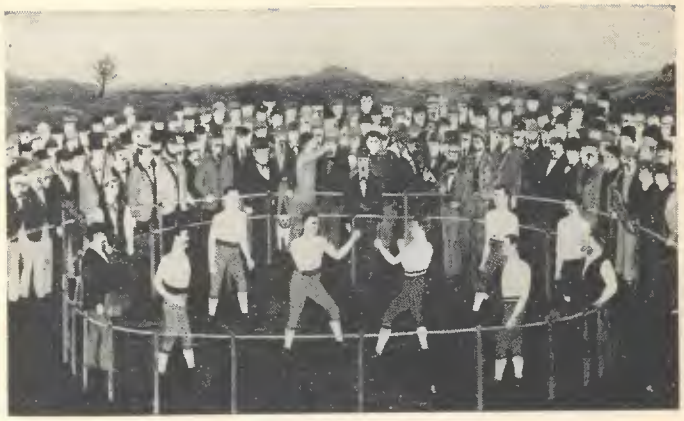
Behind the Shutter:

Photograph Only What You Intend to Photograph

by PAUL CHILD

IF YOU are taking a picture of Mme Y then don't have Mme X in it too. Another way of expressing the same idea would be: BOIL DOWN! ELIMINATE! CONCENTRATE! The challenge in this particular realm is greater for photographers than for painters because the necessary elimination can be done only by moving the subject, or by moving one's self (the camera), or by local-control in the dark-room. If you cannot do one of those three things: don't take the picture! (Part two of a series of articles on photography.)

Dept. of Dissent



The Consul and His Coefficient of Marginality

by Walter J. Marx

One of the phenomena of our times is the attempt to reduce to numbers as many activities as possible so that our electronic machines can operate at capacity and our tired human brains can be spared the pain of making difficult judgments based too often on obsolete ideas of value, on prejudice, and on human factors defying mathematical analysis.

I have been away from the United States for a long time but have been affected marginally by this numerical revolution. I remember still the two-page explanation we received from the Embassy in Paris, while I was Consul in LeHavre, announcing that new machines were going to process our pay records and write our pay checks. We had been receiving our checks roughly a week after the pay period had passed. Because of "the new more efficient system," we were warned that we would have to wait at least two weeks in the future. I was informed last year that I had to acquire a Social Security number to place on my income tax return, even though I am not covered by Social Security. Long ago my Washington bank gave me a whole series of numbers to use on each transaction. I now learn that the addresses of my friends which I memorized through the years must now bear something called "Zip" numbers.

It is true that we are still a long way from Huxley's "Brave New World," and Orwell's "1984." But the trend is ominous. I have recently learned of a new number. "The Coefficient of Marginality," which enables the Department of State to assess the utility of a consular office and determine whether or not it should be continued. A little later I read in the papers a list of consular offices the Department intended to close. It included my recent post at Le Havre, almost the oldest American consular post in the world. It was founded in 1790.

I have read nothing about this coefficient of marginality; perhaps the details are classified. It is possible, however, to reconstruct some of the criteria used in arriving at this figure. Some of the activities of a consul are easy to put into figures: visas issued, passports issued, extended or amended, number of Americans in distress who appealed for help, number of calls from local business men wishing to do business with the United States, number of calls from American business men requesting help in doing business in a foreign country, number of naval visits, etc. However, in spite of the best efforts of SCS in establishing criteria, many of these activities can only be roughly approximated in the assignment of figures.

A routine visa case at Le Havre was handled in about fifteen minutes. A visa application from a prominent local business man or official, however, would involve a visit to the consul himself, a visit which might go on as long as an hour. Some applicants took advantage of their acquaintance to use the consul as a travel adviser.

An occasional passport case, generally involving a naturalized American, required hours of study and correspondence. Welfare and protection cases are notoriously expensive in time. People in distress often haunt a consulate daily. There are often involved negotiations with the local authorities, with the Department, with local hospitals, all difficult to express in numerical equivalents.

All this is well known to the Department. No doubt some effort has been made to make at least rough adjustments for imponderables in calculating the coefficiency of marginality. However, my main thesis is that one cannot determine the utility of a consulate by adding up the numbers of passports and visas issued and the number of Americans protected. The visa and passport and similar functions of a consul have become largely routine, regulated by legislation and elaborate regulations.

The key job of the consul actually lies in his role as the representative of the United States in an important foreign area not really covered by an embassy. My area comprised all of ancient Normandy and the Department of the Somme in ancient Picardy. Economic, cultural, political and commercial information from this area simply cannot be provided by the Embassy. Only the continuous presence of a consul can make possible the human contacts necessary for obtaining this sort of information. The same is true for the promotion of American exports.

A less tangible but extremely important activity of the consul is representing his government in an important area whose interests are by no means identical with those of the capital. To use again the example of Le Havre, a series of post-war consuls built up the prestige of the American Consulate until it was the most respected of the thirty-four consulates in the city. On many occasions the American Consul was often the only consul invited to an official function, other than the doyen. How does one assign a numerical value to a consul's performance as his country's representative at ceremonies such as national holidays and commemoration of the war dead?

And surely it is obvious that one cannot judge the value of an economic or political report by the number of pages, nor the contribution of a consular office by the number of such reports submitted in a year. Conceivably, a single two-page report by a consul could alone justify his presence at a particular post.

Embassies inevitably are removed from the people of the country. Embassy officers necessarily must concentrate primarily on their counterparts in the Foreign Office. A consul, because his area is smaller and because he does not deal with the vast bureaucracy of a central government, can learn to know not only the local officials but the general public as well. It should be extremely valuable for the Department to have provincial reports, submitted directly, which provide some check on the reports from the embassy and may perhaps show changes in attitudes which eventually will affect the nation's policy. It is always interesting to compare the statements members of the central Parliament make in their home areas, covered by the consuls, and those they make while under party discipline in the capital.

In short, the key functions of a consul are reporting and representing his government, not issuing visas and passports. It is possible to conceive of the retention of a post which does not issue a single visa or passport. In fact we have several such. But what is their coefficient of marginality?

In announcing the closing of consulates, the Department has argued that it would result in increased efficiency—that by drawing the consular functions into the embassies better service would be provided. I do not agree. I remember too many occasions when I was called to the Le Havre office on Sundays to issue an emergency passport or visa after a desperate applicant had tried in vain to obtain the necessary service from the Embassy in Paris. I recall the Air Force colonel who waited three hours to have his passport extended at an embassy and finally walked out. A consul did the job for him later in five minutes.

I do not understand, moreover, how an Embassy three and a half hours away can take care of Americans who arrive at Le Havre with faulty passports and who are not permitted to land without the direct intervention of a representative of the United States Government.

There is a flexibility in a small consulate that is difficult to achieve in an embassy. Each employee is trained to perform several functions so that he can be thrown into any activity required by that day's developments. At the same time the office is small enough so that personal service can be given the public, and a highly favorable "image" of America and American courtesy can be projected.

One of the tragedies about the closing of Le Havre which I feel personally is that so much of the work done to build up the prestige of our country has now gone down the drain in the bitterness of the local people over the closing of our Consulate after a history dating from 1790.

I suggest that cuts could be made in any number of other areas. All the marginal activities of our big embassies should be abolished before we touch a single consulate. I am thinking in particular of the tremendous administrative and accounting apparatus which has developed in recent years. Even USIS surely cannot compare, in utility to the United States, with effective consular offices, particularly in the friendly nations of Western Europe. With the gradual decline of our foreign aid program, perhaps we should take a new look at all of our activities abroad and return to more strictly diplomatic and consular activity, with new emphasis on the importance of consular representation.

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.

The Foreign Service Assignment Process

MR. John Ordway's interesting article in June provides me with an opportunity to offer an idea. In offering it. I bear in mind Mr. Ordway's reminder that suggested change should be thought of in the context of the requirements of the whole personnel system and not merely as a remedy for specific ills.

Mr. Ordway's article makes it clear that the two most important aspects of the assignment process are the best possible staffing of the posts and the career development of the officers. It is also apparent that in his thinking this is the necessary order of priority. He states: "The placement officer must also look out for the career and personal interests of those whom he assigns, but by all means he must keep his posts filled." This emphasis is institutionalized by the organization of POD on a regional basis. The placement officers are responsible for keeping the "slots" filled; they must work with the Bureaus and know their needs; they should know the needs of the posts in their area. The Panel Book is the tool which provides the means of servicing the posts. To be sure, the Panel process does much to ensure objectivity and fair play, and it offers a forum to the Career Development representative to make his recommendations, which also have been available to the placement officer at an earlier stage. The present system is complete and workable, and it apparently serves its primary purpose.

But it seems to me that the Service and the posts might be better served by a system which institutionalized a different emphasis. It seems to me that the primary orientation of the Office of Personnel, as far as officer assignments are concerned, should over the years be to build the highest quality officer corps that is possible with the available material. Too often it is assumed that solution to all problems is "to put more bodies on the job." But I am sure that many of my colleagues have observed that, perhaps particularly in our Foreign Service work, it is the characteristics, experience, and quality of the officers on hand that make the difference, not the presence or absence of any given number of officers of given ranks.

Accordingly, my suggestion is that POD not be organized on a regional basis. I believe that the interests and staffing problems of the Bureaus should be the responsibility of Executive Directors and their offices. It seems to me that a new division of PER might be created, called perhaps the "Officer Assignment Division." It might absorb a part of POD, integrate the Career Development Staff, and possibly include the Junior Officer Central Complement program. Training placement should continue as an active part. The focus of the work should be to find appropriate next assignments for officers. The new division would probably operate on the basis of a plan which might call for such next assignments to be decided, when possible, as much as two years before the changes were actually to be made. Such a plan would, of course, have to be continually adjusted, but this should not alter its essential fabric and direction. The new type placement officers would be responsible for blocs of FSO's divided according to specialties or rank, or probably in some workable and flexible combinations of the two. Their tool would be a "Panel Book," not of available officers, but of available "slots." The process of elimination conducted by the placement officers would be of unsuitable positions, not officers. The internal "competition" between the placement officers would not be for the best officers to fill given positions, but rather for the most likely positions for officers of given career needs (including those self-expressed), abilities, and experience.

The bureaucratic resolution of conflicts between the interests of the Bureaus and posts, as represented by the EX officers, and the career requirements of given groups of FSO's, as represented by the placement officers (new type), would be worked out initially in informal discussions. The EX officers would be asked to give Bureau and post clearance to the proposals of the placement officers. A possible equivalent to Panel A might be a "Planning Panel" composed of the chiefs of the, now non-regional, sections of the new "Officer Assignments Division." The Bureaus and other departments could have their final vetoes in an AAB Panel made up as presently.

What this suggestion boils down to, I suppose, is that the equivalent of the present Career Development Staff should actually make the assignments, as I understand the Junior Officer Program Staff does now. I realize that such an arrangement might be unworkable for reasons I am not aware of or have overlooked. Nevertheless, I think that the basic idea is sound: that the principal goal of Personnel should be to maximize the over-all quality and utility of the Service—to try to ensure that the chain of assignments of each officer is as suitable and beneficial as possible to the speed and character of his development, within the opportunities available.

I suggest two possible specific effects on the present situation: (1) A decreasing number of FSR appointments should result as the new Division consciously encouraged development of careers to fit needs. (2) The new arrangement should offset the present tendency for officers to become the "property" of given regional Bureaus (having to be "released" say by FE to EUR), for the new non-regional Personnel division would be free to assign officers on a world-wide basis, subject to agreement by the Bureau of next assignment. Furthermore, I believe that esprit de corps would benefit from an approach to assignments which was initially oriented towards the good of the Service as a personnel system, rather than towards the immediate personnel needs of the posts.

J.M.

Washington

"European-American Dialogue"

I WAS absolutely fascinated and completely delighted with the two stimulating articles by John L. Brown on the "European-American Dialogue." These were among the best contributions which have appeared in the JOURNAL during my eighteen years as a close and enthusiastic reader.

FRANK S. HOPKINS
American Consul General

Melbourne

Letters to the Editor

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Clearly Below Average?

FAMC No. 125, issued June 25, 1963, describes the functions of the probationary Junior Officers Selection Board and the procedures for promoting or otherwise disposing of such officers.

Paragraph 1-D, headed "Marginal Performance," directs the Board to identify those probationary officers whose performance is "clearly below the average of their class." "The Board should be aware that the best interests of the Service and of such officers will be served by their prompt separation."

Now what does this mean? If it is English, or logic, or mathematics, it means that 50 per cent of the probationers will be identified as below average and selected out. Since the Board is to meet four times per year, it will, in the course of those meetings, select out 93¾ per cent of any class of officers. (The calculation of the four groups of victims is quite simple—50%, 25%, 12½%, 6¼%.)

But, you object, this would remove all "below average" officers, while the regulation only enjoins the booting of those "clearly below average." Now, will any student of English, logic or mathematics please step forward and tell us the difference between "below average" and "clearly below average?" There is, of course, no meaningful or definable difference. The instruction either means to fire all "below average" officers (50%—minus) or it means nothing concrete and intelligible —nothing which can serve as a basis for action.

In other words this instruction to the Board, superficially clear and forceful, actually means nothing except to those who understand the kind of code business in which personnel business is increasingly transacted. The real meaning of "average" in Foreign Service practice is "no good," and the real meaning of "below average" is impossible. Such is the clarity, precision and honesty of the language used to govern people's lives, select Ambassadors and destroy individuals.

The informal use of such language (e.g., in efficiency reports) is unfortunate and unfair; its official adoption is shocking.

It also seems inappropriate to use the term "average" in the sense of strong disapprobation so long as the Department continues to tell Congress and the public that the average quality of Foreign Service officers is very high.

CATO

Washington

Carolus de Mallery — *Van Dyck*

Diplo-Nots Report

ON BEHALF of the International Diplo-Nots Club, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the mention in the Washington Letter in the Foreign Service JOURNAL of July, 1963.

The club is gaining members at a rapid rate. We had a club picnic a few Sundays ago—our next outing will be a barge trip on the C & O Canal. August 11. This will be followed by a trip to Shady Grove to see Irma La Douce, August 18. In September, we will have the first of our planned monthly club dinners. The club will sponsor another dance October 5th. This will be held on the eighth floor of the Department of State.

We are hoping that we can arrange for each foreign member of the Diplo-Nots to have Thanksgiving dinner with an American family. This is one of our more important projects.

JIM HART
President
International Diplo-Nots

Washington

"The Civil War in Singapore"

ASALAAM to Rhoda Hackler for her article "The Civil War in Singapore" depicting the adventures of the Confederate raider *Alabama* and to the Foreign Service JOURNAL for giving its readers a glimpse of the Singapore of a century ago.

To Captain Semmes and his crew of the *Alabama* the waters adjoining India and Malaya looked as strange and uncharted as the kaleidoscope of outer space viewed by Major Cooper as he orbited the earth. One wonders whether Captain Semmes didn't have a premonition of events to come. We do know that he recorded in his diary almost a century ago as the *Alabama* entered the South China Sea that he felt as if he had "entered a new planet."

May I add a few footnotes to Mrs. Hackler's excellent article:

1. The crew of the ill-fated *Martaban*, after being put ashore at Malacca on Christmas Day 1863, found their way to Calcutta and were repatriated by the Consulate General.

2. The *Alabama* on its return to Europe from Singapore called at the port of Quilon on the extreme southwest coast of India and continuing its unbroken string of victories, captured and burned on January 14, 1864 the *Emma Jane* three days out of Bombay enroute to Boston.

3. Unlike the pro-Confederate sentiment in Singapore, feeling in India ran strongly in favor of the North and may well have been a factor influencing the British against military intervention on behalf of the Confederacy.

FRANK D. COLLINS

The Hague

P.S. By coincidence I had just finished reading Mrs. Hackler's article when a request arrived at my desk asking permission for the American destroyer, the *S.S. Semmes*, believed to be named after Captain Semmes, to enter Dutch waters.

Wanted!

FOR a biography of Josephus Daniels (1862-1948). I need anecdotes, clippings, letters (for copying and return) from Foreign Service personnel who knew Mr. Daniels as Ambassador to Mexico, 1933-1941.

JOSEPH L. MORRISON

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