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May 1964
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U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, the annual Career Service Award of the National Civil Service League, "for significant contributions to the efficiency and quality of government."

Marriages

RICE-HUTTING. Miss Mary Abbey Rice, daughter of Mrs. Maurice S. Rice, and Gordon E. Hutting were married on April 4, at the Chevy Chase Presbytcrian Church, Washington.

Births

BARBIS. A daughter, Dina Patricia, born to Mr. and Mrs. George M. Barbis, on March 17, in Washington, D. C.

BENNETT. A son, Michael Toscan, born to Mr. and Mrs. John Toscan Bennett, on September 24, 1963, in Saigon.

GROVE. A daughter, Catherine, born to Mr. and Mrs. Brandon Grove, Jr., on March 21, in New Delhi.

JANNEY. A son, Matthew Francis, adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel M. Janney, Jr., on March 27, in Washington, D. C.

LUCIUS. A daughter, Martha Elizabeth, born to Mr. and Mrs. Hallock R. Lucius, on September 28, 1963, in Stuttgart.

ROSEN. A daughter, Elizabeth Ann, born to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur H. Rosen, on March 26, at Singapore.

Deaths

STAFFORD. Dr. Lorna Lavery Stafford, widow of former Consul General Maurice L. Stafford, died on February 23, in Mexico City.

WILLOUGHBY. Woodbury Willoughby, FSO-retired, died on March 18, in Washington, D. C. Mr. Willoughby entered Government service with the Department of Agriculture in 1933 and joined the Department of State in 1937, as an economic analyst. In 1949 he entered the Foreign Service and served at Ottawa and Vienna. He was assigned to the Department in 1957 as Director of the Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs. He retired in 1961.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Negatives and color transparencies are not acceptable.

Please include full name and address on all material submitted and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

The JOURNAL also welcomes letters to the editor. Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's correct name. All letters are subject to condensation.

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OUR MAN IN ZANZIBAR
A CENTURY AGO

by E. Taylor Parks

Following the murder of the crew of the *Friendship* of Salem, Massachusetts, by the natives of Sumatra in 1831, President Andrew Jackson dispatched Edmund Roberts, a New Hampshire shipowner, to negotiate treaties with certain oriental nations—Siam, Cochin-China, and Muscat, which then included Zanzibar. Under the Treaty of September 21, 1833, with the Sultan of Muscat, consular relations with Zanzibar were established in 1836-1837. The merchants of Salem had been trading in the area for forty years and continued to dominate American-Zanzibar trade. Consuls were chosen from the merchant community (principally from Salem), and according to a high Zanzibar official, they were "hermaphrodites—half-trader, half-consul."

The outbreak of the Civil War brought a change. William S. Speer, editor of the Shelbyville (Tennessee) Expositor, who had been over-zealous in his support of Abraham Lincoln in the campaign of 1860, found himself *persona non grata* in his home community. He therefore appealed to the new President through mutual friends for a diplomatic or consular appointment. When Zanzibar was mentioned as a possibility, he admitted his ignorance of its location and noted that the gazetteers characterized it as a "place of trifling commercial importance, inhabited by barbarians; a miserable hole in a pestilential climate." He soon began to suspect, however, that monopolistic European and American merchants had deliberately put out adverse reports on the climate, government, and social and economic conditions, in order to discourage competitors. On arriving at his post, Speer found the inhabitants "the most polite, hospitable and kind people" that he had ever seen, and Zanzibar a "dream land, a paradise of loveliness . . . a garden of the gorgeous East."

There were many disappointments to be faced, however, before Speer reached his post. He had first solicited an appointment from President Lincoln in January, 1861, and from Secretary of State Seward in February. He had the highest recommendations from Tennessee "Union" men, including Andrew Johnson, who later signed his bond. Nevertheless, almost frantic letters to Washington officials brought little more than an assurance that President Lincoln approved of an appointment for him. He did not receive official notification until mid-November; his passport and commission followed in early December.

Speer expressed surprise and disappointment that the law did not permit the Department of State to pay his traveling expenses. He was "exiled" by the rebellion from "an affluent fortune"; he was suffering from "pecuniary embarrassment," but he was still eager to accept "the distant and perilous position" offered him. Arriving in Washington, he learned that there were no scheduled direct sailings from Boston, Salem or New York for Zanzibar. In any case, the trip would require three to five months and cost $700 to $800. He then (December 30) requested an appointment "nearer home and better pay."

The following day, Speer withdrew this request and soon set forth for New York and New England to seek transportation. He had no success. His private funds (including borrowings in Washington) almost exhausted, he asked to be recalled and assigned to a clerkship in the Department. Again, he repented, unsuccessfully attempted to intercept his letter, and apologized to Secretary Seward for annoying him.

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CHANGING YOUR POST?

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On January 30, 1862, he paid for passage on the *Ariel* from New York to Zanzibar. He requested passports for his four children, and returned to Nashville, Tennessee, to pick up his family, only to be informed that the *Ariel* had been sold. Other transportation had to be sought. It was not until June 21, 1862, that Speer wrote Seward from Providence, Rhode Island, that the *Sea Ranger* was ready to transport him, wife, and son (no mention of the other three children) to his post.

Speer entered upon his duties in Zanzibar on October 10, 1862—306 days after the receipt of his passport and commission. He found three other consulates already established: Hanseatic, French and British. He suspected that the aims of the Germans extended beyond mere trade, but he felt that the real danger was that within five years Zanzibar would pass to the British or French—probably the British. The Sultan "seemed well-pleased to be assured that the United States have no ambitious designs upon him, his territories, or domestic institutions."

Speer served only until November 27, 1862, when he set sail for home. He had found American trade with Zanzibar nearly extinguished by our Civil War. His time was spent, therefore, in the preparation of a "General Report" (119 pages) on economic and political conditions and the development of the American Consulate, and in the discussion of new treaty arrangements with the Sultan. Nevertheless, Speer was convinced that he had done more for the United States in his fifty days there than all his predecessors in twenty-five years.

From Cincinnati, he reported on March 13, 1863 that he possessed copies of an agreement or treaty revision, which he had promised the Sultan to deliver in person. Consultation with certain Salem merchants convinced the Department of State, however, that no treaty revision was necessary. Speer was instructed to send the document by mail. He continued, however, to urge the need of a new treaty and to offer his services as Commissioner to Zanzibar to negotiate one. In any case, he desired a promotion to another post.

Failing to receive another appointment, Speer seems to have turned to literary pursuits—publishing "The Encyclopedia of the New West," "Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans," "Louisiana Biographies," and "The Law of Success."■

Village in rain forest, French Guiana, taken from about 800 feet. *by Wallace C. Marley*

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Unclassified

by ANDOR KLAY

CAVALCADE of a title: Hawthorne was Consul at one time; so was Napoleon, and so was Caligula's horse.

* * *

MARCH OF NAMES in honor of Dickens: A science professor at the University of Minnesota is Athelstan Spilhaus. When I served at Belgrade a few years ago, there was an East German Second Secretary there called Glückauf, a Soviet military attaché called Colonel Kretinin, a Cambodian Ambassador named Kamel, and a Czech commercial attaché whose name was Skála and who was a good amateur musician.

* * *

TIP in German is "Trinkgeld," "money for a drink"—but in Hungarian it's "borravaló," specifically "money for wine."

* * *

PERFECT MUTUAL ENVY: between two men, one of whom has given up smoking and the other has not.

* * *

HAMLET'S SOLILOQUY: A bard's-eye view of life and death.

* * *

ONE EVENING in Salzburg, a string quartet played in a private home. Members: Mozart, first violin; Haydn, second violin; Dittersdorf, viola; Vanhall, cello.

* * *

"CITIES are radiant in their splendor, grace and cleanliness; provinces are as trim as gardens." (Aelius Aristides, 2nd cent.) We have made Progress since.

* * *

LAW OF AVERAGES, and Average Man: "If somebody stands with his left foot on a hot stove and his right foot in a freezer, on the average he is comfortable." (W. W. Heller.)

* * *

ONCE I traveled in a train compartment with a deaf-mute who fell asleep and talked in his sleep in the only language he knew.

* * *

VERY DISTANT RELATIONS: Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, whose grave is at Marburg, Germany, is the patron saint of Bogotá, Colombia.

* * *

TWO statues of Gutenberg at Mainz, his birthplace, show two completely different faces—and it is not known what he looked like.

* * *

MY train stops: I am glad to have arrived. My plane lands: I am glad to have escaped.

* * *

SENSE OF PROPORTION: Seneca, preparing for his suicide, in a letter to Lucilius: ". . . but I am running on too long, and how can a man end his life if he cannot even end a letter?" No sense of proportion: Plinius the Second, in an outline of his plans: "My purpose is to give a general description of everything known to exist throughout the earth."

* * *

MUSSOLINI was executed at Dongo; just below on the map is MUSSO, and just above is GRAVEdona.

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MISSION PAST ON LAKE NYASA

by SALLY WATERS FISHER

DAVID LIVINGSTONE first saw Lake Nyasa on September 16, 1859 after traveling on foot past "the great mountain mass called Zomba," site of the present capital of Nyasaland. At the south end of the lake, he met slaves carrying ivory. Arab dhows transported 15,000 slaves a year across Lake Nyasa to East coast markets.

Deeply disturbed, Livingstone wrote in his journal: "Only by cutting the supplies (of ivory) in the interior can we crush the slave trade." After another visit to the lake in 1861, he suggested, "A small lake steamer purchasing the ivory might make the slave trade unprofitable."

Dr. Livingstone named the southern promontory on Lake Nyasa after Sir Thomas Maclear, Astronomer Royal at the Cape of Good Hope, a friend to whom he regularly sent technical observations. As Livingstone crossed Cape Maclear consternation spread among the natives, who believed the white man had come out of the lake.

In his small ship *Ma Robert,* Livingstone expericnced the violent "mweras," which even today sink lake craft without warning. "We were caught one morning and anchorcd a mile from shore," he wrote. "The waves came rolling in threes . . . Had one of these white-maned seas struck our frail bark nothing could have saved us. For six weary hours we faced those terrible trios."

The explorer recommended Lake Nyasa as the site for a Church of Scotland mission. He continued to map the area, walking across Cape Maclear again in 1861 and 1866, whcn he was erroneously reported murdered. Though ill and exhausted, he traveled up the west side of the lake and through present-day Northern Rhodesia to Ilala, where he died in 1873.

The Free Church of Scotland then voted to establish "a Livingstonia mission on the great lake the explorer loved." A small ship called the *Ilala* was designed by Edward Young, RN, and constructed in light sections that could be taken apart at Murchison Falls and carried across country by porters.

Under the leadership of Young and Dr. Robert Laws, a medical missionary, the expedition reached Nyasa in 1875. Superstitious fear of the white men had apparently driven the natives from Maclear, for in his "Reminiscences of Livingstonia" Laws wrote: "There were no people at Cape Maclear when we arrived, but by means of our steamer we could reach the densely populated districts to obtain native

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food. It was very hot as the settlement was at the foot of two great rock mountains with little good soil. As it faced west the afternoon sun heated the rocks."

Young made extensive journeys and maps of the Lake Nyasa coast. In his "Nyassa—A Journal of Adventures," he described shooting an elephant on an island off Cape Maclear, known today as Elephant Island. The missionaries held church services from the *Ilala* deck and started a school. Their first scholar was the ship's stoker, who came ashore to study the alphabet.

A second party arrived in 1876 under Dr. W. Black, who soon died of "fever." Shadrack, an African missionary, died of consumption; by 1880 five mission members were buried against the mountain. A photograph of the mission taken at this time shows several brick buildings, a school and a two-story building, the first in East Africa. Neat orchards of orange, lemon, apricot and eucalyptus trees had been planted.

But, though Livingstonia numbered 590 people in 1880, it was a failure. In five arduous years it had made only one convert. The mission board decided to abandon Cape Maclear and start a new Livingstonia farther north.

Cape Maclear was uninhabited by Europeans until a BOAC flying boat base was constructed after World War II. For a few years airmen flying between South Africa and London enjoyed the beach. With the invention of jets, Cape Maclear returned to the bush.

Other missions were established in Nyasaland in the nineteenth century. An Oxford group, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, started several settlements along the east shore of Nyasa, and dispatched the Rev. William Johnson to England to plead for a mission steamer for training teachers.

The historic *Chauncey Maples* was built in Glasgow to meet Mr. Johnson's specifications. Though powered by steam it also had sails. On the upper deck a schoolroom with thirty desks could be converted into a chapel. A sick bay projected through the deckhouse. A printing press and mother-of-pearl altar were also fitted into the little ship, 127 feet long and 20 feet wide.

In October 1899 the *Chauncey Maples* was on its way to Africa in 3500 small packages. The boiler alone weighed nine and a half tons and was man-carried seventy-five miles through the jungle. As soon as it was assembled, the steamer began its task of spreading the Gospel and carrying supplies to 1300 miles of coastline.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson was ecstatic over his "floating college." Shipboard students were not. "The Archdeacon asked me to educate on board the *C.M.*," one wrote. "But we could not educate there well. The reason is we are not seamen. The lake is very rough. . . .There is no private

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place for our meditations, but too much noise of people and too much waves and rolling always. We are very ill often."

Two world wars put the *Chauncey Maples* to new uses. In 1914 it was one of five ships which took part in an "engagement" against the German *Herman von Wissman,* whose unhappy commander didn't know war had begun. This was the first naval action of World War I. Though used as a troop transport, the *Chauncey Maples* continued to carry missionary supplies, but was forced to curtail its evangelical work.

After the war it resumed regular lake service. It had become an institution under the indomitable Mr. Johnson, now nearly blind, who stumbled around his beloved ship, teaching and translating, until his death in 1928. In 1951 a *Chauncey Maples* Jubilee was celebrated at all ports of call. The famous "floating church" made its last voyage two years later. Today it is anchored in the lovely port of Monkey Bay, eight miles down the coast from Cape Maclear.

Our AID family discovered Cape Maclear last year while stationed in Zomba. On a five-hour trek during the flood season, our battered Opel lost its tailpipe on the ferry, punctured its oil pan and was lifted from mud by helpful Nyasas. At Fort Johnston we were warned, "Beware of elephants"; we saw nothing larger than baboons. A welcome sign saying "A Cup of Tea Awaits You" spurred us over the final grueling miles to Cape Maclear.

A rambling inn swarming with animal life now occupies the site of the first Livingstonia. In the parlor we shared our tea with the Swiss Family Robinson owners and their pets. A civet cat romped on the sofa with their youngest child. Two appealing bushbabies crept out of the dusty wax flowers to perch on our sons' shoulders.

We lunched outdoors with our dog tethered to one table leg; to another was attached a hissing leguan lizard. A hawk eagle poised above the monkey cage. The beach which Dr. Laws found uncomfortable in the afternoon sun was being enjoyed by the families of African cabinet ministers.

My three sons paddled dugout canoes to Elephant Island while I sketched. We could find no trace of Livingstonia homes and gardens, but five small crosses still stood in the cemetery at the base of the mountain.

Down the coast we explored Monkey Bay, where the *Chauncey Maples* lies at anchor. The altar and printing press were gone. Otherwise the little steamer seemed untouched. One almost expected to find mission mail in the post boxes and a queasy student in the sick bay. We watched from the Deacon's chapel as the African Lakes steamer *Ilala II* passed with singing schoolboys. The sturdy *Chauncey Maples* bounced serenely in the wake, a reminder of the mission past in today's changing Africa. ■

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25 YEARS AGO

IN THE JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART

APRIL, 1939

From a Bedroom Window

WRITING from Nairobi, Waldo Bailey tells us what a guest could expect to see from a bedroom in the Treetops Hotel, which is reached by a thirty-foot ladder: "Situated almost on the equator twelve miles from Nyeri, Kenya Colony, East Africa, which lies at the foot of Mt. Kenya (17,040 ft.), is a bungalow hotel nestling high in the boughs of an immense tree overlooking a waterhole where come to drink rhinoceros, giant forest hogs, elephants, leopards, wild pigs, waterbucks, hyenas, duikers, baboons, bushbucks, monkeys and other forest animals.

" 'Treetops,' altitude 8,530 ft., which consists of three bedrooms with electric light and running water, is the quietest and probably the most expensive hotel in the world considering the amount of space allotted to its guests."

Embassy Art

The May JOURNAL quotes an item from the ART DIGEST for February, 1939: "Jefferson Patterson took a bit of his native America with him when he sailed recently for Germany to assume his duties as First Secretary of the American Embassy at Berlin. Just previous to departure Mr. Patterson acquired from the circulating galleries of the Dayton Art Institute five paintings by three contemporary artists—Edward Burroughs, Roy Mason and Dale Nichols—to hang in his Berlin residence.

"None of the paintings is in the extreme modern idiom now under quarantine in Nazi Germany. Three are oils by Dale Nichols, Chicago artist whose important 'End of the Hunt' has just entered the Hearn Collection of the Metropolitan Museum. Purchased in conjunction with the Macbeth Galleries of New York, they are titled 'While the Sun Shines' (not so sharply defined as the artist's usual work), 'Green Fields' and 'The Three Hunters.' The other two are water colors, 'Beach Looking Toward Cape Henry,' by Edward Burroughs, and 'No Duck Bay,' by Roy Mason."

Up One Rung But Still Unclassified

Of the thirty-two vice consuls who were promoted in 1939 from Unclassified (B) to Unclassified (A), only the following are still active: Tomlin Bailey, Glion Curtis, Perry Ellis, Norris Haselton, Douglas MacArthur, Elbert Mathews, John Ordway, William Snow, Roger Tyler, Woodruff Wallner, Eliot Weil, Ivan White.

A son, Peter, was born on January 21 to Mr. and Mrs. James W. Riddleberger in Berlin, where Mr. Riddleberger is Second Secretary.

Comment, 1964: Ambassador Riddleberger says that Peter was born in Washington rather than Berlin and explains: "We were living in Berlin but our doctor had been arrested by the Nazis, and Amelie and I decided it would be better to have the baby born at home. He was brought back to Berlin when

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25 YEARS AGO *(Continued)*

only a month old and lived there until the outbreak of the war in 1939, when my wife was sent out with our two other children to Norway. The four of them survived the German invasion and got back to the United States in 1940. Peter therefore had an adventurous infancy. He returned with all of us to Berlin in 1947, where we remained until 1950, and the children therefore lived through the Berlin blockade.

"Peter received his B.A. degree at the University of Nebraska in 1961 and is now working for his master's degree at American University in Washington.

"Our oldest son, Christopher, received his master's degree from M.I.T. in electrical engineering and is now with the Bell Laboratories in New Jersey. He is married and has three sons.

"Our daughter, Antonia, graduated from Goucher College in 1957. She accompanied us to Greece in 1958 and there married Monteagle Stearns of the Foreign Service."

Recent Service Items

Homer and Jane Byington, Naples, had visits late last year from Mrs. John (Elizabeth) Cabot, Bob McClintock, and Eliot Palmer. The Ed Montgomerys, while en route to Egypt, also stopped off in Naples but missed the Byingtons, who were on leave. Ed found street traffic in Naples rather frustrating: "My memory of it is a place where you take your life in one hand and your wife in the other, and pray that you both may look back upon a happy crossing."

► This year Fritz and Clemence Jandrey expect to celebrate their twenty-sixth wedding anniversary in Naples, where Fritz was assigned at the time of their wedding in Rome. (Mind the traffic, Fritz.)

► Steve Aguirre, retired in El Paso, received an invitation to attend the launching ceremonies of the *USS Josephus Daniels* at Bath, Maine. Mr. Daniels was once Secretary of the Navy and later Ambassador to Mexico. Steve was his special assistant and his warm friend.

► Marselis (Pardy) Parsons, retired in New Hampshire, shares with us the following: "The Honorable Bert Fish, Minister to Portugal, died in Lisbon about twenty years ago. He had watched the Legation grow to an institution that had mushroomed out into five or six large buildings housing a staff of well over a hundred Americans. There were a large number of newly-assigned officers, who, because of the exigencies of wartime, had left families and wardrobes at home. The Minister, however, had arrived before the U. S. had become embroiled in the war and his wardrobe was well stocked with all the customary paraphernalia of protocol.

"The Minister's death signaled an opportunity for the Portuguese Government to show its respect for his position and its friendly feeling for his country. The streets from the Legation to the church were covered with sawdust to muffle the hoofbeats of an escorting brigade of cuirassiers and the Chief of Protocol had decreed full honors in the form of dress by attending mourners. The officers of the staff did not know where to turn to obtain suitable clothing. Finally, the consular officers came to the rescue. Those who had been making an inventory of the late Minister's effects announced that there were cutaways, short morning jackets, tail coats and a silk hat available. George Kennan, then Chargé, ruled that such effects might be temporarily released from consular custody." ■

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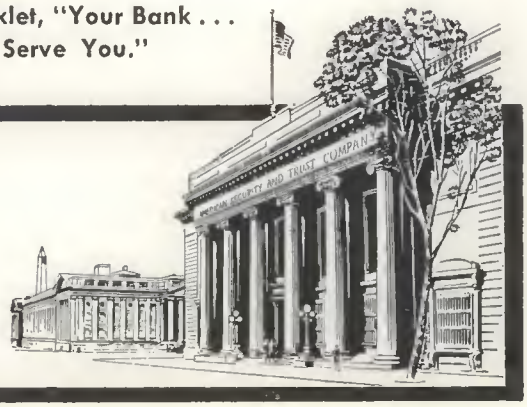

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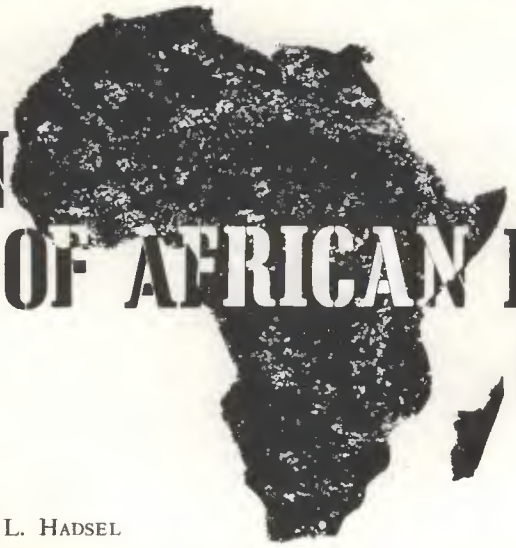
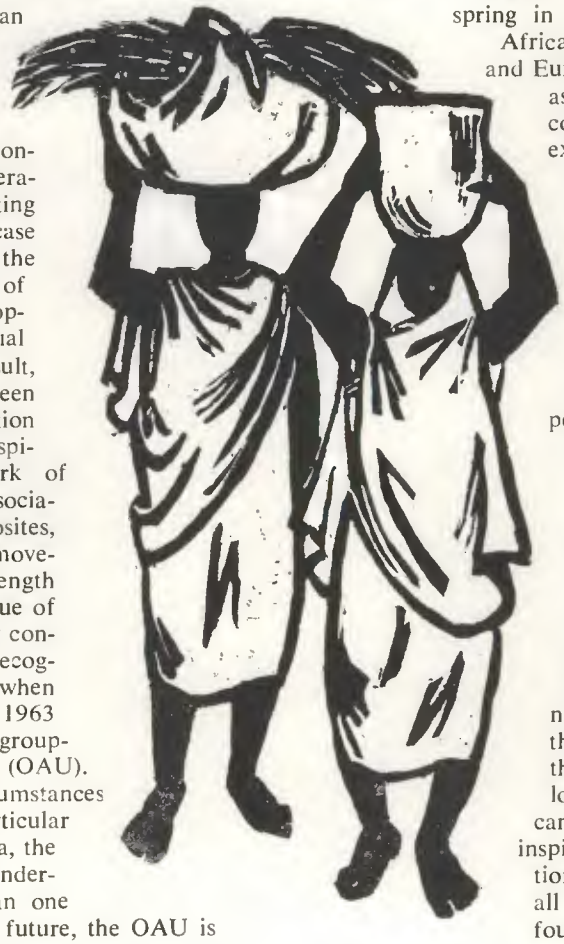
THE PATTERN OF AFRICAN POLITICAL COOPERATION



by FRED L. HADSEL

IT IS AN apparent paradox that the same Africans who led their countries to independence seem equally willing to limit their new-found sovereignty in a Pan-African organization. This paradox, however, is more of a surface than a real contradiction. It arises from a misunderstanding of the development of African nationalism and from a confusion of terms and definitions. The twin drives of independence and unity were, in fact, products of the same movement against colonial control. The appeal for all-African cooperation was part of the tactic in defeating colonial control, as, indeed, is still the case with respect to the southern part of the continent. Finally, the principal goal of African cooperation as it is now developing is not the negation of individual nations but their preservation. As a result, African leaders see no conflict between sovereignty and unity in the organization they have created. ● These two aspirations continue to be the hallmark of African political cooperation. If this association appears to be an attraction of opposites, it is because the history of these two movements is ignored, their cooperative strength is misunderstood, and the practical value of this arrangement is underestimated. By contrast, the African leaders intuitively recognized the role of these two aspirations when they created at Addis Ababa in May 1963 the first broadly all-African political grouping, the Organization of African Unity (OAU). A product of special historical circumstances and an instrument reflecting the particular political pattern of contemporary Africa, the OAU has achieved a great deal—and undertaken a great deal more—in less than one year of existence. For the foreseeable future, the OAU is the mold in which the desire for national sovereignty and the hope for continental unification will be cast. It is therefore necessary to examine its origin and outline its nature if we expect to understand the prospects of African political cooperation. ● It is an oversimplification to equate the sweep of independence across Africa in the past decade with Pan-Africanism, let alone with all-out African unity. As various chronicles indicate, the proponents of African nationalism drew their strength from many sources.* Their arguments and aspirations were formulated in various languages. Their paths frequently crossed, but they were also at cross-purposes.



Working within the contexts of many different historical settings, these leaders could not help but contribute to the political fragmentation of the continent. Yet most of these same leaders also drew heavily upon Pan-African doctrines of one sort or another. Their motivation did not always spring in direct inheritance from the Pan-African congresses of the United States and Europe; it was often a more intangible association of "negritude" or a more concrete experience of rebellion and exile. But nevertheless, Pan-African attitudes—ranging from proclamations to practical assistance—were present in every independence struggle. Proponents of Pan-Africanism were always African nationalists, and African nationalist leaders always gained sustenance from Pan-Africanism. ● This historical experience alone would account for the continuation of Pan-African doctrines after independence, even if these ideas were given no more than lip service. But Pan-African views were not rendered obsolescent by the independence movement, for very solid and practical reasons. In the first place, not all of Africa has achieved independence. The new nations of north and central Africa hold that their goals remain unfulfilled until the colonial powers have been dislodged from all of Africa. Pan-African doctrines, therefore, continue to inspire leaders of the independent nations to strive for the independence of all Africa. Secondly, the new nations found themselves without political or economic armor in a world of giants and near-giants. Nothing was more natural than to try to make up for their weakness by banding together. One might

*See George Padmore, "Pan-Africanism or Communism" (London, 1956), for a participant's account; Colin Legum, "Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide" (New York, 1962) for a good journalist's narrative; and American Society of African Culture, editor, "Pan-Africanism Reconsidered" (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962) for a scholarly discussion.

even argue that some sort of Pan-Africanism was like the God of Voltaire—if it had not already existed it would have been necessary to create it. In the world of practical politics African cooperations seemed important for survival.

At the same time, the generalized doctrines of Pan-Africanism and negritude were bound to be transformed by the acquisition of independence. The leaders were no longer agitators: they were statesmen. The doctrines were no longer just aspirations; they had to be adapted to the fact of nationhood and a new set of challenges. Under the pressure of this new situation, two radically different views of the future of Africa developed.

One was the vision of a United States of Africa, in which a single sovereignty took on continental dimensions. The proponents of this view were always few in number, even though their eloquence was great. The other view was less revolutionary and proved to be more closely in tune with the desires of the great majority of the thirty nations taking part in the Addis Ababa conference of May 1963.** They favored a close association of sovereign states for a number of specific purposes. This compromise between Africa-wide cooperation and individual nationhood was therefore the pattern of cooperation established at Addis Ababa. Less sweeping in its aspirations and more flexible in its approach than a United States of Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) born at this conference had at least three distinguishable characteristics: an amalgam of both traditional and revolutionary ideas; a mosaic of geographic and ethnic interests of different and sometimes antagonistic nations; and an equilibrium among contrasting political personalities.

The creation of this organization within the span of a four-day conference was a remarkable achievement, the more surprising since the Foreign Ministers of these nations, meeting the week before, had failed to agree on its fundamental tenets. But even more remarkable, as one looks back a year later, is the fact that the OAU successfully struck a balance between the capacity of more than thirty nations to cooperate together and the desire of these nations to retain their newly-won sovereignty. In doing this the OAU was an apt reflection of the art of the possible in Africa at this time.

Such a description of the OAU does not, however, imply that its members were complacent about the Africa which existed at the time of its creation. They subscribed to a charter whose goals envisage a better life for the peoples of the continent and total independence for all of its territory. They proposed to harmonize their policies in political, economic, educational, health, scientific and military fields. They affirmed non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and non-alignment in the world at large. They created an organization in which the annual assembly of the heads of state and government held supreme power, while the periodic meetings of foreign ministers would recommend action to their superiors. A secretariat was to administer the organization, while the specialized commissions which the heads of state might create would deal with economic, education, health, defense and scientific problems. Finally, a Commission of Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration was envisaged, although the protocol to create it was left to the future.

The Addis conference also blocked out the path of future African cooperative efforts in a series of resolutions which highlighted a determination to achieve the OAU goals. The African leaders reinforced their stand against the colonial powers by pleas and pressures, by active support of rebels and by stronger UN tactics. They called for the end of all discrimination, reform of the UN and world disarmament. They spelled out an ambitious program of economic cooperation. In short, the conference set up an organization and gave it a campaign platform at the same time.

As the OAU got under way, it encountered many critics. On the one hand a relatively small group of spokesmen continued to claim that Africa could never fulfill its destiny until it was truly united in a federal state. The OAU, in their eyes, was so weak as to smack of neocolonialism. Critics from another direction were quick to detect other kinds of weakness. They noted that the Addis conference neither settled the site of the organization nor elected its Secretary General. They affirmed that effective cooperation could never be obtained from such a large number of states, many of them with weak and unstable governments. They pointed out that the conferees agreed most completely on matters which were external to their jurisdiction—on South Africa, Portuguese territories, disarmament, discrimination. They viewed with skepticism the assembly of so many kinds of governments and discordant leaders and expressed the view that parochial conflicts would continue to plague the continent. They noted territorial ambitions, geographic differences, and disputed boundaries as divisive factors in the African polity. Finally, they were inclined to ask a variant of Stalin's question about the number of divisions the Pope commanded, for they did not see how African states could muster either the will or the force to carry out OAU resolutions.

Some of this criticism reminds one of the doubts expressed about the United Nations at its inception; other points reflect a pessimistic view of Africa and African leaders; while still

Gambian boy

Young wife, Cameroon

Young girl of the Djerma Tribe, Nigerian Republic

Gambian boy

**Thirty of the then thirty-three independent nations of Africa attended. Morocco and Togo were absent but joined later. South Africa was not invited. With the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar, the total number of states in the OAU is thirty-four.

Gambian girl

functioning since the last General Assembly session. It is not too soon, however, to establish some dimension of African political cooperation and to outline the general direction in which it is moving. Its activities tend to group themselves around several themes. The most important—or at least those which the press highlights—are the OAU organization itself, decolonization, the United Nations, non-alignment and settlement of disputes. These points do not represent self-contained corridors of action, for there has often been a close relationship among them all. Nor do they reflect the entire compass of OAU activities. They do, however, suggest where the OAU will face important problems in the months to come.

Organization

There is relatively little to be recorded about the strict organizational problems of the OAU, for so far these have been matters on which there has been more smoke than fire. Several sites have been suggested for the organization, and several names have been bruited about at least informally as likely candidates for Secretary General. In these questions human politics has naturally played a full role. They might be compared to the variety of interests and aspirations which are always seen in the selection of a site for a party convention in the United States and sometimes are significant in the determination of candidates. Meanwhile the secretariat has been organized on a modest scale and the more complicated plans for permanent staffing have been delayed until these other two questions can be solved. One should note that such delays are not unique. It took months of negotiation before

Marketplace, Lagos

others show a tendency to measure international power primarily in terms of military force and to underestimate the possible variants of national and international influence. It is too early to say whether these critics and pessimists will be confounded, for the OAU is hardly a year old. In this period, however, the Foreign Ministers have held four sessions—at Dakar, August 2-11, 1963; Addis Ababa, November 15-18; Dar-es-Salaam, February 12-14, 1964; and Lagos, February 24-March 1. The ad hoc commission on the Algeria-Morocco dispute has met frequently since its creation at Bamako in November 1963. Each of the five commissions of the OAU has held a preparatory meeting. Its African Liberation Committee has been at work in Dar-es-Salaam, and the OAU-sponsored African Group at the UN has been the American nation decided on the location of its capital and thirteen years passed before anyone moved in.

Decolonization and the United Nations

The expulsion of colonial control from the continent has occupied more attention among the African nations than any other single activity. Not only was the complete liberation of Africa a cardinal point in the OAU charter, but many of the political resolutions at the Addis Heads of State and the Dakar and Lagos Foreign Ministers meetings were directed against colonial rule. Portugal, the United Kingdom and South Africa were principally criticized. Depending on the issue, political and economic sanctions were invoked. Members were enjoined to break diplomatic relations in some

cases and to institute boycotts against the countries considered to be the principal opponents of African liberation.

From the first weeks of the OAU African leaders sought to strengthen their hand at the United Nations, in order that they could more effectively make their views known in New York. A delegation of four Foreign Ministers was sent to represent the African nations, and led by these spokesmen the Africans exerted continuing influence on the discussions concerning the Portuguese territories and South Africa in the Security Council during the summer of 1963. This initiative was followed in the autumn at the General Assembly by further coordinated efforts to obtain active UN support for OAU aspirations.

The OAU decided, moreover, that it would not limit itself to UN action in favor of decolonization. It established a nine-nation Liberation Committee to assist the refugee and nationalist groups from the southern part of Africa. The committee soon encountered the dilemmas inherent in the situation, such as the difficulties of effective assistance, the problems of contiguous states, and the inevitable limits of funds. Like the organization as a whole the committee sought to deal with the possible rather than the ultimate. Operating largely out of the limelight, it has neither sought nor achieved miracles during its first year.

The OAU did not consider the United Nations solely within the framework of its anti-colonial aspirations. It decided to extend the influence of Africa at the United Nations by the establishment of a separate group for purposes of caucus and coordination. Aware that its thirty-four votes constituted almost a blocking third and that with the Asian nations it could wield a majority, the OAU encouraged its members to seek a greater role for Africa in the councils of the United Nations. Hitherto informally organized and not always cohesive at the UN, the Africans decided at Lagos in February 1964 not only to continue their group but to appoint a special representative to be its executive secretary.

Non-Alignment

While non-alignment was a principal objective of the OAU when it was created, it was more an accepted frame of mind than a program of action. Nevertheless, the member nations agreed on a number of points which in one way or another reinforce this general view. For example, they deplored atomic explosions and opted for denuclearization of Africa, at Addis and at the Foreign Ministers meeting at Dakar in August 1963. The Ministers reaffirmed non-alignment again in February 1964, giving special attention to developing coordinated African views in future world conferences. Perhaps as important as any single thing in these expressions is the value of the OAU as a means of achieving a strictly African consensus on foreign policy. It is clear that African nations at this point in their history think that there is real danger in many outside influences. Non-alignment as endorsed by the OAU, therefore, is as much the expression of the desire of Africans to make up their own minds and act in their own manner as it is a precise set of proposals for the behavior of the rest of the world.

Settlement of Disputes

In no area of action has the Organization of African Unity showed more clearly its possibilities than in its efforts to settle African disputes. For example, the charter refers to respect for territorial integrity of member states and to the peaceful settlement of differences. In this fashion the OAU sought to assure a certain respectability for the existing territorial organization of independent Africa, even though it recognized that many boundaries might be in dispute. In this fashion it also sought to affirm the principle of peaceful change of governments rather than sanction rebellion. The African leaders met at Addis Ababa shortly after one revolt had brought death to the President of Togo. They recognized that violence, whether internal or external, could divide and weaken them.

In October 1963 the OAU found itself faced with still another crisis, when the Moroccan-Algerian frontier dispute threatened the peace of the Maghreb. Two dangers were immediately apparent: the possibility that African nations would display an inability to settle their own disputes, thus weakening the OAU and damaging its reputation; and the possibility that this dispute would be the occasion for external intervention, with the resultant danger of Great Power confrontation in Africa. These dangers were sensed by key leaders, and in spite of the fact that OAU machinery to handle disputes had not yet been established they were able to set up an ad hoc seven-nation Mediation Commission at Bamako. This action was reinforced by a special Foreign Ministers meeting in Ethiopia in November 1963, and brought about first a ceasefire and then the signature of a preliminary agreement by the two disputants.

A different threat suddenly broke last January, when mutinies in East Africa were sparked by the revolt in Zanzibar. In this case the threat of internal instability raised serious implications for the fabric of government in newly independent nations. The special meeting of the Foreign Ministers called at Dar-es-Salaam in February was an effort to bring African advice to the problem of internal law and order. It was implicitly recognized that success in dealing with this problem would also affect the stability of the continent as a whole. The solution of African contingents to replace in due course the British troops temporarily in Tanganyika was, like the Algerian-Moroccan case, an effort to provide an African answer to an African problem.

A third threat, meanwhile, faced the OAU—a flare-up in the long-standing dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia over their common frontier. Discussed briefly at the special Dar-es-Salaam meeting, it was again considered at the Lagos Foreign Ministers meeting at the end of February. Unable to reach a decision on a resolution involving direct OAU intervention, the Foreign Ministers nevertheless expressed their deep concern and asked both parties to do everything possible to end the dispute.

In less than a year the OAU has established itself as a court of first appeal among African nations. Recognizing that it will be better equipped to deal with any future crisis if it establishes permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes, it is presently considering the protocol for the permanent Commission of Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration. It has already shown, however, that a collective will to settle disputes is the first essential for successful action in this field and that only by such action can it minimize the threats of flare-ups within Africa and intervention from outside the continent.

There is no doubt but the OAU has had an active and relatively successful first year. This does not mean, however, that it has gone very far along the road of cooperation which it has blocked out. Most of its subsidiary technical commissions have met, but they have only begun to get down to business. Many areas of activity are as yet untouched. Many relationships, such as that of the OAU to the UN Economic Commission, have yet to be defined. Many of its stated goals are unfulfilled and some may never be realized. But it is folly to measure an organization against Utopia, particularly when its strength lies in its reflection of Africa as it is today —a continent of nearly three dozen nations, each with tremendous problems and with a determination to affirm its own individuality. The special quality of the OAU lies in its ability to date to do something about these common problems while recognizing the separate sovereignties of members. ■

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economic development in AFRICA

THE AFRICAN independence revolution of the 60s has also set in motion a crisis of rising expectations for a better life that cannot be safely ignored by the Free World.

Virtually everywhere on the continent Africans have declared war on poverty, illiteracy, disease and inequities stemming from colonialism. They seek a concrete demonstration that independence is the way to material betterment.

African leaders realize that political independence is only a means to an end. They realize the need to strengthen the foundation of their newly-won independence. They know that efforts to break the chain of human misery will necessarily involve a continuing process of political, economic and social change. Stresses and strains will continue to be much in evidence. Radicals, opportunists and alien forces will seek to exploit these difficulties.

Foreign aid can be an important factor in maintaining stability and reducing opportunities for subversion. Few nations have succeeded in initiating a process of self-generating growth without being aided substantially by exogenous forces. The development of viable economies in Africa, within the framework of free democratic institutions, will of course depend on the magnitude of aid extended by the industrial nations of the Free World. Given a reasonable response to African needs and aspirations, the prospects for development in Africa are no bleaker than in some other under-developed areas. There are many factors that are distinctively more favorable to development in Africa than in some areas of Latin America and Asia.

Resource Base and Population

Africa's natural resource endowment and its land-population ratio, for example, are potentially more favorable. The continent has a land area of 12 million square miles. It extends more than 5,000 miles from north to south and is roughly 4,700 miles from east to west. The population density

by DAVID B. BOLEN

is only twenty persons per square mile, compared with more than two hundred persons per square mile in South Asia and the Far East.

The pressure of human resources on arable land is not serious. The continent has nine acres of agricultural land per capita compared with six acres per capita in Latin America and one-half acre in the Far East. Discounting the Sahara entirely, Africa still has more agricultural land per capita than either the United States or the Soviet Union. It has twice as much forest land as the United States.

It could be argued that there are vast areas with too little or too much rainfall for productive agriculture. However, the problems of drought and soil erosion arising from heavy rainfall can be dealt with through continued improvements in technology.

Even under present conditions, Africa accounts for a substantial portion of total world production of a number of important commodities. It produces 80 per cent of the world's palm kernels and palm oil; 70 per cent of its cocoa; 35 per cent of its peanuts; 29 per cent of its sesame seed; and 20 per cent of its coffee. Africa is also richly endowed with mineral resources. The continent has 98 per cent of the world's reserves of diamonds; 80 per cent of the world's reserve of chromite; 70 per cent of its cobalt; 50 per cent of its bauxite; 50 per cent of its gold; 50 per cent of its phosphate rock; 45 per cent of its iron ore; 40 per cent of its uranium; 40 per cent of its tantalite; 25 per cent of its copper; 20 per cent of its manganese ore; and 16 per cent of its tin.

Measured against the resource endowment of such major powers as the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan, Africa's resource base becomes more impressive. For example, Africa's iron ore reserves are twice those of the United States and two-thirds those of the Soviet Union. It has been estimated that the continent's coal reserves would last for some 300 years, even if consumption were at the present U. S. rate.

Africa has substantial petroleum reserves. New fields are being discovered, especially in the north. Algeria's fields alone are producing at the rate of 450,000 barrels a day—one-third as much as Iran's. Libyan production is approaching 600,000 barrels per day.

The hydroelectric potential exceeds that of any other continent in the world. It may well be that Africa has one-third of the earth's hydroelectric potential. It also has 40 per cent of the world's uranium, and atomic energy may become a major power source.

Problems and Characteristics of African Economies

Despite its rich resource endowment, Africa is still underdeveloped. Most Africans would argue that their lag is due principally to European exploitation over a period of 500 years. Measures to promote economic development as a matter of European government policy cover a period of a little more than forty years. The fragmentation or balkanization of Africa has been an impediment.

Today gross national product for Africa amounts to only $29 billion, compared with $554 billion for the United States. Per capita GNP is only $120 compared with $2,840 in the United States, $265 in Latin America and $210 in the Far East. The per capita GNP figure does not fully reflect the dismal poverty of the vast majority of Africans, the crippling burden of debilitating disease, or the stifling influence of mass illiteracy. There are wide disparities in income within national borders and between different nations.

Gross capital formation or savings in African states appears to be running between 9-25 per cent of GNP and in some areas the magnitude of savings is clearly inadequate. With Africa's population approaching 300 million and increasing at the rate of 2.2 per cent per year, the annual investment of at least 12 per cent of GNP is required to keep existing levels of living intact.

The ratio of the labor force to total population is not very favorable for economic development. About 40 per cent of the total population is less than fifteen years of age. In most African countries, there are ten persons of working age (15-59) for every seven of non-working age (under 15 and over 60).

The quality of the labor also needs to be improved. Productivity as reflected in output per man hour is very low. This is due in part to inadequate nutrition and disease. There is only one physician for every 17,000 people—twenty-five times less than the ratio in this country. Infant mortality is ten times higher than the United States. The literacy rate in Africa as a whole is estimated at only 15 per cent. There is, in particular, an acute shortage of high-level manpower, such as engineers, agriculture specialists, industrialists and school teachers.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economies of most African states. The percentage of the active population engaged in agriculture ranges between 60 and 90. The output of the African farmer per man hour is only about 4 per cent of that of his American counterpart.

The agricultural sector of the economies of most African states tends to be characterized by a phenomenon which may be described as economic dualism. First, there are many subsistence farmers who are not included in the monetized parts of the economy. Secondly, the monetized part of the agricultural sector is based on one or two commodities. In its present state of development, agriculture cannot produce enough food to keep pace with population growth, improve nutritional standards, meet the needs arising from the expansion of income in the industrial sector, or provide a sound base for continued industrial expansion.

In the vast majority of African states manufacturing is still in its infancy. The ratio of factory output to gross national product in most countries ranges between 2 and 20 per cent; the higher ratios are in Egypt, Morocco and the Rhodesias. Industrial production consists for the most part of consumer goods and the processing of intermediate products required for the production of capital equipment. This output is inadequate to meet existing needs.

As a result, most African states are heavily dependent on foreign trade to meet daily requirements. Therefore their economies are exposed to fluctuations in international commodity prices. In many instances prices of primary commodities are declining relative to the prices of finished products which these countries must import. Apart from a deterioration in terms of trade, there is a natural tendency for import demand to increase faster than export earnings from the few primary commodities that dominate the export trade. There is a chronic tendency toward a balance of payments disequilibrium and inflationary pressures requiring corrective actions of a nature that sometimes produce political repercussions. The ratio of total foreign trade to gross national product is quite high.

Critical Factors in Africa's Economic Growth

Economic growth is essentially a process of combining capital and technology in such a way as to expand physical production and effect an orderly process of social changes. By examining the African situation in terms of the factors largely responsible for United States economic growth in the past century or so, we may get some idea of the problems.

Attitudes and institutions are critical dimensions in economic growth. In the United States development has been accelerated by individual diligence, respect for the dignity of labor, the high value placed on risk-taking, initiative, innova-

Lagos street scene

Gene Kelly signs autographs in Dakar

Schoolgirl of Northern Cameroon does her homework

tion and thrift, social and geographic mobility, respect for the sanctity of private property and contract.

There can be no doubt that Africa's development has been retarded by behavioral patterns emphasizing relaxation, a communal way of life, avoidance of tension and frustration. Now these traditional attitudes and institutions are changing rapidly. There is a higher premium on risk-taking and entrepreneurial drive, greater willingness to apply science and technology to production. Some governments are already taking forceful action to increase capital formation by curbing ostentatious consumption on the part of higher income groups. They are seeking more efficient allocation of resources and reducing wasteful expenditures on monuments, palaces and other symbols of affluence. Students are showing greater interest in courses in business, engineering and agriculture.

These and other social changes will be accompanied by stress and strain. In some countries they will no doubt give rise to political instability. Self-sustaining economic growth requires political and psychological as well as economic change. It will have a differential impact on various groups in the society. The locus of political power is subject to change. For example, the decline in the proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture and the resulting trend toward urbanization is revolutionary in any country. These broad structural changes necessarily require some readjustment of the political power structure.

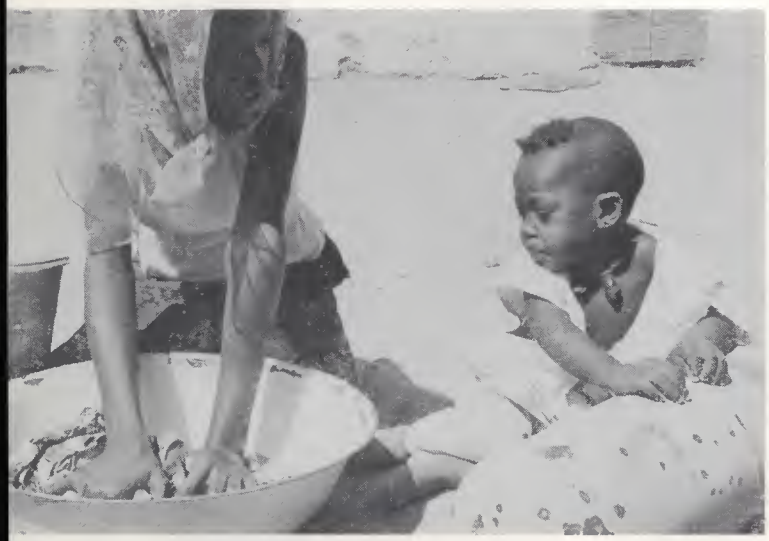
Much has been said about the one-party state in Africa and the role of government in the development process—much larger than in the early stages of United States economic development. This phenomenon may be associated, among other things, with the lack of private entrepreneurship

and the behavioral patterns and institutional structures that tend to restrict development.

It may be too soon to draw any definitive conclusions as to the optimum role of government and private enterprise in African economic development. The experience of the United States suggests that a mixed enterprise system is compatible with both the maximization of production to satisfy consumer wants and the attainment of political aspirations. It is absolutely clear that no African government can develop without tapping the spring of private initiative. Many are doing just that. This awareness will constitute a positive force in Africa's development effort.

Population, Technology and Productivity

People are the greatest economic asset of any nation. The United States experience suggests that the initial impact of development is reflected in increased population. Better health facilities, housing, food, work conditions, and medical research cause a significant drop in the death rate, which is not accompanied by a corresponding decline in the birth rate. It is reasonable to conclude that this general trend will obtain in Africa. The initial upsurge in population growth may not be accompanied by a rise in level of living. The total income may expand but per capita income may remain constant or even decline.



Laundry and babysitting, Cameroon

Practice teaching in Cameroon

A major factor in the growth of the United States economy has been increased labor productivity as measured by output per man hour. What accounts for the growth in labor productivity and technology? It can be explained by improvements in education, research, health, and inter-industry shifts.

There must be a substantial expansion of enrollment in primary, secondary and higher educational institutions in Africa if the skills needed for economic development are to be obtained. Equally important is vocational and technical training. The present thrust must be in the direction of extending facilities to reduce the present illiteracy rate of 85 per cent and substantially increase secondary school enrollment and technical education. Secondary school enrollment should not be regarded exclusively as a transition to higher education but often as an end in itself. In respect to higher education, the traditional fields of law and the arts have been overstressed in many countries and more emphasis on science, agriculture, engineering and other technical fields is required.

Some African states have recognized the vital importance of research in the development process. Ghana, for example, invests liberally in its Academy of Sciences.

Still drawing on American experience: Africans must endeavor to improve the health and safety of the labor force and reduce the ratio of working to non-working population. Greater labor mobility is desirable. In this country the increase in agricultural productivity has released workers to industry: the percentage of our labor force employed in agriculture has decreased from 75 per cent in 1800 to around 10 percent today.

Effecting the shift from agriculture to industry, from rural to urban areas, with a minimum of social strain is one of the principal problems of economic development. These revolutionary changes are beginning to take place in Africa—so far in a more orderly manner than in some other areas.

Capital Requirements

The mobilization of capital for productive investment in most African states is difficult in part because of the propensity for prestige-type consumption. Also, the vast majority of private incomes are only sufficient to meet daily consumption needs and do not permit the accumulation of large savings. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the bulk of Africa's capital for development must be found from Africa's own resources, even though most of the people do live at the subsistence level.

Capital formation does take place in the subsistence sector outside the monetized part of the economy. It takes the form of self-help projects based sometimes on uncompensated communal labor. It might include the building of a road, a school, a hut, storage facilities for grain, or the forging of a cutlass by village blacksmiths. This type of capital formation will be less important as customs, habits and institutions change. As development gains momentum, more capital formation will take place in the monetized part of the economy.

There are several sources of capital formation, such as taxation, deficit, borrowing, and compulsory bond schemes. One of the principal determinants of income in the monetized sector are export earnings from the one or two primary commodities resulting from the labor specialization of the colonial era. A principal determinant of capital formation is therefore export income. Exports influence the level of government receipts from custom tariffs which account for as much as 75 per cent of current revenue in some African states. Exports also influence the level of business profits and personal income and savings. They provide the bulk of foreign exchange for the import of capital equipment for devel-

opment purposes. It is quite evident that the level of domestic capital formation is influenced considerably by foreign demand and prices for Africa's primary commodities. Because of international price fluctuations and deterioration in terms of trade, the level of capital formation is highly uncertain.

Loans and grant obligations by Free World governments and multilateral institutions plus the flow of private capital to Africa have been running around $2 billion annually. These funds have been provided mainly by the United States and countries of Western Europe.

Since 1959 the Soviet Union and Communist China have shown increasing interest in Africa. Total credits and grants by these countries amounted to $675 million during the period from 1959 to 1962. African states have become more receptive to Soviet Bloc blandishments. One of the principal objectives of economic penetration by communist countries is to subvert African governments. This was demonstrated recently by the Chinese Communist involvement in the Zanzibar coup.

Pira Beach

Economic Integration

The rate of economic growth in Africa will be influenced considerably by collective action by African states to expand and improve those factors that contribute to productive efficiency. This means a willingness to take joint and collective action to expand education, improve the health and safety of the work force, increase research facilities, as well as cooperative actions to improve transport and communication facilities. It implies the coordination of plans to expand industrial and agricultural production and to increase intra-African trade based on complementarity. The scope and complexity of development problems are such that there is no room for wastage, competition and duplication of effort.

The large number of small economic units constitutes a restrictive factor on Africa's economic growth. There are some thirty-one countries and territories with a population of less than three million each. The development of viable economies based on these small markets would be extremely difficult no matter what the level of foreign aid.

National markets, based on existing political boundaries, are too small to insure the optimum use of modern technology. The narrowness of national markets makes the cost of certain domestically produced industrial commodities prohibitive. It is not possible to take full advantage of the economies of large-scale production as in the United States or the European Common Market. Economic integration in Africa, therefore, will be essential if economic growth is to be accelerated.

The formation of a common market and payments union will be key factors in Africa's move toward integration. Within a common market framework, Africans could pursue three possible strategies of development. Production of primary commodities for export could be expanded. The price and income elasticity of demand abroad are such that this might not be very profitable. Any substantial expansion of agricultural exports would tend to depress export prices. There has in fact been a substantial deterioration in prices of export commodities relative to import commodities since 1950. It has been estimated that Africa has lost about $5 billion in foreign exchange resources since 1950 owing to a deterioration in terms of trade. A second development strategy could be based on expanding exports of finished manufactures using raw materials produced in Africa. The ability of African countries to compete effectively is doubtful in the absence of preferential tariff treatment. A third alternative would be industrialization aimed at expanding intra-African trade. This course of action presupposes expanded industrial and agricultural production based on complementarity. Its success depends largely on African actions.

Through the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa impressive progress has been achieved in accelerating economic growth based on industrial development and economic cooperation at the sub-regional level. Industrial missions have visited North, West, East and Central Africa to explore the possibility of setting up large-scale sub-regional industries, taking into account factor endowments and economies of scale. Similar cooperative action is being taken in the fields of agriculture, education, transport and communication. Studies have been completed relating to the establishment of an African common market and payments union. An African Development Bank is being established as well as an African Institute for Economic Development and Planning. The Economic Commission for Africa is also establishing sub-regional offices to improve its operating efficiency.

The efforts of African states to accelerate economic growth by regional integration are beset by difficulties. The sheer struggle for survival, however, will force Africans to overcome these difficulties. They will continue to move in the direction of an Africa-wide economic development strategy in their efforts to insure a rising level of living for all.

Politico-Economic Considerations

Examination of economic development problems and prospects in Africa should take into account certain important political considerations. It is of some significance that the problems in Southern Africa could have serious consequences not only for Africa but for the world. The same may be true of the dangers of political instability, territorial disputes and Sino-Soviet activities.

The relative short-run prospects for development will depend in some measure on a peaceful settlement of the pressing political problems throughout the continent. One can only hope that in time Africa will achieve peace, prosperity and freedom with justice for all its people. For we of the West know from experience that politico-economic instability leads to discontent and disorder. And when any part of the world is troubled by instability there can be no real world peace, because peace is indivisible. It is vitally important, therefore, that the Free World continue to help Africa initiate a process of self-generating growth in the interest of world peace and stability. Given such assistance, Africa will continue to move toward a better life for all its peoples. ■

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MOTOR MART 1964

IN THIS YEAR of automotive grace 1964, the stream of cars that flows from the factories provides the same variety of choice, of luxurious refinements, of color and of price as last year—only more so. That is to say, with annual sales topping the seven million mark, competition for the buyer's attention is not now based on radical changes in design but on the details which suit the individual's preference.

All the new models look good. In appearance, they are stunning and sleek—with only vestigial remnants of the flaring fins which were such a status symbol a short time back; in performance, manufacturers point with pride to impressive track or road records; in dependability, one can hardly question the competence of the modern car to go through thick and thin to get you where you're going. If there is nothing much to distinguish this year's models from last year's models, Detroit the incorrigible is, inch by inch, making them wider, longer, in some cases lower, and—allegedly—roomier than ever. In price—that all-important consideration when shopping for value amid a myriad of makes and models—the line seems to have been generally held; at least there is no broad advance and in one or two instances the figures are actually a shade lower.

Such changes as have taken place are mostly under the hood, under the roof, or under the chassis, as the case may be. There is a marked trend toward contoured bucket seats, safety belts and driving consoles, reflecting the dominant motifs of luxury and sport. Headrests, adjustable pitch seats, reclining seats, tilt-away steering wheels (it's about time these became standard), wrap-around bumpers, wrap-around instrument crash pads, curved glass side windows, wood grain inserts on instrument panels are much in evidence, though usually at extra cost; upholstery and outside paint come in more colors than Joseph's coat. Motors are being built to require less frequent oil changes, chassis to need less frequent lubrication. Lines are cleaner and some styling is more aerodynamic, like the Corvette Sting Ray in satin silver with aluminum wheels. Hardtops are in favor—the debutante two-door Dodge is one of them. Automatic transmissions are becoming commonplace, such as Pontiac's "all-new vacuum-paced two-speed torque converter type hydraulic automatic transmission," which, as the blurb sheets put it, is "a lot easier to drive than it is to say."

Unless he has a specific target in zeroing in on the 1964 market, the prospective purchaser will find the current supply, as it was revealed at the Washington Automobile Show this spring, both bountiful and bewildering. To take at random only a few familiar brand names, we see Chevrolet offering forty-three models in five different sizes—ten more models than in 1963 and the most it has shown in a single year; Mercury adding two new series and a selection of roof designs; Rambler presenting a new line of compacts and adding hardtop models to its Classic and Ambassador group; Ford touting a total of forty-four models, with options aimed to meet any and every need; Oldsmobile listing a new Jetstar 88 in four models with or without the Jetaway automatic transmission; and, to vary the recital, Chrysler announcing more than forty items of extra equipment, including air conditioning, as standard on one model—the New Yorker Salon.

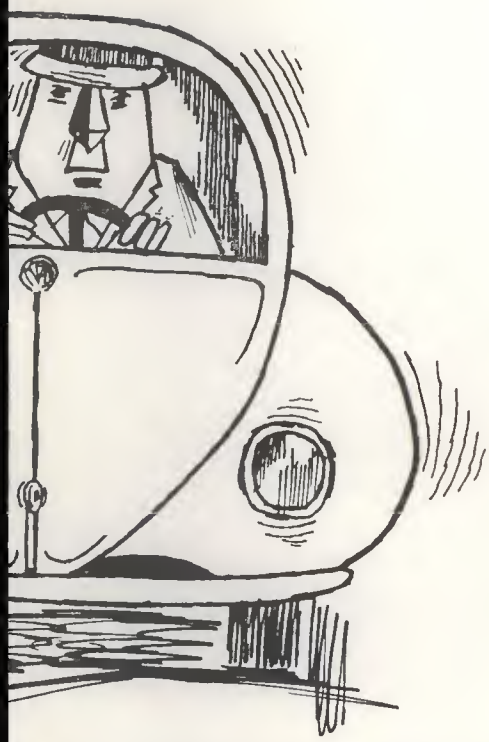
Of greatest interest to the greatest number, perhaps, is the latest version of three old favorites in the standard-size class—each with a wheelbase of 119 inches, overall length 209 inches: the Chevrolet Impala, the Dodge Polara, and the Ford Galaxie. The Impala has more chrome and new mouldings, but is otherwise little changed; the Polara has a new grille, massive bumpers, and a flatter hood line; while the Galaxie, though unmistakably a Ford, has now a horizontal grille and new body side sculpturing and trim.

In the intermediate category—wheelbase 115 inches—we note the Fairlane shorn of its rear fender fins but still featuring the big round taillights so characteristic of Ford fashions; the Pontiac Tempest with modified divided grille and additional front bumper; the newborn Chevelle, in the image of all Chevys and boasting curved glass side windows; a bigger and better Buick Special with new grille, roof and body; and the Oldsmobile F-85, stepped up in practically everything but the price. The last two have added almost a foot to their respective overall lengths for 1964—and thereby hangs a tale.

Both the Special and the F-85, as well as the Tempest, it will be remembered, were originally entrants in the compact class. Gradually, however, that irresistible urge toward bigness which is the hallmark of the American motor industry added more equipment, raised prices, and increased size until all three joined the ranks of the intermediates. It is the same story with other compacts. Only the Rambler seems able to preserve the illusion of keeping size within bounds; the restyled American, on a new 106-inch wheelbase, continues to claim the short turning radius of 36 feet, and with a modified "step-down" floor design, is a couple of inches lower and compacter than its predecessors.

In the matter of cost, outside of diplomatic discounts, it is more difficult than ever to obtain a true reading at first glance. As we all know by now, what is customarily available is

by HENRY S. VILLARD



the "manufacturer's suggested retail price, including reimbursement for Federal excise tax and suggested dealer delivery and handling charges." That is basic, but leaves the dealer free to adjust the selling tag with white sidewall tires, radio, defroster, and all manner of options and extras, not to speak of the allowance for an old car. But to give an idea of prevailing bedrock prices, here are a few of those "suggested" for the Washington area in two-door sedans: Dart, $2,168; Fairlane, $2,194; Chevy II, $2,206; Chevelle 300, $2,231; Comet, $2,213; Tempest, $2,259; Fairlane 500, $2,276; Rambler Classic 660, $2,284; Buick Special, $2,343; Oldsmobile F-85, $2,343; Biscayne, $2,363. For the four-door models, add $50 or $100 to these figures; and from there on up, it depends on what one wants to pay to gratify his particular taste.

In the higher-priced bracket, there are several mouth-watering models to tempt the pocketbook. Pontiac's Le Mans, either the coupe or the convertible, illustrates the point; each comes with expanded Morrokide bucket seats, plush nylon-blend carpeting, and is "color coordinated" inside and out. Those who favor the convertible will find the Buick LeSabre stressing luxury at a price "within reach of *almost* every new car buyer" (italics ours); to describe its Wildcat, the company has resorted to the zoo: "Natural habitat—roams the streets and tears up the highways. Food—generates power and performance for eating up the miles from 325 'cat power.' This sleek beast tracks its imitators and stalks its prey, purring contentedly as it devours its competition. If owned, can be picked from four species available in fifteen different colors."

Cadillac for one, maybe the only one, has reduced its models, to a mere eleven; but in keeping with the inexorable, it has increased the length of nine models to 223.5 inches and to 243.8 inches for the Seventy-Five Sedan and Limousine. Those who like the enormous will find the El Dorado Convertible (one inch added) to their heart's desire; and the price commensurate with the size. The famous Fleetwood, incidentally, if purchased with such ultimates as head lamp control power, radio rear control, and air conditioning, comes to just $11,259.80.

Lincoln-Continental, too, is larger than ever, with three inches added to wheelbase, car length, and rear door; a roof that is 5.4 inches wider; and an extra two inches of leg room in the rear seat, "plus nearly one-half inch of additional hip room"—presumably to accommodate those king-size tycoons who can afford to own Continentals.

Chrysler Imperial—billed as America's quietest car—with four models combining various options and features, adheres to its reputation for exclusive body construction, emphasizing elegance of look and subdued, though swank, metal sculpturing and trim.

For the exceptions that prove the rule of no novelties this year, there is the Ford Allegro—designed for the New York World's Fair as "the car of the future that could be built today." A streamlined number that makes the Thunderbird look dated, it has a grille extending forward of the headlights, a "fastback" roofline, a cantilevered-arm steering wheel with "memory unit" and, to accommodate drivers of assorted lengths, push-button adjustment of foot pedals forward and backward. In somewhat the same classification is the 365 H. P. two-seater open cockpit Dodge Charger, featuring an air scoop, a combination headrest-rollbar that looks as if it belonged at Utah flats, and a "competition height" windshield which deflects the flow of air over the driver. This type of transportation is not recommended for a trip to the supermarket, but may soon be normal on our throughways if speeds get any higher. For honorable mention in the specialty group, the legendary four-wheel drive Jeep has blossomed into a fast deluxe station wagon, with such options as automatic transmission, independent front suspension, power steering and power brakes—probably capable of going anywhere a tank can go.

At the lower end of the price-size scale, we must look to the imports for a genuine compact. Whether anyone cares about compactness in our crowded cities may be a moot question, judging by the never-ceasing demand for monsters that choke the streets; but it is barely possible that the frustrated parker, the economical-minded minority, or the second- or third-car family may shortly be a factor to be reckoned with. Indeed, the growing influx from abroad may be the most significant news of the day as far as these United States are concerned. Sales of foreign cars are climbing; while they represent but a small slice of the huge domestic pie, they are beginning to give the industrial barons of Michigan indigestion.

An all-time high for foreign cars sold in the United States was attained in 1959, when sales totaled 614,131. That sparked the introduction of the so-called compacts by domestic makers, a counter-move in the automotive cold war which dropped the sales of imports to 339,160 in 1962. But to the surprise of no one who has followed the compulsive growth of the American products, the tide seems to have turned; some 400,000 foreign units reached the customers in 1963 and estimates of 500,000 are being freely made for 1964.

As might be expected, Volkswagen leads in this race by a wide margin. And no wonder, if one considers the primary purpose of this small economy-size package, such as the deluxe sedan with sun roof, saucier than ever, at $1,699 port of entry; the 1200 convertible with overlapping top to guarantee a snug interior when it rains; the more expensive, low-slung, limited-production coupe that looks like a custom job, by Ghia of Turin out of the Karmann Works in Osnabrück ($2,495); or that phenomenal carry-all, the station wagon, with space for eight adults, sixteen pieces of baggage, sliding roof, fourth gear overdrive, and a parking ability equivalent to that of the sedan.

Together with Volkswagen, such cars as the Renault Dauphine, the Standard-Triumph, and the Volvo account for about 83 per cent of the total foreign market in the U. S. Fiats, including Pininfarina's smart Spider roadster, and Japan's Datsun line have so far trailed. Volvo is making a strong play this year on the theme: "If you want economy, you've got to

(*Continued on page* 49)

WASHINGTON LETTER

by TED OLSON

New-Found Land

THE interest in Africa—to which a sizable fraction of this issue is devoted—was demonstrated by the SRO turnout a few weeks ago for a lecture on African sculpture at New State's old east auditorium. The lecturer was Professor William Fagg of Cambridge University, the world's foremost authority on the subject, according to those who should know. The joint sponsors were the Bureau of African Affairs and the State-USIA Recreation Association. If these intramural cultural events all pull such crowds (and this one was at lunchtime), Patrick Hayes must be envious.

When the editors started putting this issue together, it was on the assumption that virtually everybody who hasn't served on the once-dark continent lives in daily expectation of being called thither, and might welcome a few reflections more general than the factual matter in post reports. The two leading articles in this number are of course only a beginning. There will be more later. And we have been promised some bibliographies: "the ten best books on Africa-South-of-the-Sahara," for instance.

Our own basic reading list would include two that may not be on that provided by AF: Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" and Joyce Cary's "Mr. Johnson." Nearly everybody knows Conrad's mordant picture of the colonialism against which the continent is still rebelling. But not everybody is acquainted with Mr. Cary's tragi-comic young African clerk, who has lost his footing in his native culture and cannot come to satisfactory terms with another. Knowing Mr. Johnson, we sometimes thought we almost understood Lumumba.

Further evidence of our belated discovery of the fourth continent: Washington is to have its own Museum of African Art in the course of the year. It will, most appropriately, occupy the former residence, on Capitol Hill, of Frederick Douglass, the freed slave who held high office under several Presidents in the second half of the last century. The sponsoring organization is the Center for Cross-cultural Communication, whose director, Warren M. Robbins, used to be a USIS cultural officer. The prospectus says the museum will display contemporary American and European painting as well as African sculpture, to show the relationship—one of the things that struck those who attended Professor Fagg's lecture.

Baluba headrest, now in British Museum

This Is The Year

A retired FSO-CM remarked the other day, "I'm going to cast my first vote next November." Anywhere but in Washington that might have evoked a chorus of "How come?" but nobody lifted an eyebrow. Not many FS people, let us hope, go through a working lifetime without ever having a chance to cast a ballot, but plenty of them miss their franchise for long stretches, through no fault of their own. Residents of the District were, of course, completely disfranchised until 1961; this will be their first Presidential election as participants instead of spectators. Others have the lesser misfortune of living in states that require registration in person; it's rare good luck when a home assignment or home leave coincides with a Presidential year, and the limited registration periods.

The Department has enjoined its Chiefs of Mission to bend every effort to get out the vote. But if the returns aren't 100 per cent the blame should be laid on the vagaries of state voting laws, not on indifference among our public servants.

Foreign Service people overseas aren't exposed in the same degree as the home folks to the televised polemics of the candidates and their handymen. But they *are* exposed to another hazard: the embarrassment of having to explain some of the things said in the heat of battle back home.

It's a fact of American political life that, as the fateful November Tuesday approaches, even the soberest statesman is likely to talk a good deal of nonsense. (Not an exclusively American phenomenon, to be sure.) Passions are inflamed; tempers crack; harsh words provoke harsher retorts, and by the last week in October everybody is swinging wildly in a fine old-fashioned donnybrook.

Long ago we made up our mind to discount anything a candidate said in the six months before election day, and not to take him to task for it afterward. A few of our foreign friends know us, our national temperament, and our institutions well enough to make similar allowances. Many more don't, and are going to be distressed and alarmed by some of the campaign oratory. It will not be easy to soothe and reassure them.

Still others, of eourse, find the whole speetacle ineomprehensible: one-party rule is, in theory, so much tidier. But we rather like our raueous proeedure, and we suspeet there are a good many millions who envy it.

SHMO Is a Feller's Best Friend

The reorganization of the Offiee of Personnel has brought into being a whole new family of alphabetieal combinations (somewhat reminiseent of Conneetieut automobile licenses) and ineidentally given PERsonnel a jolly time eonverting them into pronounceable vocables. So if you hear syllables that sound like SHMAD, SHMO and SPUD being tossed around don't think your hearing has failed you. SHMAD is now the accepted oral equivalent for CMAD—the Career Management and Assignment Division. (Its staff members indignantly deny that it bears any similarity to Ian Fleming's SMERSH.) A SHMO is a Career Management Offieer. (There was a short-lived movement to call him a SCHMOO, but the resemblance to Al Capp's ingratiating little ereation that will do anything to make you happy was not sufficiently striking.) SPUD is the Support Staff Personnel Division; SPEED was eonsidered but rejected, for reasons whieh should be obvious. Old-timers will drop a furtive tear for that venerable guardian of the gates, BEX; it has been merged with the Employment Division into a Recruitment and Examination Division—naturally and appropriately referred to as REX.

New Look

The people at the JOURNAL office have been somewhat surprised, and a little miffed, at the lack of reader eomment on the changes in the magazine's appearance in the last couple of issues. Hasn't anybody noticed? When the SATURDAY EVENING POST underwent a radieal faee-lifting operation a few years ago, the reaction, pro and con, was convulsive. We wouldn't like people writing in to eancel their subseriptions, as some SEP readers did, but we expeeted at least a few oral or epistolatory twitches.

So far (at this writing) nobody has pointed out that the eagle on our title page is looking the wrong way: anyway, in the opposite direction from the eagle on the United States Seal. No insubordination or heresy intended: his pose does not indicate an ideological shift toward the left; the artist insisted he had to faee that way, outward toward the magazine title rather than inward away from it.

We choose to believe that the absenee of protests means that JOURNAL readers are, as a group, open-minded, receptive to change and experiment. Not just unobservant.

Thesaurus Dept.

One of our minor diversions is watching the shifting fashions in the vocabulary of bureaucracy. We have no idea what philological inner eouncil in the uppermost echelon sets the mode, but suddenly no offieial doeument is eonsidered ready for initialing unless it includes the word-of-the-year. A decade or so baek it was "mystique." Eventually that was replaced by "charisma." During the last eouple of years "disarray" and "dialogue" have been running neck-and-neck; no drafter worth his eoffee ration would dream of writing "disorder" or "discussion." The latest magie word appears to be "thrust." It turns up everywhere (ineluding this issue of the JOURNAL). So far as we can judge by the context it says nothing that eouldn't be expressed with "emphasis" or "direetion." If we have missed some subtle overtone we shall gladly aceept eorrection.

Statuary Hall

This column remarked a couple of years ago on the abundance—Secretary Udall suggested that it was an over-abundance—of statuary in our city. The New York TIMES recently printed some refleetions on the theme which it has graciously authorized the JOURNAL to quote:

SOLILOQUY IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

It must be fairly easy to beeome a statue.
There always are Alamos, eauses apparently lost
but not really, barrieades to be stormed or defended.
The trick's to be out in front, brandishing something.
The script doesn't matter. Historians will provide
appropriate apocrypha for the pedestal.
It's a good trade, if you enjoy being a nuisance.
They'll route the traffie around you, set up benches
where old men ean doze, and feed the squirrels,
and wonder whothehell you were. Children
and pigeons will add graffiiti to your legend.
You've got it made. Until there's another war.
Then they melt you down and loh you again
at the enemy, whoever he is. And you've had it.
A statue seldom gets a second chance.

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"I'm sorry that I couldn't write a better efficiency report for you, Miss Johnson, but I hope you'll take my criticisms in the spirit the Foreign Service hopes for."

MALAGASY SKETCHES

by Lilian Eisenberg

The house of Jean Laborde, Ambodofotrota

Market Woman, Tanararive

The Queen's Castle, Tananarive

Evening Rest, High Plateau, Madagascar

EDITORIALS

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

While we were still puzzling over the necessarily general and bureaucratic language of the newly proposed career development program and trying to make up our minds whether this language really concealed a new and useful approach, Foreign Affairs Manual Circular No. 168 of February 3 hit our desk. This had the intriguing title of "Atlantic Affairs Specialization Program" and started off with the promising sentence, "As part of the Department's new career management concept, announcement is made of the establishment of a program for specialization in Atlantic Affairs." This sample of the new dish whets our appetite, but raises many questions connected with the current reorganization of Personnel.

The new program forecasts an interdisciplinary concept and training which is in the best tradition of present attempts in education and scientific preparation to cope with the complex issues of the world today. To quote again from the Manual: "The ability to handle and inter-relate the political, military and economic aspects of integration in Europe and of cooperation across the Atlantic requires special knowledge and special skill." The program envisages university training on the basis of specially tailored courses and a sequence of assignments for officers to give them experience in the various capitals as well as in the various substantive areas which combined make up an understanding of this complex subject.

What appeals to us about this forecast is its combination of various substantive skills with a degree of mobility in assignments, both at home and abroad, which should challenge the best officers. Even the declared intention to assign officers in this program to areas outside of the Atlantic community from time to time seems to us to have merit in giving such specialists a perspective on their problem and an opportunity to learn to appreciate the world-wide commitments of the United States.

The JOURNAL believes that the new career management concept currently being implemented will have far-reaching consequences for officers at all levels. It welcomes the assignment of Career Management Officers with their responsibility of assuring the ability of the Service to meet its increasingly complex and specialized responsibilities. While we wish the new concept every success, it will be interesting to see how some aspects will work. Will there be inequities in a promotion system in which officers compete against others in their field rather than against their whole class? To what extent will officers really be able to switch from one field to another? How can those officers now doing consular work who wish to do political or economic reporting be accommodated? How can the daily pressures and unforeseeable developments caused by the needs of the Service be reconciled with the individual management of officers' careers?

We are sure that these and similar questions have been raised in the minds of many of our readers and the JOURNAL will welcome comments from them on the concepts, some of them new to the Service, that are currently being implemented. ■

A CONTINENT OF CHANGE

The JOURNAL is pleased to have in this issue several articles on Africa, a continent until recently little known to most Americans, including most officers of the Foreign Service. Today with approximately sixty posts in Africa and over 400 officers serving there, with AID missions in many countries and the Peace Corps valiantly carrying out its varied functions in the villages, Africa looms large as an area in which American interests and responsibilities have greatly increased. For a generation in whose formative years Africa was portrayed only by "Bring 'Em Back Alive" and "Sanders of the River," the progress and development of this vast continent in recent years are hard to absorb. From the lively, teeming cities of the West Coast with their modern buildings, universities and all the trappings of the 20th century to windswept, sophisticated Cape Town with its polyglot population, the continent is in a state of continual change.

Though the wild and lonely hinterland, the Africa of the elephant on the skyline and the distant lion's roar, continues to exist, it is in the new capitals that most Foreign Service officers will serve. There they will play a leading role in formulating United States policy in the area and will confront the problems and trends discussed in this issue. The JOURNAL believes that with many tours now coming to an end, and the summer transfer season fast approaching, these articles may be of more than passing interest to quite a large number of our readers. ■

[*"UNCTAD and the Kennedy Round," in the April* JOURNAL, *gave a general survey of the two great international trade conferences held in Geneva this spring. This article describes the prolonged and elaborate preparations for United States participation in the bigger of the two, which is still in session.*]

ABOUT 1,500 officials from 122 countries—the full membership of the UN and its specialized agencies—are participating in the mammoth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development now in session in Geneva.

Even the documentation for the conference is in keeping with its size. Documents prepared by the UN for the use of delegates amount to over 5,000 pages; and the UN Secretariat has estimated that the official record of what is said during the twelve-week session will run to another 8,400 pages.

The conferees are following an agenda under which every conceivable trade topic can be discussed. It contains twenty-seven separate trade policy issues, all of them interrelated and each with its own nuances. The delegates are operating through five main committees to which the agenda topics have been assigned. As the conference runs its course, it is likely that much of the work of the committees will have to be done through smaller working parties—a five-ring performance with side actions in numbers as yet unknown.

Many of the agenda issues have raised difficult policy problems for the United States. During the sixteen months preceding the opening of the conference on March 23, upward of two hundred government officials were involved in preparing United States positions on the conference issues. They did the job in addition to their regular duties, and with no special budget. It was a major and unique foreign policy exercise.

This paper reviews the mechanics of the exercise. It strays onto the windswept plateau of high international policy only so far as necessary to view the United States' preparations for the Conference in their rightful perspective.

IN ADDITION to the issues of war and peace, economic development is a central objective of United States foreign policy.

preparing

The Developing Countries Press for a Trade Conference

The Conference on Trade and Development has been called, by representatives of some developing countries, the most important UN event from their point of view since the San Franciso conference at which the UN itself was formed. The conference, which marks the first major entry of the UN into the field of trade policy since 1947, was called at the insistence of the developing countries. Its purpose is to explore means for expanding the export trade receipts of developing countries to provide more foreign exchange for use in economic development.

The trading situation of the developing countries is precarious: nearly nine-tenths by value of their exports are made up of primary commodities, for which—petroleum and a few other commodities excepted—world demand grows but slowly, a tendency toward oversupply exists, prices have tended to decline in the past decade, as well as to fluctuate widely in the short run.

This state of affairs was called forcefully to the attention of governments in 1958 by the publication under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of the so-called Haberler report, "Trends in International Trade." In 1959 GATT embarked on a program for the expansion of developing countries' trade through reduction of barriers. The designation of the 1960s as the "Decade of Development" by the UN General Assembly brought into focus the close relationship between trade and economic development. At the Cairo Conference of Developing Nations in 1962, at the UN General Assembly and in the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), discussion began to center on some tentative proposals for solving the trade problem. These ideas were based on four major premises:

—that earnings from commodity trade must be enlarged;

—that it is necessary for developing countries to increase their exchange earnings through increased exports of manufactured and processed goods;

—that means should be found for increasing sales to certain countries, mainly in the Soviet bloc, which now buy only relatively small amounts of developing countries' products;

—and that the present structure of international organizations dealing with trade should be altered, with more responsibility placed in the UN.

Initiatives by the developing countries at the General Assembly and in the ECOSOC in 1961 and 1962 were aimed at convening an international conference to explore these and related issues.

But the United States, together with a good many other Western industrialized countries, was not enthusiastic about the idea of a world trade conference, for various reasons related to means rather than ends. First, since the publication of the Haberler report, the United States and the Free World as a whole had intensified efforts to deal with the trade problems of the developing countries. These efforts, which continue, include development of the GATT to improve the trading situation of those nations. Secondly, it was believed to be of paramount importance for developing nations and advanced ones alike that the 1964 GATT trade negotiations, the Kennedy Round, be successful. These are top priority programs and it was feared that they might be compromised if another trade conference intervened. Thirdly, in the beginning the initiative for the conference appeared closely similar to the Soviet Union's hardy perennial proposal at the General Assembly for the formation of an international trade organization. This idea had been trotted out

by SPENCER PAUL MILLER

every fall since 1956 and used to carry a load of anti-Western bombast.

At the 1962 sessions of ECOSOC and the General Assembly, however, the developing nations made it clear that under the terms of their own proposal it would be *their* trade and development problems, not Soviet debating points, that would be considered. They indicated strongly that they intended a serious, businesslike conference and would tolerate no propaganda exercises by the Soviet bloc—or by the West. On this basis the United States agreed to participate and affirmed its desire and intention of helping to make the conference productive. At the same time the United States did not diminish its vital interest in the other important trade initiatives taking place elsewhere.

Equipping the U.S. Delegation

In November 1962 the UN General Assembly requested the Secretary General to make arrangements for the conference. In order that adequate time be provided for preparations, the United States and other countries argued successfully that the conference should be convened in the spring of 1964. This timing gave the United States somewhat less than a year and a half to work out positions on some highly technical trade policy issues with complicated histories. Substantive responsibility for the conference was assigned to the Bureau of Economic Affairs (E), because of the close relationship between the subject matter of the conference and work being carried out by the GATT Contracting Parties and other international economic bodies, for which E already had substantive responsibility within the Department of State.

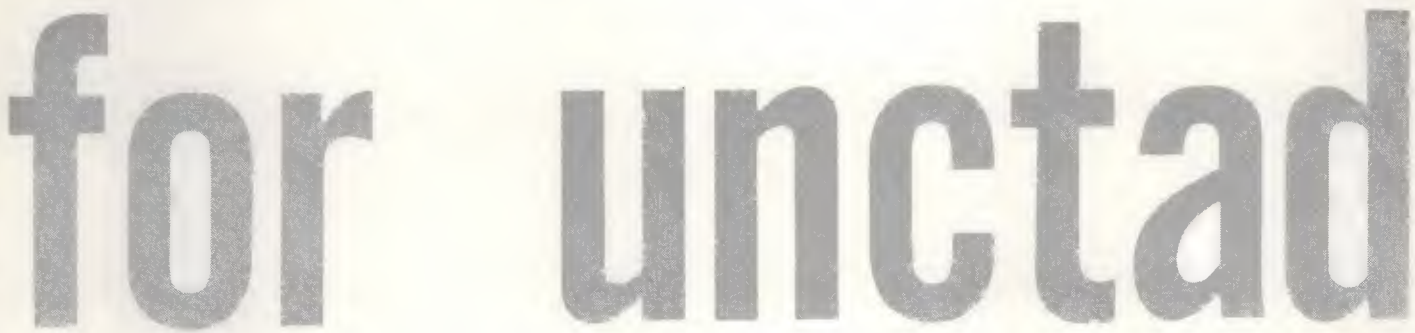
The first task was to prepare to take part in negotiating the conference agenda. If the United States was to honor its commitment to make the conference productive in exploring the trade problems of developing countries, it had to help shape the agenda to that end. The agenda would be negotiated by a thirty-nation Preparatory Committee (later expanded to thirty-two nations) formed by the UN Secretary General, which would meet in New York in January 1963. The United States had two months to decide what topics it thought the conference could most usefully consider, to predict what topics other countries were likely to want included in the agenda, and to determine the extent to which it could support or should oppose the wishes of the other participants. The job was carried out under the supervision of Herman H. Barger, Deputy Director of E's Office of International Trade (now Economic Counselor in Mexico). Drafting responsibility was centered largely in E's General Commercial Policy Division and Commodity Programming Division, with significant help from the Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO), the Bureau of European Affairs and the Department of Commerce.

The exploratory research turned out to be on target as regards main issues. The provisional agenda negotiated by the Preparatory Committee was more complex and comprehensive than might have been hoped, however, because of the variety of particular national interests that had to be included. The small, carefully selected United States Delegation, headed by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Isaiah Frank (now on the faculty of Johns Hopkins University), fought hard and successfully, in a series of tense meetings—some of them lasting well beyond midnight—for the exclusion of material not germane to developing countries' trade problems, such as polemical Cold War issues.

Veterans of that first session of the Preparatory Committee who are still in the United States Government and still actively involved with the UN Trade Conference are Sidney Weintraub of the General Commercial Policy Division and Virginia McClung of the Commodity Programming Division, both in E; Clarence Blau, then of the Department of Commerce and now Senior Economic Adviser in the United States Mission to the UN; and Walter Kotschnig of IO.

With the agenda decided, the Preparatory Committee agreed to hold a second session to review preliminary documentation prepared by the UN Secretariat, exchange ideas on trade problems and some proposed solutions, and thereby assist the UN Secretariat in planning its documentation for the conference. Governments were invited to state their views in writing, in advance of the second session, and a number of them did so.

Since the United States did not know for sure at that stage which agenda items would be considered most important by the nations preparing for the conference, the next step was to assess the dimensions of each trade subject on the agenda plus a number of related problems. A key part of the process was articulating in each case just what was United States policy. For some of the subjects this would not be easy. Finally, for each subject an effort would be made to determine what United States policy *should* be—which might not necessarily coincide with what it had been—in terms of the long-range national interest; and what it *could* be in terms of political and economic reality. The results of this exercise thus would arm the United States delegation to the Preparatory Committee's second session with a cohesive United States view of each trade problem on the conference agenda.



It was taken for granted that the job would be done within existing budgetary allotments.

To carry out the task an *ad hoc* Interagency Steering Group was formed and all United States Government agencies with a direct interest in the conference issues were invited to participate. Isaiah Frank, the first chairman of the group, assigned responsibility for each agenda item to an appropriate officer for the drafting of the required background and policy paper. Each officer went through his usual clearance process with his own organization and other agencies concerned before presenting his paper to the Interagency Steering Group for review. Because of the diversity of interests, each issue got a searching examination. An incidental result of the exercise, with bene-

(*Continued on page* 47)

THE CANDID CAMERA OF THE RATING OFFICER*

It is perhaps significant that the two acceptable pieces of work he prepared last year were two reports written when his wife was out of town.

I saw no evidence of intemperance but observed several occasions on which Mr. ..... could well have consumed less.

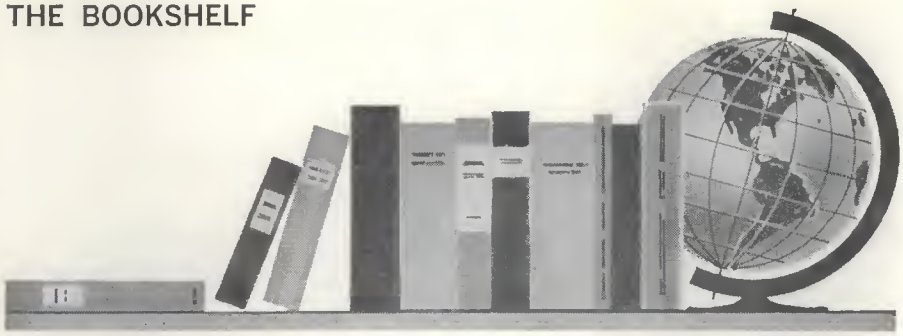
Post Preference: My previously expressed interest in sub-Saharan Africa has been totally overcome. I would like to develop an area specialization in the French speaking countries of Western Europe.

The inspector accepted an invitation to their house, where, after a long hard day at the office, he gratefully accepted a glass of cold cranberry juice before dinner.

I do not believe he has the potential to assume positions of highest responsibility in the Department or the Foreign Service, but with proper training he should qualify to be a Deputy Chief of Mission or even a Chief of Mission.

After several months at post, the officer was a bit miffed when a store clerk asked him if he were with the Hungarian circus.

*See page 2



Too Little Food, Too Many People

IT is indeed a rare occasion to encounter a book that takes an optimistic stand in the face of the Four Horsemen of the Malthusian apocalypse. Dr. Jonathan Garst's "No Need for Hunger," as he reveals, was "conceived in anger and dedicated to the proposition that almost everybody ought to have all they want to eat." An agricultural expert, he has been in and out of government as a short-term consultant since the beginning of the New Deal, more recently being a guest of Russia as a fertilizer adviser and subsequently a consultant in Brazil and Central America.

Virtually none of the two-thirds of humanity that now experience hunger need do so, he argues, and his logic runs along these lines: since it is the underfed nations that are now increasing in numbers at such a frightening rate, the basic solution to their overpopulation problem lies in helping them to produce more food. "More food, fewer babies," he asserts. "The contention of this book is that the present world population can be well fed and that feeding people well is one way to slow down population growth."

Like most Neo-Godwinians, Dr. Garst shows a real enthusiasm for "the call of the soil," and in scientific agriculture he finds the key to population control. He is a brother of Roswell Garst, the Iowa farmer who gained fame when he played host to Khrushchev, and he repeatedly refers, often in a reminiscing mood, to "the farm at Coon Rapids." One has the feeling that he views it as a model of scientific agricultural practices that should be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to all backward areas of the world. "With all our foreign aid we cannot point to one undeveloped country that has found the road to prosperity," Farmer Garst declares. He advocates an alternative route, encapsulating his program thus: "Scientist, Industrialist, Salesman, Farmer: *These Four Together Can Feed the World.*" (Heading for Chapter 8).

Whenever I read one of the Neo-Godwinians, I experience an uneasy, deep-seated sense that something is being omitted, that their arguments rest on a short-range view of the food-population problem rather than on a long-range view—in short, that their well-intentioned humanitarianism rests on shaky philosophical foundations. They are caught, I believe, between the Scylla of utilitarian, humanitarian democracy, with its "greatest happiness [food] for the greatest number," and the Charybdis of neo-positivistic science, which concentrates on immediate *means* while leaving the ultimate *ends* hazy and random. Left to itself, the *highest good* for a nation becomes the goal of providing an adequate diet for the largest population it is possible to squeeze within its borders. No consideration is shown for the possibility that there may be an optimum population for a country—perhaps 150 millions for the United States. To be sure, Dr. Garst describes the technical *means* to higher food production with detail and validity, but his basic hypothesis concerning the ultimate *ends* of his program, in terms of population stabilization, are vague and unsatisfactory.

In "Too Many Americans," Lincoln and Alice Day, a husband-and-wife team of sociologists from Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, describe this situation well: "Apologists for continued population growth who put their faith in science reduce man to a mere bread-and-potatoes phenomenon. . . ." "Our concern here is with the quality of life, whereas claims about the ability of science to maintain even larger populations imply that all we need to worry about are man's physical needs."

The Days outline the ingredients of the American way of life, as affected by the projected growth in American population. Starting from the deleterious effects of rapid growth on our conditions of life that are already evident, they extrapolate these effects to describe the life to come if there are *two* Americans for every *one* here now—a situation that will develop by the year 2000 unless our demographic patterns change. Viewing the full image of the American way of life—"our living standards, the organization of our families, our aspirations, and our fears," they contend that not only the underdeveloped world but the United States is already experiencing a population crisis. Our growth, although only three million compared to a world increase of 46 million annually, is oriented to the highest material standard of living the world has ever known. It is true that we Americans contribute less than 1/16th of the total human increase, but at the same time, we consume roughly one-half of the world's annual production of non-renewable resources. Ultimately, they argue, we shall be forced to share more and more of these resources with the burgeoning billions of other lands, aroused as they are by the revolution of rising expectations.

It is palpable that to maintain the high quality of life that Americans now take for granted and demand for their children, we must attain a long-range population stability. Only three means are available—control through migration, through mortality, or through natality. The Days demonstrate that the first two can be ruled out, and consequently they present their case for stabilizing our population through natality (birth) control. Regrettably, this is the weakest part of their book.

Their hope for an optimum American population of 220 millions is oversanguine, given the nature of modern American man. Their ideal image of American society is one in which no unwanted child is born; moreover, the decision whether or not to have a child is made solely by the potential parents, on a rational basis, determined by a cultural context in which a family of three children is considered large.

Living in the world of "the lonely crowd," to use David Riesman's phrase, the exploding, confusing megalopolis, a coldly impersonal and insecure place, the mass individual has sought refuge in family life. The upward trend in birth rates following World War II indirectly reflects, I think, this deeply felt personal need for intimacy and affection.

This retrenchment within the family requires a number of children, for children provide joy and affection to the parents, they constitute the essential ingredient for an intimate family circle of togetherness, they occupy the waking consciousness of the parents outside their work. Let the outer world, with its hydrogen bombs, ICBMs, Communist threats, population explosion, widespread hunger, etc. go by. "We," within our family, reject this "world without meaning," and we shall find refuge and a meaning in life within our home circle. Man, less than 10,000 years out of the

cave, thus returns to the cave, once more finding a haven there, with his family, against the terror of the world outside.

Hence, he leads a dual existence, externally threatened but internally, within the family, relatively secure. Given this social climate, the individual defends his right to reproduce as an inalienable right, for it alone provides him with an overweening meaning to life. Any attempt by coercive or repressive measures, political or otherwise, to impose family limitation would be looked upon as an infringement of his natural rights, a negation of democracy strongly to be resisted.

Manifold forces at work in our society, including the very social dynamics related to our population growth, make extremely unlikely any sudden transvaluation of values and attitudes in the direction of substantial family limitation on behalf of optimum social needs, as a result of voluntary, rational planning by individual parents.

It follows that there may well *not* be any resolution to the Malthusian dilemma based on socially sanctioned, individualistic family planning. But Population, like Time, must have a stop. Although neither of these books presents a convincing solution to the general problems to which they address themselves, yet each, in its way, gives the JOURNAL reader a useful and interesting perspective on the paramount social issue of our time.

—THEODORE DOHRMAN

NO NEED FOR HUNGER, *by Jonathan Garst. Random House,* $3.95.

TOO MANY AMERICANS, *by Lincoln H. Day and Alice Taylor Day. Houghton Mifflin,* $4.50.

A Continent Larger than Life

AFRICA is a continent larger than life. Its human pattern is a crazy quilt of diverse peoples, tribes, and ethnic groupings. It embraces every conceivable variety of human culture, religious belief, and economic activity. As a result it is part myth, part contradiction. For this diversity is reflected in societies half-modern, half-traditional, emotions molded by rapidly changing values, and political passions generated by colonial complexes as well as new frustrations.

Africa has become meaningful in the modern world only within the past two decades. Indeed, for most Africans the world is very young. They are caught up in an age of exploration and discovery, made possible by independence only recently attained.

Just as Africa is seeking to find its proper place in the world, Americans are only beginning to discover Africa. Professor McKay, formerly a senior official in the Department of State, has prepared a useful study of the official awakening to Africa. He examines the impact of the United Nations upon Africa; the policies of the Soviet Union in the area; the rise of Pan-Africanist sentiment; the meaning of negritude; the place of democracy in Africa; and the role of India and Indians.

The first study of its kind by an eminent American scholar, "Africa in World Politics" deserves serious attention. It will serve as a useful guide through Africa's dense political forests.

—WILLIAM H. LEWIS

AFRICA IN WORLD POLITICS, *by Vernon McKay. Harper & Row,* $6.75.

An African Statesman Reflects

BEFORE World War II, African political ideas, except for a few notable exceptions, were largely echoes of European thinkers or could be traced to reflections on the colonial policies of European administrators. Rarely were they conclusions which Africans themselves generated or about which they wrote in any definitive way. Since 1960—Africa's year of independence—a new tradition has emerged. As the Nkrumahs, Toures, Mboyas, Senghors, Nyereres and Azikiwes have assumed power, their autobiographies, articles and collections of speeches have appeared to constitute the first bare outlines of Africa's own newfound political theory. Moreover, trusted lieutenants of these national leaders (writing perhaps in too laudatory terms) are also beginning to add to this body of distinctively African political thinking.

One such able African is Alex Quaison-Sackey, Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations, whose "Africa Unbound" is an uneven book, yet not without interest. In his chapter on the African Personality, he analyzes, in a perceptive and lucid manner, the history and thought behind this contemporary political idea particularly in relation to its older and more elusive component, Negritude. The first, Quaison-Sackey points out, is distinctively African and "projects a figure of action and thought, of unified power defined in political action" which gives form to African expressions in the UN. The latter, on the other hand, can be found wherever one finds black men living (in Africa, the West Indies, South America or the United States) for Negritude represents pride and "the acceptance of the integrity of being black."

Unfortunately, the author's excellent and penetrating perceptions about these two forces of modern Africa does not characterize the writing and ideas of his other chapters. Too often, Mr. Quaison-Sackey is guilty of falling into a slogan or cliché trap as he attempts to give unnecessary credit to African leadership and initiative. Yet the book is not without significance in its useful compendium of the first faltering steps toward African unity and cooperation, its strong defense of the United Nations, and its eloquent pleas for racial understanding.

—C. KENNETH SNYDER

AFRICA UNBOUND: *Reflections of an African Statesman, by Alex Quaison-Sackey. Praeger.* $4.95

Modern Libya

LITERATURE about Libya is distinguished by its scarcity, and this textbook on the country's political development happily fills an empty space on the small shelf of works relating to Arab North Africa. Under the Italian occupation, notable studies were made of Libya's component parts—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan—but the number of publications dealing with this former colonial territory as an independent post-war state can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Majid Khadduri, Director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, took advantage of a year as Dean of the government-sponsored Libyan University to lay the foundation for his volume, and built upon it by visits in 1959 and 1961. The result is a series of informative chapters on Libya's historical background, the political, legal and constitutional problems of the emerging nation, and its trials and errors in self-government as revealed in the regimes of successive Prime Ministers. It is a pity, however, that so authoritative a volume could not have included an account of the fundamental changes made recently in the Constitution and the Federal system—changes which abolished the power of the provincial governors, strengthened the central authority, and encouraged a trend toward unity in place of sectional rivalries. So difficult is it to keep up with modern Libya that another chapter is already needed to analyze the important events which have taken place since the book went to press—including the appointment of a new Prime Minister and the announcement of his policy objectives.

The author advisedly makes no attempt to discuss the country's economic problems, deferring in that respect to the comprehensive report of the International Bank published in 1960; nor does he pay more than passing attention to the dramatic story of the oil discoveries and their impact on the

Libyan economy. But Mr. Khadduri has made a valuable contribution to public knowledge in recording the various political steps by which Libya has learned to walk. With its copious footnotes and commentary, the book will prove an indispensable guide and reference work for students of this current experiment in constitutional monarchy.

—Henry S. Villard

Modern Libya, *by Mujid Khadduri. Johns Hopkins*, $7.50.

Three Books on West Africa

Until recently sub-Saharan Africa was given short shrift in most Western history books. References, if any, to Africa were usually to the relatively recent period of European contact with the continent. The principal actors were Europeans, not Africans. Only now, after Africa has forced its attention on the outside world, is the early history of the African peoples beginning to be told. For West Africa it is a fascinating story of great indigenous empires and of warring forest tribes and kingdoms. This story, as well as the more familiar one of European exploitation and colonization, is engagingly told by J. D. Fage in his excellent short "Introduction to the History of West Africa" which is now appearing in its third edition. To the earlier editions Fage has added a chapter surveying the revolutionary changes which have taken place in Africa since 1945. When the book first appeared in 1955 it won instant acclaim. In the reviewer's opinion, it is still the most lucid and best balanced history of West Africa available in English. Excellent maps and a short annotated bibliography enhance the value of the book. It is a book which many will wish to own.

One of the more important African empires of the nineteenth century was the Hausa-Fulani empire of the Western Sudan. Although formal political authority passed from the Hausa-Fulani rulers to the colonial powers and, more recently, to nationalist African governments, the traditional Hausa-Fulani leaders continue to wield considerable political influence in the area. In fact, the present Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, is a direct descendant of the founder of the empire. Many consider the Sardauna the most powerful political figure in Nigeria today. "I could not avoid the obligation of my birth and destiny," he writes in his autobiography, "My Life." "My great-great grandfather built an Empire in the Western Sudan. It has fallen to my lot to play a not inconsiderable part in building a new nation." Just how important a role the Sardauna played in shaping the structure and character of the new state of Nigeria is revealed in his autobiography. It was indeed decisive. Most readers will probably find the Sardauna's very personal account of Nigeria's march toward independence the most interesting and informative part of the book. As an autobiography, on the other hand, the book is disappointing. Very little of the iceberg comes above the surface. This should not deter the serious student of Nigerian politics, who will find that by reading between the lines he can learn much about the character and personality of the Sardauna.

By virtue of their political control of the Northern Region, which has over fifty percent of the seats in the Federal Parliament, the northern political leaders have been able thus far to dominate the Federal Government. This domination is resented by many Southerners. The recent treason trials of the Action Group opposition leaders and the emergency in the Western Region have sparked some speculation that the Federation may be in danger of breaking up. Henry Bretton, in his book "Politics and Stability in Nigeria," identifies and analyzes some of the major points of political instability within Nigerian society. The picture which emerges is a disquieting one. For this reason alone the book warrants the serious attention of our African policy makers. Unfortunately, the intrusion of methodological jargon will probably discourage many readers.

—Willard DePree

An Introduction to the History of West Africa, *by J. D. Fage. Cambridge University Press*, $1.45 *(paperback)*.

My Life, *Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto. Cambridge University Press*, $5.50.

Power and Stability in Nigeria, *by Henry L. Bretton. Frederick A. Praeger*, $6.00.

Up-dated

When the first edition of Dr. Brown's book appeared in 1953 it partly met the need in the United States at that time for a basic work on India and Pakistan which also focused on the relations of these two newly independent countries with the United States. The second edition has been extensively revised and will serve as a useful reference work. The informed reader who is looking for analyses and interpretations of the dynamics of the internal political trends and foreign policy developments in India and Pakistan will want to turn to more specialized works, many of which are listed in the excellent bibliography. There is also a useful index.

—Charles W. Naas

The United States and India and Pakistan, *by W. Norman Brown. Harvard University Press*, $5.95.

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BEHIND THE SHUTTER

PART III

by PAUL CHILD

A REPEATING VISUAL RHYTHM, WITH VARIATION, HAS ALMOST AUTOMATIC APPEAL. This probably relates to the rhythms in ourselves and in nature: breathing, heartbeats, sex, day and night, waves, etc. In a house where the ticking of the grandfather clock endlessly repeats the same sound, one forgets it is there because there is no variation. Variation will keep a photograph based on rhythmic repeats from being banal. The themes and variations in music are symbolic of the way the rule works.

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CLICHÉMANSHIP

IN ONE EASY LESSON

by FRANK A. KNAPP, JR.

THE cliché laboratory which incubated the posture-image virus probably did not foresee the consequences. These bugs are now completely out of control. There is a heavy risk of exposure in press, radio, television and governmental reporting and even in conversation with bureaucrats and advertising personnel. Prominent writers are co-operative carriers. Texts and titles swarm with *postures* and *images*.

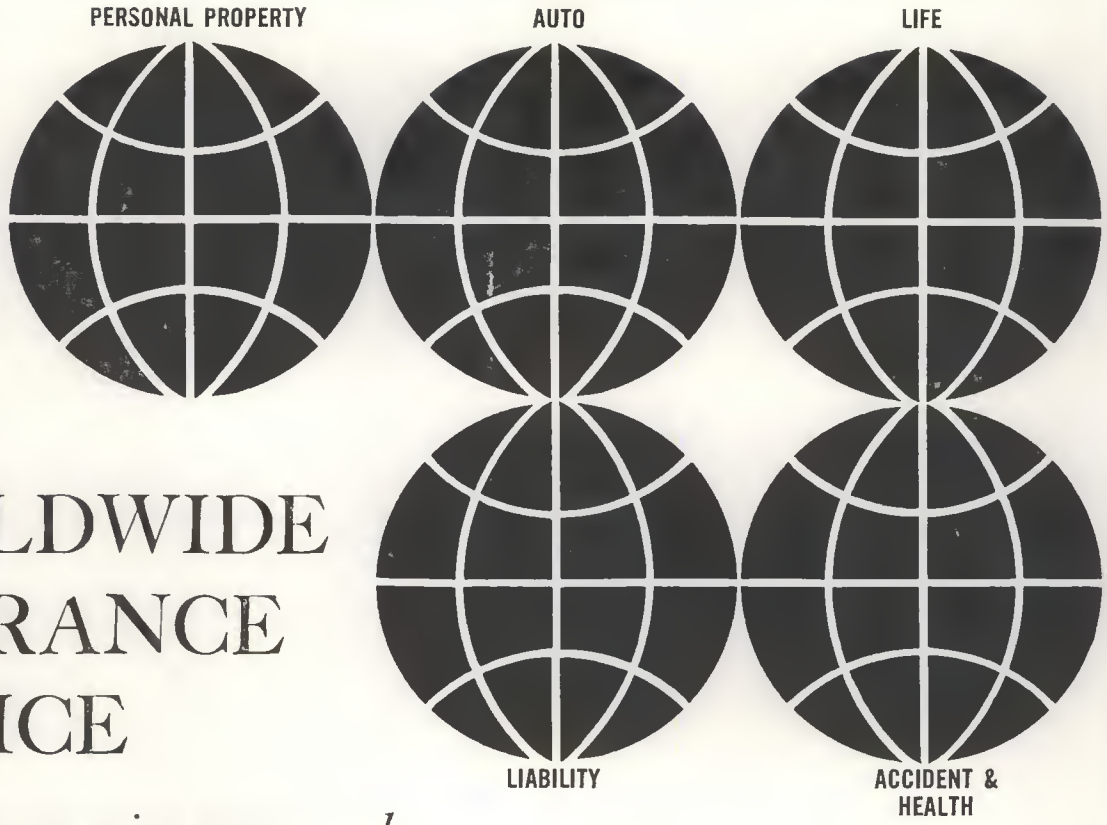
Nations, politicians, statesmen, corporations, and other institutions of any importance display a variety of postures (public, defensive, aggressive, neutral, favorable, unfavorable, successful), and an equal number of images, which they are usually *projecting* or *casting* about indiscriminately. Our President, for example, can't make a move without harming, improving, or having some sort of *impact* on his image (s) and at the same time assuming postures. Our country and its government have countless images and postures in all quarters of the globe, including Patagonia. In turn, all these areas and their important people have images and postures in their home countries as well as abroad. Churches must consider their images in dealing with the question of birth control; corporations and unions assume postures in the bargaining process. The world has become dangerously cluttered with postures and images.

The cliché and the closely related mangled metaphor now rank as the ultimate in sophisticated communication in government, journalistic, academic and literary circles. An extensive vocabulary of clichés is considered an indispensable tool. It is perhaps merely a matter of time until our institutions of higher learning will offer courses in this specialized branch of semantics.

Posture and image are only two items in the cliché glossary. *Prestigious* and *mystique*, now available in the oversize dictionary, are running close competition. All prestigious persons and organizations must possess mystique if they intend to make any kind of public splash. Whether mystique was exclusively a male attribute was long a matter of argument. The issue has now been *resolved* with the publication of a book entitled "The Feminine Mystique."

The *-tion* category of clichés has made a remarkable advance in the hierarchy of the science; in fact, some of the *-tions* were veterans when posture and image were rookies. *Situation* is the oldest and most widely used word in this bracket. Every country has its changing situations—political, economic, social, religious, military and cultural. These situations can usually be seen, and it generally *remains to be seen* what is going to happen to them. A prototype caption might read: "Situation in Upper Slobbovia Seen Deteriorating (Improving, Worsening, Expanding, etc.)." The *spectrum* for the use of situation is unlimited; in fact, cold wars, budgets, schools—everything known to man either has or is some kind of situation. Demonstrating how highly populated the world is with situations, a recent United States Government bulletin discussed the "fat cow surplus situation." The significant feature from our standpoint is that these fat cows were a situation, not simply that there was a surplus of cows, fat

FRANK A. KNAPP, JR. is a Latin American historian who was formerly with the Department.



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or otherwise. The next issue of this periodical *addressed itself* (see below) to the coffee situation. We can therefore draw the conclusion that the crop and commodity fields alone offer an endless number of situations.

The current popularity of *confrontation* dates from the missile crisis in Cuba in the fall of 1962. Although this was the first and thus far the greatest, lesser confrontations have since been challenging posture and image for cliché primacy. Only a sizable research staff and a room full of computers could analyze the progress of the contest at this *juncture*. To insert two other *-tion* words which carry the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING seal of approval, we might say that there has been an amazing *proliferation* and *escalation* of the *end-use application* of confrontation.

Polarization and *bifurcation* (acceptable alternate: *dichotomy*) require a high degree of cliché usage skill; it may take no small amount of imagination to find spots vulnerable to their *infiltration*. Political parties or factions reach a polarization over issues and policies, a situation which seldom occurs until after bifurcation sets in. When polarization and bifurcation are developing, a writer should address himself to the golden opportunity to refer to the political spectrum and any lurking *spate* of rumors or arguments before *finalizing* his report.

Aeronautics has given us two popular clichés—*getting off the ground* and *take-off*. There is distress in government bureaus when things don't get off the ground. Our diplomacy in the *developing nations* is directed toward helping them reach the take-off stage.

The athletic cliché is particularly timely in these days of emphasis on national physical fitness. Programs, political campaigns and other enterprises are *kicked off*. In due course they arrive at *the moment of truth*, which is the *resolution* or outcome of any event whatever. Prestigious politicians, writers, and others, while addressing themselves to problems and issues of the day, usually give a main *thrust* (fencing) to their arguments and reasoning. Adept politicians must be skilled at *infighting* if they are to preserve their mystiques and assume aggressive postures.

Like addressing oneself, *one-upmanship*—a term invented by one of the most effective foes of clichés and jargon—is a sporting game. Although the rules have not yet crystallized, a *one-upmanship* situation involves two officials or employees of the same *level* who have many *challenging* and often symbolic confrontations in an effort to reach a resolution on which is the more prestigious. There is a clashing of images, postures, and mystiques, and the winner is decided in part by a comparative tally of cocktail, golfing, and other social invitations extended by the boss or supervisor.

Roll-over is one of the more obscure and specialized clichés, known and applied only by the highest levels. It seems *to stem* from gamboling on the green. For example, a *roll-over* credit in *economic-ese* is believed to be a creditor's agreement to defer the scheduled repayment on the principal of a loan. In contrast, *on balance* has marvelous flexibility and widespread dissemination. It connotes tight-rope walking or some form of calisthenics requiring balancing skill.

Geometric clichés are developed by foreign-aiders, economists and academicians and later taken over by journalists. The *infrastructure* word in this category is *structure*, whether used as noun or verb. Thus we have social, cultural, budget, reform and organizational *structures*—in fact, almost (not quite) as many structures as situations.

Any structure may be *restructured*. But if a thing is *structurable* and lacks a structure, it is said to be *unstructured*. After an item is structured—a superlative form of being *firmed up*—and then restructured, it has reached the *optimal* or *maximized* level. Geometrically speaking, the only remaining possibility is *to add a new dimension*.

Within this *context*, however, structures, restructures, postures, and situations may follow numerous *patterns*, another

geometric word of inexhaustible flexibility. There are patterns of political infighting, patterns of plain politics, patterns of leadership, patterns of power structures. And of course all organizational structures in government have their staffing patterns.

A random selection of quotations from a recent government publication, which summarizes the contents of private and other research projects, illustrates in concentrated manner the *cross-culturation* of clichés between the academic and bureaucratic worlds as well as the *escalation* of *end-use application* of this specialized semantic science. One writer has been *extrapolating* to find the significance of "war escalation and termination." Others are "utilizing methodological and substantive knowledge"; emphasizing the "taxonomy of variables . . . and macro-system structure and dynamics"; looking into "interest patterns" and "work value structure" and premising much of this on "basic patterns"; or analyzing an "unstructured group of Peace Corps Trainees." However, a project about the "structure and function of the symbolic act" apparently does not comprehend presentation of postures.

We also learn from this document that a "conceptual scheme" has been developed for "pre-war situations" which will in turn aid in studying "situation influences" on behavior in "interpersonal, intergroup, and international situations."

Further on we note that "Soviet and Communist views of conflict reveal a structure"; that "stressful situations" can be utilized for "hypothesizing basic structures"; that "madness in New Guinea follows a standardized pattern"; and that a "means-goal conflict situation" is in existence. Still other researchers are concerned with the "image of the American diplomat" and "the power role in small unstructured problem-solving groups."

The hospitality verbs—derived from archaic nouns—have won a permanent place in journalistic and bureaucratic prose and have end-use application as often as there are symposiums, briefings, debriefings and prebriefings, conferences, staff meetings, panel and round-table discussions, and other talkies. It is rustic to say or write, at least within a fifty-mile radius of Washington, that so-and-so is chairman of a meeting or that a certain country or organization acted as host for a conference. Organizations *host* meetings and persons *chair* them. This conforms to the pattern in cliché science of converting nouns to verbs. Some libraries no longer print a list of new accessions or acquisitions but rather a list of books *accessioned*.

The taxpayer should find comfort and security in the image which government clichés project. Government activities and functions are *implemented* with *-ese* and wisdom, and all have an end-use application. We have *bureaucratese, governmentese, expertise* and others. We have *tax-wise, substantive-wise, procedural-wise, revenue-wise, protocol-wise* and *budget-wise*. End-use application is presumably a kind of double-for-your-money-back guarantee in the expenditure of public funds. The exact meaning is not clear, but the term suggests that officials are using both sides of the paper for their memos and reports. And speaking of paper: the *lower-echelon* government employee who advised the supply clerk that the end-use applicators had been exhausted in the restroom was sent back for a refresher course in bureaucratic semantics.

Taxpayer reassurance does not cease with end-use application. People in government are smart because they are frequently *picking each other's brains,* possibly a contributory factor to their wise ways. Many at the *upper level* wear *two or three hats,* which suggests figuratively that these are *equated* to the number of heads they possess. During staff sessions and conferences, the person chairing the gathering is frequently heard to remark, "I'll buy that." Since there are no congressional appropriations for these purchases, the bureaucrat presumably is willing to foot the bill for ideas out of his own pocket. Finally, we know that all persons in

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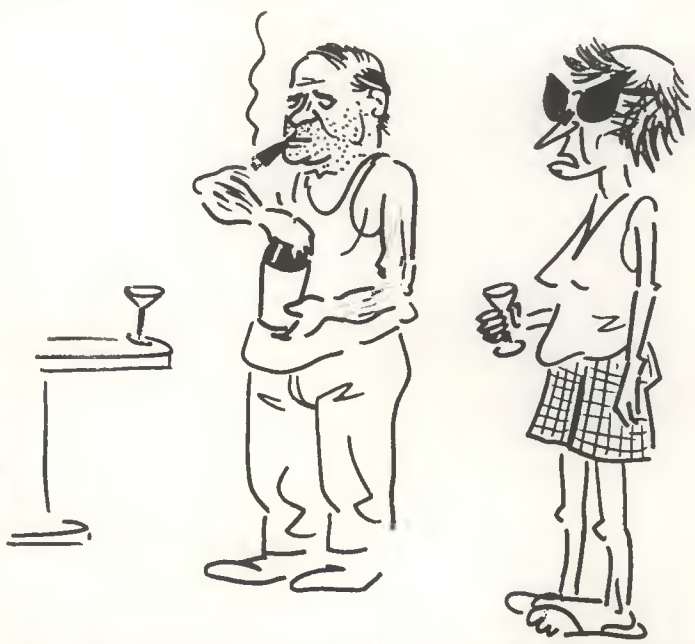
government are overworked and so the taxpayer is getting a bargain for his money. The most common clichés at the *grass-roots,* lower and upper levels in bureaucracy are *work-load* and *backlog.* These are inflexible and used in one context only: Backlogs are always huge and work-loads are always heavy. This situation is inevitable, because staffing patterns are never adequate for the work-load and are seldom finalized.

Diphthong clichés are a combination of two or more single terms in the same phrase or sentence, and their use, which permits highly individualistic expression, ranks as the loftiest level of the science, particularly in the oral medium. Diphthongs are not easily *categorized;* but the following are offered as illustrations: *structural patterns of situations; a spate of rumors running across the entire political spectrum; project an image substantive-wise; trigger a confrontation;* and *exacerbate a situation.*

The above compilation does not pretend to be comprehensive. However, it does attempt to *underscore* the fact that these expressions and terms must be injected with a *minimal* frequency in writing and daily conversation if one is to belong and be rated *avant garde.* A five-page article about a government agency, which appeared in the SATURDAY EVENING POST July 27-August 3, is an excellent example of discreet coverage of the cliché spectrum. Though the author unaccountably overlooked several opportunities to address himself to the application of posture and image, he managed to insert *bureaucratese, situation, confrontation, on balance, pick brains, one-upmanship, clued in, give the green light, run a taut ship,* and *wearing* various *hats.*

Well, I sense a sharp pain in my infrastructure from these long hours at the typewriter. This effort has drained a lot of mystique from my image, and I am casting a slumping posture. Having had this confrontation with Washington, I must admit that I lack the intellect and talents to achieve togetherness in the cliché world. I have committed so many mystiques in a valiant effort to acquire the lingo that my colleagues have almost completely polarized me. I have reached my moment of truth. I do not relate to the literary space age. So I'll take-off back to the plantation. Money-wise, I think I'll try to proliferate one of them there fat cow situations. With a bit of farm expert-ese, tax-wise evasion, and escalation luck with the bulls, I might still come out smelling like a restructured rose. ■



"You know, dear, I don't think that new young man in your office quite *projects the correct image of Americans serving their country abroad."*

Preparing for UNCTAD

(*Continued from page* 35)

ficial long-range implications for the United States, was the increased expertise acquired by the individual agency representatives. This was really the first full-scale investigation of United States trade policy with respect to developing countries since 1947 and government agencies in some cases had not had effective opportunities since that time to assess the relationship of their own trade policy interests to the broader national trade policy interest.

The United States delegation to the Preparatory Committee's six-week second session, starting in May 1963 in Geneva, was made up largely of the same close-knit team that had been sent to the first session. United States views were presented effectively, and through caucuses organized by the delegation the foundations were laid for coordination with other delegations. But the team also had the job of listening for what would be the most important issues to be considered at the conference itself. From the twenty-seven agenda items, four main issues emerged that would require extensive research and considerable soul-searching by the United States'—and other countries'—trade policy makers; these were related to the developing countries' four premises for the conference that have been noted earlier. Eight other issues emerged in which the developing countries and the United States had a mutually keen interest, and each of these also would call for clarification of United States policy.

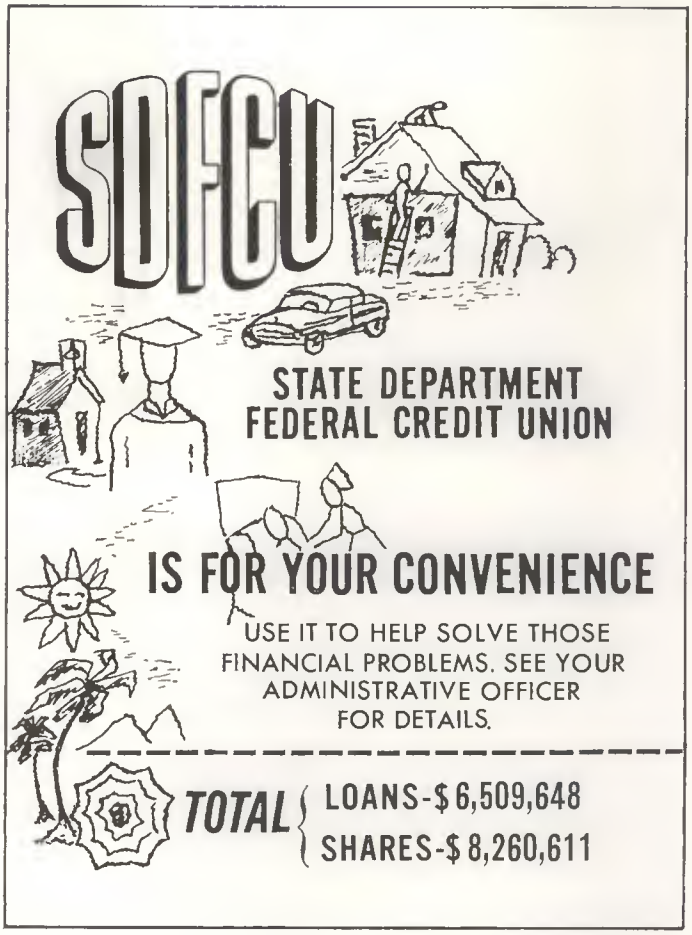
The United States delegation's report on the second session was passed on to the Interagency Steering Group, which then started the second and most difficult phase of its work: namely, to arrive at a government-wide consensus on each important issue, taking full account of the interests of all affected elements of the American public. At this point Assistant Secretary of State Griffith Johnson took charge of preparations for the conference. At a later stage, William Stibravy, a trade policy expert and experienced UN hand, came in from USRO Paris to devote full time to the conference and to serve as chairman of the Interagency Steering Group. The representation of the group was widened to ensure that agency views previously explored informally by individual members would now be presented directly. After expansion, the group comprised forty-three members, representing eleven bureaus in the Department of State, three key diplomatic posts (USUN New York, USRO Paris and the United States Mission in Geneva), five other departments, Governor Christian Herter's Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and seven other government agencies.

Working parties were formed to prepare positions on each major issue, with working party chairmen drawn from the most appropriate agencies, and with all agencies concerned being invited—in some cases strongly urged—to assign personnel to those parties of particular interest to them. The position was taken by the Interagency Steering Group, and for the most part successfully held, that the place for an agency to make its views felt was in the working parties and that commentary later at the Interagency Steering Group itself would be given consideration in direct proportion to the work done by the agency in the working parties.

The tasks assigned to the working parties raised some difficult basic questions that had to be answered, not in philosophical terms but in terms of decisive policy recommendations:

—Should we support regional and sectoral trading arrangements among developing countries short of complete common markets or free trade areas?

—What positive measures could the United States take to promote the export of manufactures from developing countries? Could we give tariff preferences to manufactured goods from developing countries, or tolerate such preferences given by others; or would the developing countries' interests and ours



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be better served by retaining the most-favored-nation principle and working toward maximum reductions of tariffs and other trade barriers? How about proposals that developing countries should subsidize their exports of manufactured goods? How can the threat of sudden influxes of manufactured goods from abroad be most equitably dealt with?

—Under what conditions could developing countries safely increase their trade with the Soviet bloc?

—Are ocean freight rates too high? Are they discriminatory? How should they be set?

—Under what conditions can foreign private investment contribute most to economic development?

—Should the international organizational structure for dealing with trade matters be rebuilt? How?

—What are the basic responsibilities of developing countries for their own economic development?

These questions and a host of others were debated hotly in the working parties and some dissenting opinions were filed with the Interagency Steering Group; but the group was able to reconcile differences and to come up with a government-wide consensus on each issue prior to the third session of the Preparatory Committee, held in New York in February 1964. These were not final positions, however, because final determinations had to await the results of several parallel actions.

The most important of these included consultations with our major trading partners and our friends among the developing countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa; discussions with Dr. Raul Prebisch, the distinguished Argentine economist who is Secretary General of the conference; proceedings at the third session of the Preparatory Committee; and, of major significance, an intensive effort to ascertain the views of elements of the American public. This effort included a consultation in Washington, chaired by Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, between government officials from many agencies and labor union economists; a consultation, similarly chaired by the Under Secretary, with business leaders; a consultation, chaired by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, between government officials and farm group leaders; meetings and a flow of correspondence with key academic economists; and meetings with a wide variety of other public interest groups. Congressmen were briefed and their views sought. Background material was furnished to the press. No appropriate channel of liaison with the American public was neglected, and the views of the public were taken into account in the positions ultimately approved by the Interagency Steering Group on the major conference issues. The positions were reviewed by the group and by top officials of the Administration immediately prior to the beginning of the conference, cognizance being taken that some positions would need reassessment as the conference ran its course. With the conclusion of the program those involved felt that the United States had reviewed its trade policies with respect to developing countries conscientiously, thoroughly and professionally, and had thereby furnished the United States delegation with a unified American view on the important issues.

The results of the conference cannot be foreseen, but it can truly be said that the delegation now in Geneva is singularly well equipped to represent the national interest. It is headed by Mr. Ball and Mr. Johnson. Its corps of advisers includes technical experts who are veterans of the preparatory meetings. It contains qualified public members and a Congressional contingent. The delegation is backed up by detailed information on every agenda item, and by carefully worked-out positions. Not least, the delegation has available to it the advice of the Interagency Steering Group, whose present wide-ranging grasp of trade and development policy problems was acquired through sixteen months of hard work preparing for the conference. ■

FSO Spencer Paul Miller is secretary to the Interagency Steering Group and technical secretary to the U.S. Delegation now in Geneva.

MOTOR MART

(*Continued from page* 29)

pay for it." Perhaps Volvo has got something there: heavy gauge Swedish steel, engine block cast from charcoal iron, five main bearings instead of three, dual carburetors, bigger wheels, vinyl upholstery — the ensemble delivering over twenty-five miles to the gallon. Four compacts, including a station wagon, are priced between $2,330 and $2,895. The P1800 "Gran Turismo" — a sophisticated touring-sports car, or vice versa, is designed for those who cannot afford a Ferrari or Aston Martin and sells for $3,995.

Interestingly enough, the Swedish Volvo is getting competition in the United States — from Sweden. The SAAB 95 and the 96, produced by the Svenska Aeroplan Aktiebolaget, spotlight a valveless three cylinder two-cycle engine which does away with camshaft, timing gears, push rods, oil pump, filters and similar paraphernalia —only seven moving parts are left; result, simplicity of operation, economy, better mileage, and almost unlimited life at $1,960. Who knows but that Scandinavian pioneering may yet abolish the principle of built-in obsolescence and make the annual trade-in a thing of the past?

Sports car buffs will find the MGB —the first completely new version in seven years of the celebrated MG— much more of a car than anything seen previously under this British mark: more space, more comfort, more luggage room, more power, more acceleration, and—last but, let us hope not least—more safety. Also in the sports column is the sleek, specialized Austin Healey 3000 convertible, "an occasional four-seater," with aerodynamic styling, steel disc wheels, and stowaway top, yet with "saloon car comfort" in bad weather. The B. M. C. Sprite MK II has been restyled, too, and its twin-carburetor engine gives more power for better performance.

From the Rootes camp, which includes the economical Hillman and the luxurious Humber, emerges the first imported sports car on the American market with a fully automatic transmission—the Sunbeam Alpine IV. Designed in America by Borg-Warner, this innovation is slanted at the eighteen-to-twenty-year-old group, or what a Rootes official calls the "prime sports car market." As that spokesman sees it, the vast majority of such drivers have no experience with shifting gears and "aren't about to stop and learn now." Whether that is a valid view or not, the firm expects the new Alpine to boost earlier sales records by 40 or 50 per cent.

To meet the threat from foreign sources, General Motors has begun to market in the United States its German mass-produced Opel Kadett, at prices comparable to the first compacts: $1,766 for the two-door sedan with sun roof; $1,817 for the station wagon; and $1,842 for the sports coupe. Other "captive imports" —cars whose distribution in America is controlled by a domestic manufacturer—are making a bid in the low-priced lists: English Ford with the family-size four-cylinder Cortina, the rakish Capri coupe, and the capacious Anglia station wagon; and, of course, the Chrysler-controlled Simca, made in France.

For the future, one searches the crystal ball in vain for some evidence that the designers of vast engine hoods and luggage compartments are going to give the passengers a few elementary breaks—such as elimination of the "squat and crouch" approach to getting into or out of a car; adequate knee and elbow room in the rear as well as the front; and relief from burning sun or congealing snow on steeply-sloped back windows. Such improvements must await the millennium, no doubt. ■

Retired Ambassador Villard resumes his annual review of the new cars after several years lapse.

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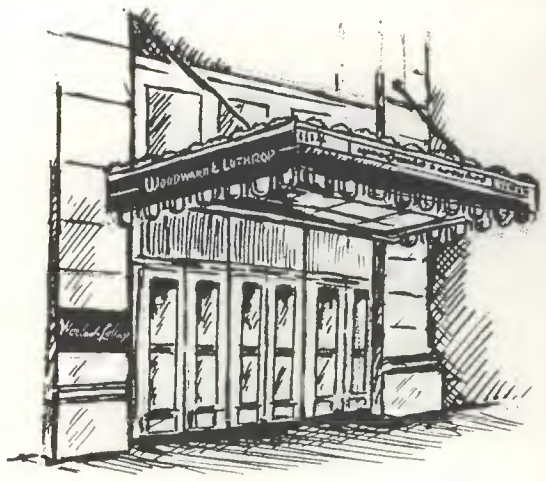

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DEPARTMENT OF DISSENT

DON'T TWIST

by MARVIN W. HUMPHREYS

ONCE again it is National Health Agencies and Joint Crusade time, and the thumbscrews are brought out for their annual tightening. I, like most of my colleagues, will contribute a dollar to keep the statistics high. If the analysts of contributions are content to receive extorted dollars, the drive will no doubt continue along the present lines. If, however, there is any meaning to the concept of "voluntary contribution," a re-examination of the Joint Drive is indeed in order.

I, perhaps as a result of my naivety, am wedded to the idea that free, personal choice should dictate voluntary contributions.

An instance in point is this: I strongly doubt that a very significant contribution to a peaceful world can be made by the support of CARE, Radio Free Europe, American-Korean Foundation, etc., which comprise the Federal Service Joint Crusade. I do not for one moment question the worthiness or humanitarian nature of these institutions; neither do I doubt their motives. At the same time, I believe it is unrealistic to attempt to justify these organizations in terms of helping to bring about a more peaceful world. I wonder whether our world would be any less peaceful without these groups? The answer to this question is, of course, open to individual interpretation. I do, however, object to being told on United States Government stationery that the response is an indubitable "Yes."

But, more importantly, I object to anyone, Secretary or President, telling me that these agencies are "good," deserve my support, and since eighty per cent of the domestic Federal employees support the drive, why don't you overseas fellows get on the bandwagon?

Perhaps my views are dated; clearly they are negative in this context; but I maintain that each individual should be allowed to profess and support those charities, philanthropic groups or private organizations that he prefers. I do not believe we, whether Federal employees or private hod carriers, should be informed of the "right" groups to support. And let there be no mistake on this point: the coercion leveled at us to participate is not subtle in the least. "Despite the substantial increase, however, fewer than half of overseas personnel responded to the appeal as compared with an overall eighty per cent response by United States civilian and military personnel," says the covering letter. So there it is. We are somehow inferior, yes, almost unpatriotic, because we do not sufficiently support a drive that has the official endorsement of the President. Obviously, such a specious argument of guilt will be unconvincing to many.

On the more positive side, we, as overseas representatives of the United States, have certain philanthropic responsibilities that we willingly assume as part of our profession. For example, each year in Vancouver we are solicited by the local United Givers campaign. I feel that our performance in this local effort is doubly important. First, because it is the single, unified charity drive in the city, and as such must and should be supported by United States representatives abroad. Second, because as residents, albeit temporary, of the city we should take part in the life and personality of the city. Our commu-

MY ARM!

nity benefits directly from the results of the local drive, and as temporary citizens we have a certain responsibility to it for support. In my view this is the most important charity to which I should contribute. It is also a requirement peculiar to those who represent the United States abroad, unknown to those in the domestic Federal service. So when I read "fewer than half of overseas personnel responded" to the Joint Crusade, I say "tell the rest of the story, too."

It goes without saying that each of us has his own personal charity or donation groups, whether it be the Red Cross, universities, church or fraternal organizations. I do not believe it is necessary for the Federal government to tell me it is my duty to contribute to still another, and one not of my own choosing. I would hope that our agency leaders would give some thought to this argument and resist the temptation to engage in bureaucratic competition for honor in forcing participation. ■

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Mrs. George C. McGhee, wife of the Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, accepts a $500 check from Mrs. Charles F. Hewins, president of the American Women's Club of Berlin, and Mrs. James H. Polk, honorary president of the club, for the "John F. Kennedy Memorial Scholarship." This scholarship, one of three to be awarded by the club this year, will be administered by the American Foreign Service Association. The other two will go to members of the graduating class of the Berlin American High School.

Mrs. Karim Bangoura, wife of the Ambassador of Guinea, looks at an exhibition of drawings of Guinea with the artist, Leo Sarkisian. Mr. Sarkisian made the drawings when he was in Guinea recording folk music for the Voice of America.

AFSA NEWS

March 6, 1964: Leslie S. Brady assumed duties as Chairman of the Board of Directors in place of Taylor G. Belcher, who has been named Ambassador to Cyprus.

Richard Fox reported on comprehensive tax services available to all American personnel abroad. A circular, dated December 10, 1963, was sent to all posts by the Office of Special Consular Services.

Mr. Fox was appointed as liaison officer to the Committee on Public Relations.

Ambassador Joseph Palmer and Edwin M. J. Kretzmann will be AFSA delegates to the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on April 10 and 11.

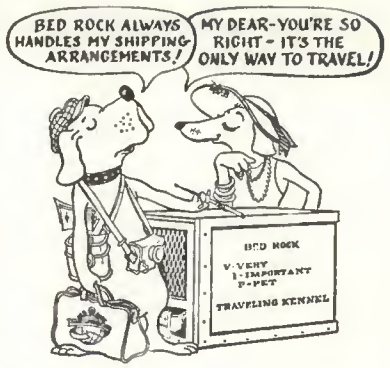
March 12, 1964: A special meeting was held to discuss the question of broadening the scope, membership and interests of the Foreign Service Association. New membership categories, which would include distinguished non-government persons active in the field of foreign affairs, are being considered.

A "corresponding membership" which would include journalists and others interested in international affairs was discussed, as well as a purposeful relationship with such organizations as the World Affairs Council, university faculties, etc. It is felt that a new appeal must be prepared to demonstrate how membership can be meaningful to persons in these categories. A sub-committee was set up consisting of Messrs. Nathaniel Davis, Kretzmann and Benjamin Weiner, with Mr. Davis as chairman, to consider how these proposals can best be advanced.

Consideration is being given to ways in which retired officers can more effectively contribute to the well-being of the Department and the Association. Mr. Davis proposed that a retired officer be appointed to serve on the Board of Directors and it was requested that a list of retired Ambassadors in the Washington area be circulated for the Board's consideration.

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, president of AFSA, recently transmitted to the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts a check for $2,300, representing the contributions from AFSA members residing abroad. This is the third check forwarded to the center; added to previous remittances of $3,500 and $2,500 it makes a total to date of $8,300. ■

U. Alexis Johnson, president of AFSA, introduces Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall at the luncheon on April 23. Secretary Udall, left, spoke on the necessity of retaining wilderness lands for future generations.



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AAFSW REPORT

# of Books and Learning

by Betty Kalish

"What greater . . . gift can we offer the Republic than to teach and instruct our youth?" These words, spoken centuries ago by Marcus Tullius Cicero, might well be the motto of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, so zealous are its members in behalf of its Scholarship Fund. This year, about three-quarters of the association's income will go into scholarships. That's the way it ought to be, the AAFSW feels.

"We never really think of the money we earn for scholarships as 'our,' " one board member puts it. "We just pass it along."

The association's two main sources of income, the popular annual Book Fair and the AAFSW calendar sale, are both earmarked "for scholarships." With the addition of a few private contributions, total scholarship funds for the current club year will be about $6,000. This money goes to the American Foreign Service Association, which administers scholarships for both associations. In 1962-63, eight scholarships of $500 each were donated by AAFSW. Considerably more money will be available this year.

At last October's two-day Book Fair, 20,000 books, all donated, were sold, along with a number of World War I posters, and assorted prints. Mrs. Frank Siscoe and Mrs. Richard Tims were chairmen of the Fair.

Since only a few books remained unsold, the new Book Fair committee, with Mrs. Frederick Merrill as chairman, is already hard at work collecting books for next fall's Fair, scheduled for October 26-27. Again, prints and World War I posters will be offered, in addition to books. And again, there will be autograph-and-sell tables manned by local authors.

Naturally, Mrs. Merrill is anxious to collect as many books, and as wide a variety of books, as possible. Small contributions may be brought to the AAFSW desk in the Foreign Service Lounge at State; larger donations are being collected by volunteer workers, as follows:

District—Mrs. Clyde Snider (EM 3-4637)
Maryland—Mrs. Paul Wheeler (656-3512)
Virginia—Mrs. John Guthrie (CL 6-4816)

There is also a collection box in the USIA lobby at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue. Miss Mary Painter is in charge.

Pricing of collected books is a current problem. Anyone familiar with the secondhand book market is urged to call Mrs. Merrill (387-0418) as soon as possible.

Second breadwinner for the scholarship program is the AAFSW calendar sale, which brought in about $1400 during 1963-4. Most of this money came from overseas posts, where the calendars are a favorite gift item. This year, 100 posts took part in the sale.

Mrs. John Henderson, AAFSW secretary, who handled this year's calendar sales, reports that sample 1965 calendars have already gone to administrative officers at overseas posts. By starting the project early, the Association hopes to increase the sale of calendars for use as Christmas gifts. ■

LETTERS to the EDITOR

LAYERING

1. Should We Go Back to 1949?

I AM tempted by your invitation to comment on "Upgrading the Desk Officer," which appeared in the March issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. These observations on the organization and operation of the Department are offered from the perspective of seven years abroad and the detachment of a detail to NASA.

The problem of vertical layering posed by the Secretary is no new one, and horizontal layering, with its frustrating clearance problem, has plagued State for years. These two issues underlay several of the more important of the Hoover Commission's recommendations in its Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs of January 1949. They were also among the primary issues tackled by the Department's Steering Committee, which translated those recommendations into a reorganization plan for State which became effective in 1949. Months of hard work by the committee and its task forces went into the effort to establish clear lines of authority and to define and clarify action responsibility and lateral clearance procedures.

One principle recommended by the Steering Committee and adhered to for many years was that a deputy assistant secretary should be an assistant secretary's alter ego, and there should be one and only one deputy in each bureau. The basic specialized responsibility was placed at the office director level, and relatively few officers reported directly to the assistant secretaries.

What has happened since then, and why? Layering has taken place at the bureau level, with the office director being submerged under deputy assistant secretaries, special assistants and coordinators. Just compare the Organizational Directory of the phone book of 1950 with that of 1964! Two shifts in the national administration with personnel changes concentrated at the bureau level and above, the pressure to create top level positions, the inflation of titles, and the dilution and neglect of previously established channels of responsibility and authority: these developments have combined to bury the expert and specialist, be he desk officer or functionalist, under a top-heavy superstructure. Upgrading the rank of these officers, along with granting them commensurate responsibility and assistance, would appear a constructive approach, but only if layering is eliminated either at the office or bureau level. The Bureau of Administration resolved this problem by "deputizing" the office directors with a neat two-hat system which appears to have met the problem of rank and inflation of titles without adding a layer. The Bureau of Economic Affairs created a new layer, while every geographic bureau has added one or two deputies.

Horizontal layering has also been affected by these developments, for the coordinating function along with authority has moved up to the bureau level.

The 1949 reorganization established principles of organization and operation designed to deal with the complex interrelationships that always exist between functional and geographic activities. No new clear lines of authority nor clearance procedures have evolved with the shifting organizational pattern. What has happened to the pattern of responsibility for "action," "review," and "advice" and the procedures for resolving clearance problems which were adopted in 1949?

Won't someone dig down into the Department's archives and dust off a copy of that Steering Committee Report and take a long look at it in light of today's problems?

The problems highlighted by the Secretary before the Senate Subcommittee were remarkably similar to those revealed by the Hoover Commission. Are we going to have to wait for another such commission to bring the problem to a head and then go through the agony of a forced major reorganization? Many of today's layering problems can be attributed to the breakdown of organizational discipline which occurred during the mid-fifties and opened the way for the expansion of the bureau superstructure at the expense of the so-called operating levels. The administrative challenge facing the Department is whether a clear and logical organizational and operational pattern can be re-established by evolutionary methods or whether as a result of outside pressure radical surgery will again be necessary.

WALTER A. RADIUS

Washington

2. The Horizontal Variety Is Worse

A WAR COLLEGE assignment has given me leisure this year to ponder some of the problems of bureaucratic organization and the role of the desk officer on which you invited brainstorming in the March, 1964 issue of the JOURNAL.

In your footnote to the Secretary's testimony on "layering" in the Department, you hinted, quite accurately, that the delays of which the Secretary complained were due less to vertical layering than to the "horizontal layering" of veto powers arrogated to themselves by an endless stream of marginally involved bureaucrats. As any desk officer knows, it requires only routine agility to move a paper promptly through direct vertical channels to the Secretary. It is the horizontal excursions, and particularly those to other government departments, that cause the delays.

Layering within the Department of State itself is only a small part of the problem, and can be disposed of quite quickly. Vertical layering is a question of "span of control." An Assistant Secretary of State in charge of our relations with twenty-odd countries can scarcely be expected to supervise, directly and without intermediaries, the work of twenty-odd desk officers. Thus, even if the office director level is abolished and all desk officers become FSO-1s or FSO-CMs, it will still almost certainly be necessary to replace the office directors with an expanded set of deputy assistant secretaries, in order to avoid too great a strain on the assistant secretary's span of control. The objective of immediate and direct access to one superior by twenty-odd subordinates is simply not feasible under any system of management yet devised.

I similarly give short shrift to horizontal layering in the Department of State, because I think it is a peripheral problem. The upgrading of desk officers would undoubtedly make it easier for them to get their way in arguments with their former colleagues, now their juniors, in the functional bureaus. But in the last analysis a desk officer's ability to push his papers through the generally like-minded body of people who make up the Department depends more on sound thinking and able articulation than on organizational formulae.

To me the heart of the problem is the position of the desk officer vis-a-vis the other agencies of the government, for this is the area of horizontal layering that causes most of the delays the Secretary ascribed to vertical layering. The Secretary suggests that our man in Washington on Brazil should be as competent (and as senior) as our man in Brazil. This idea has definite attractions, but it can scarcely be implemented unless the man in Washington has the same relationship toward everyone else in Washington who worries about Brazil that our man in Brazil has toward the representatives of other U.S. government agencies stationed there. In the field, we

have a country team, of which the ambassador is the undisputed boss. In Washington, the desk officer is scarcely *primus inter pares* among the colonels and supergrade civil servants of other agencies. The ambassador is not the departmental representative of State; he represents the President. A desk officer who would be the ambassador's counterpart in Washington needs a similar presidential mandate.

But before the desk officer can hope to receive such a mandate, the Secretary of State and the Department as a whole must have it. The Secretary of State is of course charged with the conduct of United States foreign affairs. But what avails this mandate against the equally urgent mandates of the half-dozen other cabinet officers whose concerns, seconded by influential lobbies, reach beyond our borders? These men have equal access to the President and thus are in a position to raise an equal voice in foreign affairs matters of even the remotest concern to their departments.

The Kennedy Administration attempted in its early months to assign to the Department of State some of the foreign affairs coordinating functions previously exercised by the staff of the National Security Council. Other agencies looked on this move as a mandate to the Department of State to sit in judgment between itself and themselves, and they would have none of it. Though a certain amount of lip service may still be paid to the notion that State has primacy in foreign affairs, in actual fact the other departments ignore it, relying on their undoubted right of equal access to the President. Similar schemes will probably suffer a similar fate until there is enacted into law a United States Government organization chart that places the box of the President's principal foreign affairs adviser over the boxes of the other Cabinet officers.

Perhaps it is unrealistic to try to manage this piece of organizational juggling without establishing a "First Secretary of the Government" or a "Super-Secretary of National Security Affairs," as many have suggested. If this is the solution ultimately adopted, I suggest that the proper place for the FSO-1 or FSO-CM desk officer would be on the staff of this super-secretary. From this super-departmental vantage point the desk officer could become the real boss of a Washington-based country team and the counterpart of the ambassador in the field. In the absence of some such organizational device, or of some bureaucratic legerdemain that gives genuine primacy to the Department of State in foreign affairs and makes it stick, I see very little prospect that an FSO-1 or FSO-CM desk officer would be able to function in the crucial interagency field with conspicuously greater effectiveness than the present FSO-3 and FSO-4 models.

But let us return from the theoretical to the real world. In the end, the issue of desk officers' rank may well be settled in terms of supply and demand for able senior officers. Career services obey a minor variation of Parkinson's First Law: not only does the volume of work expand to fill the available time, but the organizational structure adjusts to accommodate the available personnel. Unless someone finds new worlds for them to conquer, the large and able group of officers attracted to the Department in the early post-war expansion may in a few years form a pool of capable senior officers so large that they will perforce staff not only the senior positions abroad, the deputy assistant secretaryships, the office directorships and deputy directorships, but also the country desks and other positions now classified at the FSO-3 and FSO-4 level.

We can only hope that some managerial genius will figure out a system that ten years hence will not only keep us all fruitfully occupied but will also make us think we are continuing to progress career-wise. I can think of no better start than the development of a high-level attachment to the idea that the position of desk officer, and, by analogy, all similar FSO positions at home and abroad, are just the thing for the fiftyish FSO-1 who has not the least desire to retire until he gets thrown out at sixty.

KINGDON W. SWAYNE
Montgomery, Ala.

Girl of Fon Tribe, Dahomey, by Daniel Lee McCarthy.

Lady Churchill's Invention

ARTHUR C. FROST's "Consul Jerome," in the April JOURNAL, omitted one interesting, and just possibly significant, element in Winston Churchill's American heritage. According to a recent article by Theodore Irwin in the New York TIMES MAGAZINE, Jennie Jerome Churchill was the inventor of the Manhattan cocktail, and gave it that name. To quote: "She conceived the notion of blending bourbon with 'a lesser portion of herb-piqued wine (sweet vermouth) and aromatic bitters.'"

J. W. FORESTER
Louisville, Ky.

ODE TO LIFE AT HARDSHIP POSTS:

How to Travel in the Bush and Enjoy It

Pretend that you're thirteen again, athirst for High Adventure,
Travaux Publique's poor washboard roads, perhaps you will not censure.

A pillow in the small of back, another for your bottom,
For seatcover: a terry towel, wear sandals if you've got 'em.

For picnics bring tomato sauce, forget about the flies,
To counteract that constant dust, whip out your "Wash-n-dri's."

Take Vioform 'fore every meal, iced tea's the tonic drink,
Of dysentery at village feasts, you'll never have to think.

Arrive at noon and sleep 'til dusk, then savor evening's party,
Arise 'fore dawn when all is cool, set out right hale and hearty.

Keep careful notes of all that's strange, don't shy from taking pictures,
A year from now, most odd will seem: electric lighting fixtures.

On avenues of stately teak, kids bicycle to school.
In airy shuttered little huts: *"histoire et le calcul."*

When Troubles come, as come they do, Historical Perspective
Will keep you sane, help others too, for nerves the best corrective.

Oh, joys of undeveloped lands, no crowds, no television,
No noise from traffic's busy rush, no teeming subdivision.

West Africa — FSW/AF-W

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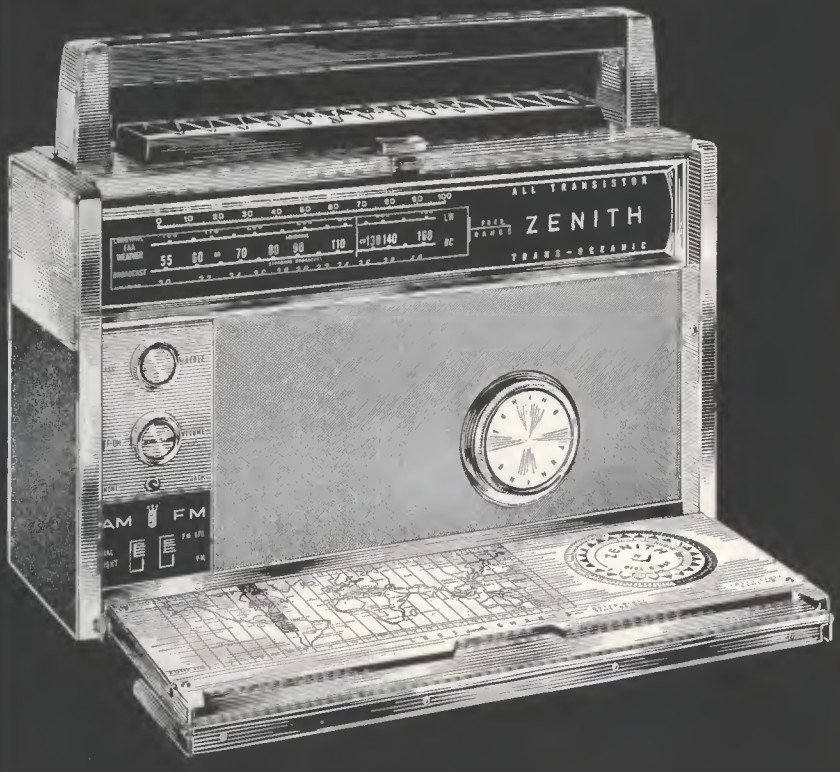
lies power, sensitivity and reliability to tune the world ...and local FM's fine music, too!



One look, one listen and you'll know something new has been added to the famous Zenith Trans-Oceanic—the only radio of its kind in the world!

For now, the Zenith Trans-Oceanic is not only powered to tune the world, but also engineered to tune local FM's fine music.

There's virtually no drift or fade with Zenith Super-Sensitive FM. Interference, cross-talk or overlap are reduced. No annoying static, no wave-jamming. You hear only rich, pure, beautifully clear tone as perfected by Zenith, pioneer maker of FM radios.

This is the newest version of a radio that has been winning world acclaim for over two decades. Tunes medium wave, long wave, two continuous tuning bands from 2 to 9 MC, plus bandspread for precise station selection on the 31, 25, 19 and 16 meter international short wave bands—in addition to FM.

Imagine, 9 tuning ranges in this all-transistor radionic marvel so often copied, but never equalled!

And, because the Trans-Oceanic works on flashlight batteries available anywhere, you can take it with you wherever you go, whatever you do. Also, a separate power supply is available for use on 230 or 115 volt house current (50-60 cycle AC).

That's why—in addition to the power, sensitivity and reliability within its smart, compact exterior — the Zenith Trans-Oceanic is the inevitable companion of chiefs of state, leaders of industry, diplomats, explorers and foreign correspondents.

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