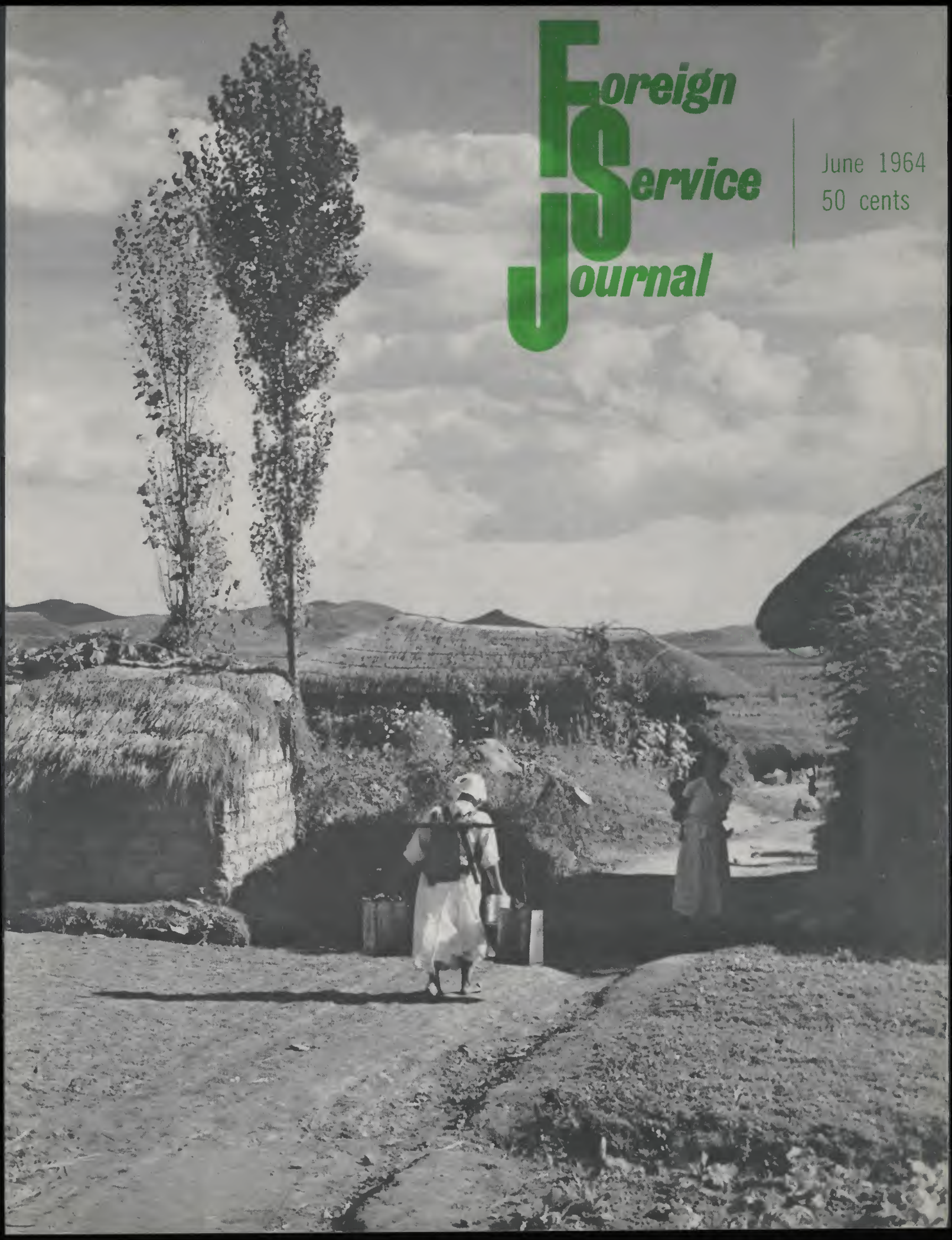


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*"Carrying Water from Village Well," near Munsan-ni, Korea*

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**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.**

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### Ambassadorial Appointments

COVEY T. OLIVER, *Ambassador to Colombia*

### Awards

JOHN J. HELBE and ROBERT L. MOTT, Career Education Awards from the National Institute of Public Affairs.

RICHARD B. PARKER, Fellowship from The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

### Marriages

EDWARDS-HARRIS. Miss Joan Carole Edwards and Robert R. Harris, son of Reed Harris, were married on April 25 at the Chevy Chase Methodist Church, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

SEDLAR-BERTON. Miss Lillian Sedlar and Edgar Berton were married on April 16 at the Old First Presbyterian Church, San Francisco. Miss Sedlar is assigned as Recruiting Officer in Chicago, Illinois.

### Births

BLUTSTEIN. A daughter, Emelia, born to Mr. and Mrs. Howard I. Blutstein, on March 2, in Washington, D.C.

BURLINGHAM. A daughter, Ann, born to Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Burlingham, on March 12, in Bangkok.

RUSHING. A son, Alex, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Rushing, on January 18, in Brazzaville.

### Deaths

GRINDALL. Terrence T. Grindall, FSO, died on April 30, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Grindall entered the Foreign Service in 1957. He served at Beirut and Kabul. At the time of his death he was assigned to the Mid-East, South Asia Division of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. The family requests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Scholarship Fund of the American Foreign Service Association.

LAY. Tracy Lay, FSO-retired, died on April 21, in Washington, D. C. Mr. Lay was appointed to the consular service in 1912 and during World War II was assigned to Paris. From 1923 to his retirement in 1925, Mr. Lay was assigned to the training of new Foreign Service officers and published a textbook, "The Foreign Service of the United States," which was used by the State Department for many years.

LOVE. Raymond L. Love, USIS, died on March 21, in Tehran. Mr. Love joined the Department of State in 1952 and transferred to USIA in 1953. He served as management analyst and personnel officer before his appointment as executive officer in Tehran in 1962.

THOMSEN. Raymond Thomsen, FSSO, died on May 2, in Lisbon. Mr. Thomsen entered the Foreign Service in 1942 and served at Beirut, Karachi, Bonn, London and the Department. He went into private business in 1958 and reentered the Foreign Service in 1960, serving in Kabul and Taiz with AID. At the time of his death he was General Services Officer in Lisbon.



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## The Young, Intellectual, Overseas Chinese Trade Union Leader and His Piano-playing Student Wife

*by* S. I. NADLER

A COLLEAGUE of mine, having spent many a winter Sunday watching professional football on television, recently mused: "There's nothing wrong with the Country Team concept, except that it's not up-to-date; every embassy should have *two* Country Teams, one for offense and one for defense."

It has struck me that this idea could be played for more than a laugh, and I have found myself, furthermore, pondering other unexplored analogies. *No* producer in his right mind, for example, brings a straight play or a musical into New York City without at least one out-of-town tryout. Out-of-Washington tryouts for new policies could similarly make a lot of sense. While it might, admittedly, be something of a shock at first, we should probably soon become accustomed to reading headlines like these: "NEW CHINA POLICY A REAL TURKEY; CLOSES IN PHILADELPHIA"; "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS SHIFT SHOWS PROMISE IN CHICAGO; SECOND ACT OF BOGOTA NEEDS SOME REWRITING"; "TARIFF REVISION SMASH IN BOSTON; WASHINGTON HIT STATUS ASSURED."

The possibilities inherent in a two-Country Team arrangement are limitless. I can see the Offensive Country Team headed by a plain-talking (English only), no-nonsense, down-to-earth ambassador, while calling signals for the defensive unit would be a witty, urbane, bilingual, cosmopolitan type of ambassador, known as an intimate of the prime minister and frequently photographed participating in the folk dancing at the annual winegrowers' festival or singing along at the Junior Peasant League's Quarterly Picnic and Anti-Imperialism Rally. The dilemma of the football coach faced with the decision as to whether to have his team try for that extra two yards or kick on fourth down would, of course, be as nothing compared to an assistant secretary's moment of truth when he would have to decide whether to leave the Offensive Country Team in at the height of a crisis or pull it out and send in the defense. Football fans and sports writers could never begin to produce Monday morning quarterbacks in the same league with those to be found among political commentators, congressmen, or Washington taxi drivers.

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On the other hand, morale and performance would certainly be improved when, say, the American Embassy in X could trade to the Embassy in Y an experienced but unneeded political officer and a green but promising cultural attache for a shrewd economic counselor and a shifty public affairs officer, throwing in some cash (in counterpart funds, of course). And instead of the present haphazard method of assigning new FSO-8's, we could look forward to the more sensible—and vastly more exciting—prospect of assistant secretaries' participating in an annual draft of these newcomers to the professional diplomatic game.

With the current emphasis on programs for foreign students, and for organized labor in developing countries, is there anyone who cannot recall equivalent excitement a couple of years ago concerning women, and, before that, intellectuals, and even before that, the Overseas Chinese? Think of how it would have simplified everything—intelligence gathering, estimate making, operational assessment—during these past dozen years had there been available for consultation in Washington a married couple personifying all these fields, namely, a young, intellectual, overseas Chinese trade union leader married to a girl who played piano and attended university classes!

Since this, however, is water over the dam and under the bridge, we might do well to appraise the present and look to the future. Youth will, presumably, always be with us. People of all nations retain an intense interest in world peace. Space exploration will long hold our imaginations. Population explosion. More education. Taking into account, these and other problems of equal and continuing import, the kind of married couple we should install in Washington for consultation should meet the following specifications: husband—a Quaker astronaut, non-smoker, once a high school drop-out (later returned); wife—a secondary school teacher, who lived in Africa and Latin America as a teen-ager with her parents (who were free-lance guerrilla fighters), and who has recently switched from cigarettes to small cigars. They should have two children, a boy (the older) and a girl, spaced three years apart.

And, hey! Why *not* an annual selection of an All-America Country Team? ■



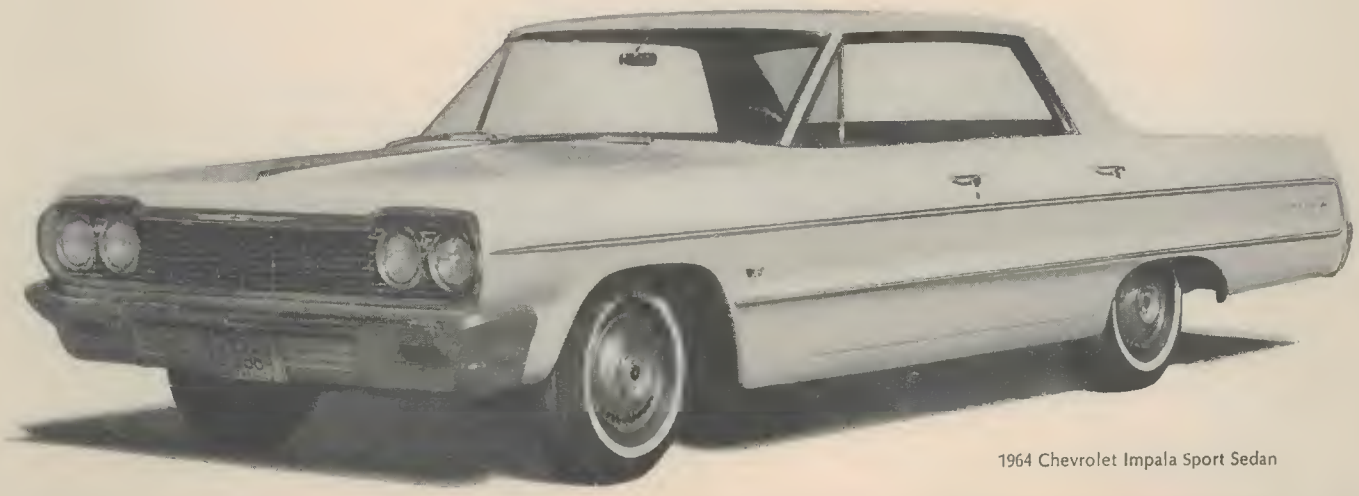
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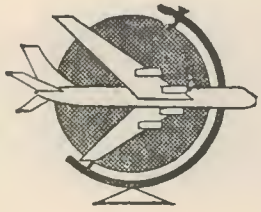
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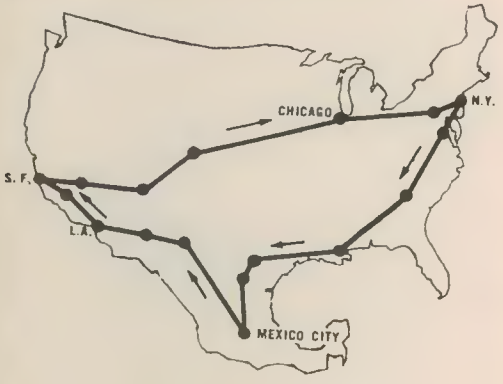


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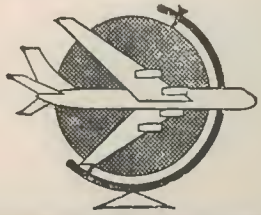
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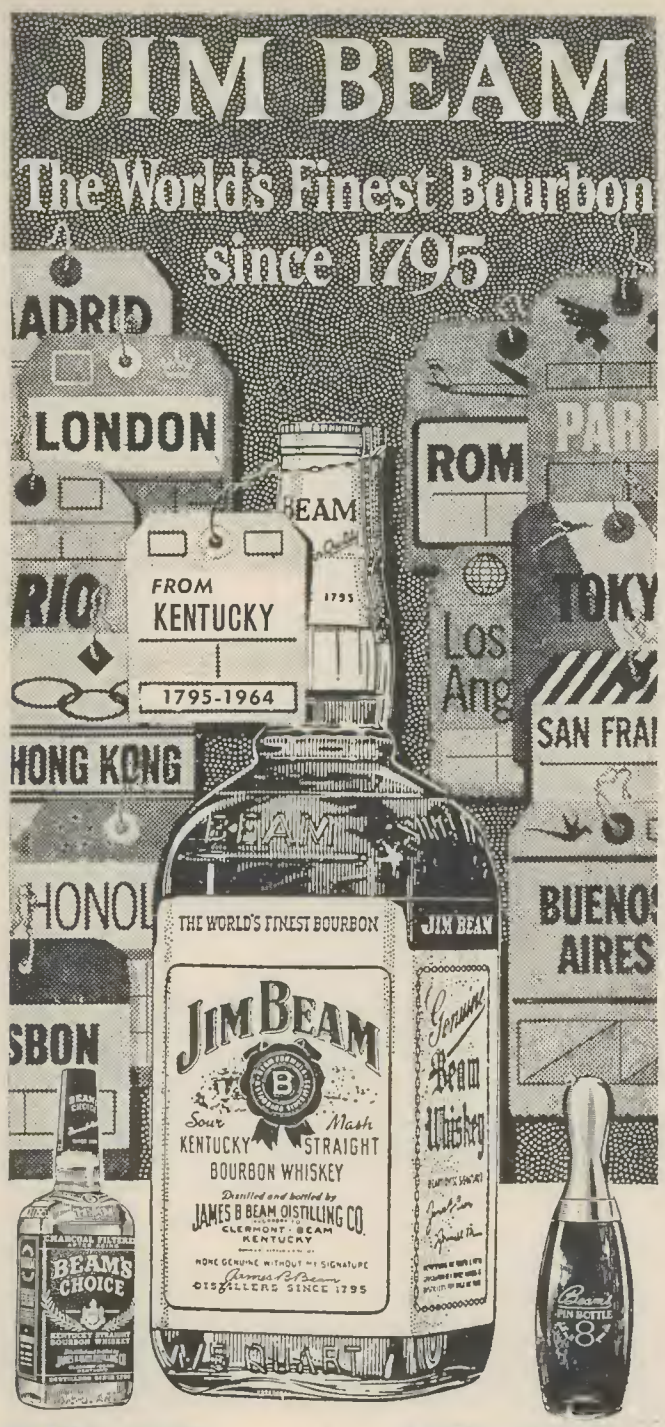
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# *The Night of the Dragon*



**Of (Real, Honest-to-Goodness, Live) Dragons, U.S. Marines, and Sundry Escapes, Alarums, and Captures, complete with Happy Ending:** Although sharing the spotlight with a baby white tiger, two dragons have been drawing the crowds at Washington's National Zoo for the past several weeks. They are male and female (one each) Komodo Dragons, gifts of President Sukarno of Indonesia, in return for gifts of rare American fowl—including four whistling swans—from Attorney General and Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy. Technically, the Komodo Dragon is a large-size member of the monitor (lizard) family. Since the male is nine feet long and the female six, this technicality is obviously just that. The term "lizard" does not conjure up an image of anything more than a foot or so in length. These may be compact dragons, but they are *dragons*, not large, economy-size lizards!

By one of those coincidences so commonplace in the Foreign Service, we received, just about the time the dragons were arriving in the States, a copy of Embassy Djakarta's lively Djakarta WEEKLY BULLETIN. In it was an account, by USIS's Donn Chown, of the night the dragons spent at the Embassy before their departure for the U.S. Near the beginning of the account was a sentence which, if used to open a novel, would guarantee best-seller status for that novel: "Miss Carroll, this is Corporal Bowman. One of the dragons is at large!"

* * *

According to Chown's account, the two dragons were delivered to the Embassy with the cooperation of officials of the Surabaya Zoo. For their thirty-four-hour stay at the Embassy, the dragons were left in crates, with one end of each crate boasting a new wire grill to provide better ventilation. They apparently had no thought of escape. The female moved her three-foot tail from one side of the crate to the other—once. Her three-hundred-plus-pound mate neither moved nor paid attention to anyone or anything.

In reply to questions, Dr. Reed of Washington's National Zoo, who had acompanied the rare American fowl to Indonesia and was to accompany the dragons back to Washington, replied (1) "Yes, they are carnivorous"; (2) "No, they are not drugged for the trip"; and (3) "Yes, they will fight if cornered. And you particularly have to watch out for the tail: it can be lethal if he starts swinging!"

That night, Lance Corporals Bowman and Brezek discover the grill ripped loose from the male dragon's crate, but they do not find the male dragon. Checking the female's cage, they discover—as they expected they would, but hoped they would not—an identical situation.

There follow the phone call to Ann Carroll, who happened to be Duty Officer, and another—from Ann to Bob Grealy, who was Dragon Project Liaison Officer. The latter developed the information that, at least, the female was not loose; she had been transferred to a smaller cage. With the odds reduced to two Marines vs. one dragon, everybody began to feel a little better. *(Continued on page 12)*




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## THE NIGHT OF THE DRAGON

*(Continued from page 10)*

Dr. Reed was located and dashed to the Embassy. Meanwhile, a probing flashlight had revealed the male dragon crawling in a corner of the compound near the gate. Also, two more Marines had arrived, but the situation was not exactly in hand. Nobody was quite sure how one went about discouraging a dragon from exiting the compound if he decided to do so. Fortunately, he did not.

Upon Dr. Reed's arrival and at his suggestion, all present scrabbled around for odd pieces of plywood and, from same, constructed a temporary pen. The open-end cage was pushed into place at one side of the pen. The dragon, without urging, waddled into his crate and the sliding wooden door dropped behind him. End of re-capture of dragon.

* * *

Add, thus to the list of approved replies to *that* question ("So what do you *do* in the Foreign Service?"): "Well, say, for example, there's a dragon at large in the Embassy. . . ." ■

## UNCLASSIFIED

*by* ANDOR KLAY

THE WORLD'S SHORTEST THRILLER: "A woman is sitting alone in a house. She knows she is alone in the whole world: every other living thing is dead. The doorbell rings." (Thomas Bailey Aldrich.)

* * *

BISMARCK'S NAME is still a historical household word, but no one recalls the splendoriferous name of his successor as Chancellor: General Count Georg Leo von Caprivi de Caprara de Montecuccoli.

* * *

AMERICAN PROFILE, Gary, Indiana: City engineer Zweig; court referee Galasini; district commissioner Zahutnik; mayor Visclovsky; former mayor Chacharis; assistant city attorney Psimos; field engineer Torrenga; city attorney Schell; park superintendent Briando; sheriff Mandich; license supervisor Diamond; Republican chairman Jackson.

* * *

DAUDET writes about a woman boarding a bus in deep mourning. She looked so tragically unhappy that a neighbor asked the cause. She told of the death of her fist child, then the second; the passengers murmured their sympathy. the driver sadly shook his head. When she got to the death of her husband, interest slackened; when she told how the third child was eaten by a crocodile in Egypt, everyone burst out laughing.

* * *

FOR TYPISTS: On English typewriters, there is no exclamation point—it must be made up by way of combining apostrophe and period. On Italian typewriters, there is one ready to strike even without pressing extra lever; but to produce a period. extra lever must be pressed. Characters on typewriters can express national characteristics. . . .

* * *

FOR RESEARCHERS: German baron with family name Washington (exactly sic)—Karl Theodor Baron von Washington, aide to King Ludwig II of Bavaria. How come?




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# 25 YEARS AGO

## IN THE JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART — APRIL, 1939

### Inside The Foreign Office

AN article in the JOURNAL takes its readers on a visit to 9 Downing Street. Excerpts: "One of the favorite conundrums of the Victorian era was this: 'Why do the officials of the British Foreign Office resemble the fountain on Trafalgar Square?' And the answer: 'Because they play from ten to four!' At that time the joke was justified because a diplomat was not overburdened with work except in time of war. The young gentlemen of the Foreign Office had at their disposal and spent a considerable part of their working time in a recreation room called the 'nursery,' which boasted a piano, fencing and boxing equipment and the like. Then a story is told about the three Imperial couriers, who were supposed to be constantly on call in case some urgent matter arose. One day something did come up but none of the couriers could be found. It was discovered that one was attending a hunt, another had gone to the races, while the third was busy discharging his social obligations in Mayfair.

"In those days the young diplomats did not begin work until after lunch and they were seldom fully occupied. Before 1870, when the present building at No. 9 Downing Street was completed, the Foreign Office was located in a house opposite a dressmaker's shop, and the young diplomats sometimes diverted themselves by reflecting the sun's rays with mirrors onto the faces of the seamstresses. Complaints were made to Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister, who posted a notice requesting the gentlemen of the staff "to refrain from casting reflections upon the young ladies during working hours.'

"Today all this has changed, and midnight oil is burned in the offices between the Horse Guards and Westminster....."

The article goes on to tell how the Foreign Office is organized, how it was modernized at the beginning of this century, and how for a long time a diplomatic career was for the upper classes only. It ends with a paragraph on salaries: ". . . . Even before the War the composition of the diplomatic service had begun to be less aristocratic. Entrance examinations, which were introduced in the middle of the last century, have become more and more difficult, in order to avoid nepotism. Yet until 1919 an applicant had to prove that he possessed a private income of at least £400 a year; since then the salaries have been raised so that young men without means of their own can live on them. The average salary of a young diplomatic official is £300 in London and £500 abroad. The top salary of a counselor, is £1,200. But he can be minister at fifty, and well off; or he can become an ambassador, in which case he need not worry about money. Pensions are generous. So there are good financial prospects as well as prestige in following the difficult and responsible diplomatic career, even if one passes over the reason given by one young man who was asked why he was so fond of the diplomatic service. 'Because,' he said frankly, 'one gets such marvelous seats in the first row whenever anything important is going on!' "—Reprinted in the JOURNAL from THE LIVING AGE.



A daughter, Martha Durstine, was born May 1 in Washington to Mr. and Mrs. George H. Butler. Mr. Butler is Assistant Chief of the Division of the American Republics.

**Comment,** 1964: Martha was bundled off to Lima a few months after her birth. Then followed Panama, Washing-

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ton, Santo Domingo and again Washington in 1948. Martha and family now live in Portland, Oregon, which George says is much too far away from Washington. A former Ambassador, he was an active JOURNAL worker for years.

**Briefs:** On May 5 the Secretary and Mrs. Hull were present at the Union Station, together with President and Mrs. Roosevelt and other members of the Cabinet and their wives, to welcome the President of Niearagua and Senora de Somoza upon their arrival in Washington on an offieial visit. It was the first time that President Roosevelt had left the White House to reeeive a visiting foreign Chief of State sinee he assumed offiee in 1933. The weleome was staged amid seenes of unusual military pageantry, with field artillery 75's giving a 21-gun salute; 5,000 soldiers, sailors and marines lining the route and supplemented by hundreds of poliee and firemen; a fleet of army "Flying Fortresses" and pursuit planes roaring overhead; and crowds estimated by the press as larger that that of President Roosevelt's first inaugural parade.

**Comment,** 1964: President Somoza was assassinated in 1956. He was succeeded by his son Luis Somoza, who in turn was followed by Rene Shiek in 1963.

### Training School Assignments

The following members of the class of April, 1939, who are still in aetive serviee, were assigned as follows: Aaron Brown, Visa Division; Harlan Clark, Birmingham; Edmund Gullion, Salonika; Gordon Mattison, Baghdad; Roy Melbourne, Passport Division; Herbert Olds, Rotterdam; Elim O'Shaughnessy, Rio; Frederick Reinhardt, Visa Division; Milton Rewinkel, Budapest; Ray Thurston, Naples.

### Recent Contributions

Exeerpts from "Early Memories" (1913) by Henry Cabot Lodge, who was the grandfather of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge: "He (William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, 1877-1881) was witty and a great speaker although he admitted that he 'had been criticized as many of our railroads were critieized for a laek of terminal facilities.' "

"Looking at an elevator car as it slowly ascended (in the State Department), filled to overflowing, Seeretary Evarts observed that he had never before seen so large a colleetion taken up for foreign missions. . . ." ". . . He proposed to have carved on one side of his door: 'Come ye diseonsulate,' and on the other : *'Lasciate ogni speranza voi qu' entrate.'* "

—Arthur C. Frost

► Dudley and Linda Mills Sipprelle left for their first post, Bogotá, last April. They missed Ambassador Fulton (Tony) Freeman and Phyllis. who had been transferred to Mexico City, where he is Ambassador. Mr. Freeman's first assignment was to the Consulate General there in 1939 and "that was the year that was"—the year that Tony and Phyllis were bride and groom.

### An Assistant Secretary's Shadow

Mrs. Blanche Halla, former Chief, Offiee of Coordination and Review, tells a delightful aneedote about former Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Adee. That rare eharaeter, "who earried the historieal eontinuity of the State Department under his hat," was mentor to such statesmen as James G. Blaine, John Hay, Elihu Root, Robert Lansing, Charles Evans Hughes.

"Mr. Adee's messenger," says Mrs. Halla, "was Isaac Edwards and he watched over Mr. Adee morning, noon and night.

"On leaving his office for the day, Mr. Adee would walk down those famous stairs in Old State followed elosely by Isaac to see that all went well. One morning we received one of Mr. Adee's famous red ink memos which read: 'Will you please keep Isaac from slinking after me like a tin can tied to my tail.' " ■




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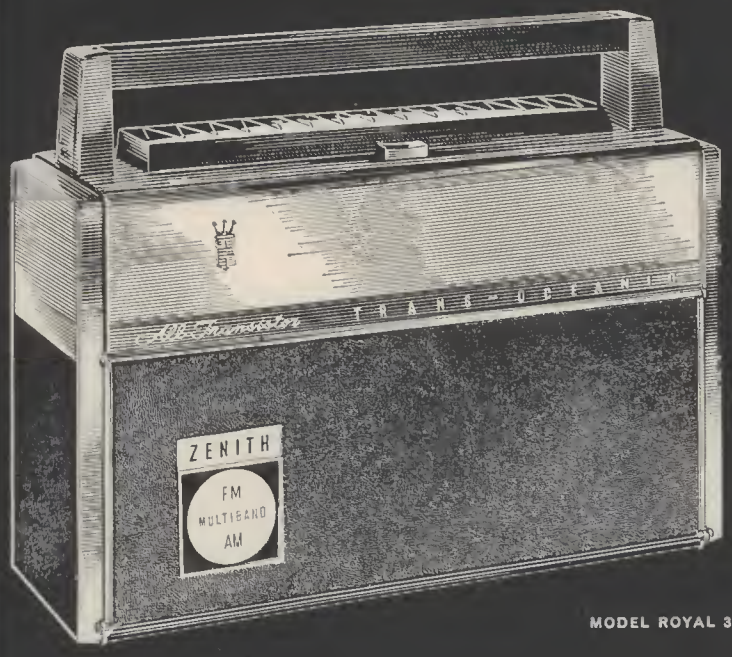
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# POLITICAL STABILITY and the Politics of Change

by JOHN M. CATES, JR.

"BUT, SENOR, if I could speak to you a moment, my English is not very good, what did you mean by 'stable government'?" The speaker was a Dominican teacher studying in the United States under the AID teacher training program. His question grew out of a talk before a group of high school teachers at the first Geneseo Conference for Social Studies sponsored by State University College, on various aspects of our foreign policy towards Latin America. One of the issues of greatest interest in the seminar discussions was the relationship of representative democracy to stable government. The Dominican teacher's question related, obviously, to his experiences under the regime of Trujillo. He had been born, raised, educated and employed under this "stable" regime. Now, studying in the United States, he was learning the American, democratic method; the American teacher's outlook; the management and administration of a school course and system. The linking of political stability to political and economic reforms under the Alliance for Progress bothered him.

"Under Trujillo," he said, "we had a stable government. Do you want us to return to a dictatorship? What do you mean 'stable government?' Does that mean no change? No opposition? What does it have to do with democracy?" The young teacher was friendly and interested; there was no antagonism in his tone. He was just baffled.

He had raised an interesting and a difficult question.

In the United States we are inclined to equate political stability with political, economic and social progress; with civil liberties; with our concept of democracy. These ideas were behind our well-intentioned military interventions in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. The American assumption was that first one *must* have an orderly government: that is, public order, good administration, neatly dressed policemen, a favorable atmosphere for foreign investment; then, naturally, good things would follow. We take for granted our own democratic traditions and system, wherein parties put up candidates and fight elections, and the people accept the results with good grace. Administrations change, but in general the gas and water mains function, the police do their duty, the army and navy stay in their camps or on their ships, communications are uninterrupted, factories go on producing. There is no political gunfire in the streets; the partisans of a defeated party do not "man the barricades"; newly elected presidents are not forced into exile by an insurgent opposition; military leaders do not ride to political power in tanks. In this aura of political orderliness, we expect that business will boom, profits will be made, job offerings will expand and prosperity will pervade the land. This is the American way.

What is different in the Latin American countries? There are people, there are job seekers, there are raw materials: sugar, bananas, coffee, oil, copper; there is private capital, as can be seen by deposits in Europe and New York. Why then is this area not booming? The answer to many Americans seems clear: there is no order, no stability, no political or economic continuity and predictability. People are afraid to leave their money in banks because a revolution might blast open the vaults, destroy confidence, upset the business-as-usual apple cart.

What can be done about this situation? The solution also seems clear to the average American. Establish law and order. Set up stable political institutions. Then the accepted economic laws would be free to operate.

This solution has occurred to the South American as well. The United States had set the example of establishing "orderly government" by sending its Marines into various countries. The South Americans emulated this precedent by military intervention in political affairs and the establishment of dictatorships. That our motives had been different was not appreciated. Certainly the military produced stability as long as they remained. Politically orderly communities existed under Trujillo, Perez Jimenez, Batista, Rojas Pinilla, Peron. If political stability is a worthy goal, actually a *sine qua non* of economic development, does it matter, they asked, how it is achieved?

Yet this stability, based on the imposition of order from above and the removal of that dangerous source of instability, a political opposition, finally led to the unrest, disorder, revolutionary violence and successive coups d'état that have characterized Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and other countries during the last few years.

So, asks the Dominican, what do you mean by stable government?

We must have two points of view in mind in formulating an answer. On the one hand is our view of our own political stability, which owes its strength to the give-and-take of controversy in an atmosphere of restraint, of public order, in which opposing factions let off steam in debate rather than in violence. On the other hand is the appeal, for the newly liberated intellectual, of freedom of controversy, of polemic, even of violence, after the stultifying experience of repression. The newly liberated tend to think of stability in terms of dictatorship, where all is indeed orderly, but where the leader's political shibboleths are untouchable, where the status quo of the privileged group is maintained by fear, where criticism is treason. To them stability may be synonymous with tyranny.

DEMOCRACY? Tyranny? These are poles apart. Can "political stability" ever come to mean the same thing for each of us? A synonym for democratic order and progress? If not, how can we find a rationale?

In some areas, democracy has been for too long just an ideal, a word taken in vain by a succession of demagogues of various hues and stripes, expressed in perverted form varying from the "Cesarismo Democratico" of Lauriana Vallenilla Lanz to the "People's Democracy" of Fidel Castro. These regimes offer a stability achieved by repression, a repression which is tyranny, to be overthrown only by violence. Thus runs the thinking of the dogmatic reformers. Even the restraints imposed by representative authority in the interests of the democratic ground rules smack of tyranny to dedicated opponents of dictatorial rule.



*"Courage, my Rocinante!"* — *by Marie Skora*

to whom the word democracy means delusion. The mixed motives of those opposing Betancourt in Venezuela, particularly those opposing limitations on congressional forays into what the Betancourt regime rightly chose to call treason, exemplify this confusion. The fascinating complex of the parties entering the 1964 Venezuelan election contest offers a case study in the contradictions involved in changing political concepts as a society moves from dictatorship to democracy.

The development of a meaningful answer requires not only careful definition and presentation but also a careful and patient program to convince the doubters abroad.

How can we best approach this problem so basic to hemispheric understanding? It may be done by explanation and example, by encouragement and generosity, by understanding and conviction. It may best be brought home through personal contact, through dialogue in speech and writing, with patient effort to explain what to us may seem obvious. It requires a convincing presentation of the idealistic and the practical, the spiritual and the material.

THE CONCERN of the United States for the advancement of our mutual well-being in this hemisphere is expressed in the Charter of the Alliance for Progress, through which runs the assumption that material progress may best be assured under political freedom. Implicit also in the Charter is the importance of a political stability which will allow full concentration on economic and social development attained by free men in a free society. Our basic belief, that political stability is the only sound basis for political freedom and concurrent economic and social development, is clear from the initial references of President Kennedy to the Alliance, and from the text of the Charter of the Alliance itself.

In his inaugural address, President Kennedy first pledged our support to the development of our Latin American neighbors, "To convert our good words into good deeds in a new Alliance for Progress—to assist free men and free governments—to cast off the chains of poverty." In March of that same year, speaking to the Latin American ambassadors on his ten-year plan for the Alliance, he said: "Let us once again transform the American Continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts, a tribute to the power of the creative energies of free men and women, an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand."

The text of the Charter of the Alliance for Progress explicitly carries forward this emphasis on freedom, stating in its opening "Declaration to the Peoples of America" that "this Alliance is established on the basic principle that free men working through the institution of representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations, including those for work, home and land, schools." First among the goals of the signers is "to improve and strengthen democratic institutions through the application of the principle of self-determination by the people." The Declaration then goes on to list various economic and social goals: housing, tax and agrarian reform, education and health, and concludes that this continent is entering "a new era when it will supplement its institutional, legal, cultural and social accomplishments with immediate and concrete actions to secure a better life, under freedom and democracy, for the present and future generations." Reiterating this general

theme, the Preamble of the Charter states that the effort to achieve progress will be made "within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty," that the "creative powers of free men hold the key to their progress" and that the certainty of ultimate success rests "on the indomitable spirit of free men, which has been the heritage of American civilization." The Alliance is further an integral part of the inter-American system. Its Charter explicitly expresses our confidence "that the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man."

THERE can be no doubt that the stability envisaged for the economic and social development of this hemisphere is one based on the self-restraint of representative democracy, not on the imposed restraint of a tyranny. It is true that dictatorships, stable in the absence of civil strife and disorder, still exist in some states in this hemisphere. However, we recognize that these states are out of step with the political aims of the Alliance and although they are not barred *de jure* from participation in Alliance projects, those states which are farthest from the ideal of representative democracy receive *de facto* the least assistance.

If the United States appears at times to split hairs or to walk with too careful a tread on this contentious ground, it is not only because of the difficulties of defining representative democracy, but also because of the hesitancy of the OAS States to take action which implies intervention in the affairs of another state. The OAS adoption of sanctions against the Dominican Republic in 1960, following Trujillo's attempt on the life of Betancourt, must be kept in its proper prospective. Trujillo's action was held to be "intervention and aggression against Venezuela" under the Rio Treaty and, as such, a threat to the peace of the Americas. Though the lack of representative democracy in the Dominican Republic was a factor in Venezuelan thinking, and the concept that the exercise of unrestrained power by one man might endanger peaceful relations was actually embodied in the 1959 OAS Declaration of Santiago, it was not cited by the OAS as grounds for its "collective intervention." Thus, any connection between absence of representative democracy and threats to the peace must remain inferential.

Against this background, how do we convince the Dominican teacher that by "stable government" we do not mean a negative, dictatorially stable government but an affirmative, democratically stable government? The answer involves the formulation of a definition of representative democracy that will convey the conviction that the political continuity we have in the United States, based on "peaceful revolution," is in the best interests of the great majority of the people and in no way a deterrent to the continued existence, and the separate identity, of opposing political, economic and social groups.

WHEN we speak of stable representative government, we are thinking of a government elected in a free and open election in which two or more political parties take part;

of a political climate in which the winning candidate takes over the executive power with the acquiescence and cooperation of his opponents and his predecessor in office;

of a governing regime which is responsive to the wishes of the electorate, freely expressed in writing and in speech, in newspapers, on the radio or in a congress;

of a political opposition which seeks to gain its ends, including the winning of power, through argument and the ballot box, not by intimidation and bullets;

of a people who, in political parties or independently, support the regime which was freely elected and reject the blandishments of any demagogue dedicated to the violent overthrow of the constitutionally elected government;

of a military force which remains loyal to the legally elected government during its term of office.

A government holding power under such conditions would permit the pragmatic achievement of the political ideals of the Alliance for Progress and of the OAS Charter. It is the type of government best calculated to establish that climate of public order and internal stability which will permit the people to turn their attention to the pressing problems of economic and social development, to needed administrative and bureaucratic reforms and to the building of their communities. It is the type of government which should attract foreign and local capital, because investors need not fear that violent shifts in governmental policies or coups by rival cliques would upset long-term development plans. Such a government *is* representative democracy.

This definition does, in fact, project the ideal of the "western" form of representative democracy, evolution and peaceful change. Is this practical or logical for Latin America? Is there any other definable alternative? Variations on this general theme exist throughout Latin America today. Two or three countries meet all the qualifications set out above. Two or three more meet the requirements in essence. Some fail completely to meet the ideal we have defined. What we must do is refine and restate it to fit various situations but not give way on the essentials. This is our *mistica*. This is the dogma, if you will, of our pragmatism.

One thing is clear: to make such a system work, the political stability we have in mind is a necessity. It is the predictability of peaceful change that assures a freely elected regime staying in power until its term is up. It is the assurance arising from stability that permits freedom of speech—freedom to criticize—and that gives physical protection to the critic, as long as he does not advocate violent overthrow of the regime. It is the public order resulting from stability that permits children to go to school, housewives to go to the market and businesses to operate without fear of street violence, politically inspired riots and physically destructive strikes. It is, in short, the stability of a community of law-abiding citizens and humane police. It is the system which at regular intervals gives the citizens the right peacefully to turn out the governing regime if they choose.

WHY is this ideal not universally in effect? The answer lies in lack of experience and even disbelief in its existence. As former Assistant Secretary Martin put it, perhaps bluntly, but nevertheless accurately, "in most of Latin America there is so little experience with the benefits of political legitimacy that there is an insufficient body of opinion, civil or military, which has any reason to know its value and hence defend it."*

Two examples come to mind. Venezuela recently elected and inaugurated a new president. His assumption of office, despite an all-out terrorist opposition campaign, marked the first occasion in Venezuelan history that a freely elected President had served out his term of office and had been peacefully succeeded by a freely-elected successor. In the Dominican Republic, however, no freely-elected president has ever served out his term and been followed by a freely-elected successor. The first Chief of State elected in a free general election, Juan Bosch, was turned out by a military coup after six months in office. Whether out of revolutionary euphoria or Pavlovian reaction, countries newly

*Statement on U.S. Policy Regarding Military Government in Latin America.

liberated from dictatorship have shown themselves the least politically stable by our definition. Argentina and the Dominican Republic present classic examples. After learning by successful experience that dictatorship could be overthrown only by force, they perhaps found it natural to "equate change with violence and tyranny with stability."

It is for us to illustrate affirmatively the ways and means of change: freedom of speech, orderly parliamentary criticism, wide open campaign competition, free elections. Can we make for the Latin American a reality of our traditional party rivalries and of the fact that the political opposition to the administrations of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John Kennedy, however violent its feelings might have seemed, never considered a resort to violent action? Can we illustrate the extent of the dramatic changes that have taken place in the economic and social structure of this country during its long history, a development President Johnson has referred to as "permanent revolution?" Can we make a reality out of a public and Congressional debate on any current issue—foreign aid or civil rights—and thereby illustrate the sense of change in this country following upon any great internal political innovation?

It may be that in the tragic assassination of President Kennedy, the orderly governmental succession which followed and the rededication of President Johnson to the Kennedy programs, the Dominican teacher will see what we mean by the kind of political stability which permits the surge of difference without the destruction of the basic political institution. We can hope that the elections following recent coups in Argentina and Peru; the promises of early elections in the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Honduras, and the steadfastness of the Venezuelans in carrying through with their elections in the face of terroristic attempts to stampede the government indicate a dawning appreciation of the necessity of constitutionality and the orderly succession of freely-elected governments.

One of our difficulties in "selling" stable political institutions and peaceful revolution is our own awareness that in past epochs armed revolutions have indeed struck glorious blows against tyranny and have been inspired by the highest idealism. Thus we can understand how nearly irresistible to repressed people the Chinese concept of revolution must be. All of a revolutionary piece, though varying in their violence, have been the English, the American, the French, the Russian, the Mexican, the Chinese and the Cuban revolutions. Can we now attack all revolutions as all bad? Rather we must convince the doubters that through representative democracy we have developed political mechanisms more effective in achieving the changes sought by earlier revolutionaries than violence itself; that pragmatic peaceful evolution is superior to dogmatic revolution.

How do we convince the youth of this hemisphere, the idealistic, impatient students, that democracy and political stability are neither the panoply of oligarchy nor the mace of tyranny but are in fact an exciting *mistica*, a challenging and worthily difficult means to their ends? To them the long legal struggle in the West to establish regimes of laws, not of men, where governments would follow predictable courses, is unreal. Such regimes, once established and buttressed by society, soon lose their revolutionary glamor. Ironically, it was to the violent lessons of the French, and later the Russian, revolutions that the Latin American idealist turned for inspiration rather than to our American Revolution. What Hannah Arendt has termed "the failure to incorporate the American Revolution in the revolutionary tradition" may be responsible for this failure of communication. Many of our watchwords remain but they have been distorted in spirit as well as in letter by their incorporation into Marxist dogma. The pirating and perversion of our cherished terms into "popular democracy" and "people's revolution" have invested our own democracy and its components of political stability, public order and representative government with undeserved opprobrium.

Unwittingly, we ourselves may have played a role in the denigration of our watchwords. Doughty champions of Free World concepts though they were, Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower are best remembered in Venezuela for the praise bestowed on the Perez Jimenez system in 1954 and the medal pinned on the Perez Jimenez uniform in 1957. Honorable though our motives may have been, it is not unjust to say that the loftiness of our intentions in praising the outward form was matched by our lack of comprehension of the political and social structure which underlay it.

Can we expect the new democracies to learn by example as well as by experience? On the basis that they can, we have undertaken the Alliance for Progress, educational exchange programs and the Peace Corps. This is not to underestimate the difficulties of convincing an impatient, hungry electorate and aspiring opposition candidates that a climate of good political stability will secure for their country a representative government which will in turn permit the evolutionary changes they respectively demand and promise. We must dramatize our own experience and difficulties in achieving political, economic and social change. Sympathetic outside financing and technical assistance are essential to breach the dispiriting cycle of poverty and to telescope fifty years of overdue change into five. Evolutionary deeds are essential to demonstrate an evolutionary alternative to violent upheaval. Violence *per se* has no appeal among the great majority of the family people, the *gente decente*, of Latin America when alternate avenues of change are opened up. Only long-existing terrorism or imposed misery can rouse the masses to violent action, and then only under the stimulus of exhortation.

So in answering the teacher's question, we are brought face to face with the problem of how to portray the workability of our democratic system and the viability of our evolutionary change to people who have little knowledge of the nuances of our system and of whose fears, needs and daily experiences we ourselves have little understanding.

As we set ourselves to our task, we must realize that our assumptions are not universal assumptions, that our evolution has not been universal evolution and that we have rivals for political supremacy whose conviction of the rightness of their own cause and methods equals our own. The sharpness of the divergence between the rival systems in the world today must not dismay us, nor the difficulties inherent in making our democratic system function effectively under varying economic and social conditions. It is the best system yet devised to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number, while preserving that spark of individuality, of dignity and of human worth which mechanistic state systems have for so long attempted to extinguish. In contrast to the intellectual intricacies of a pragmatic democracy with its Anglo-Saxon background of public order, restraint, sobriety and hard work, a ready-made political dogma offers to the impatient Latin mind an attractive alternative route to the promised land. His impatience must be matched by our patience, and by our continued effort to demonstrate by example that through our system people may achieve the material as well as the spiritual freedom they universally seek.

So, at last, our answer to the Dominican teacher's question is as complex as the network of roots and rootlets on which democracy feeds and by which it is supported: political stability, responsible citizenry, representative government, peaceful change. These by their nature are as difficult to define as they are fascinating to observe and as challenging to bring to fruition as they are rewarding to experience. ■



# BUT WHAT DO YOU DO

*by* JOHN L. BROWN

I AM always embarrassed when people ask me what I do. And people, for the lack of anything better to say, seem to be asking it all the time.

I reply, sotto voce, that I am the Cultural Attaché, hoping that they won't hear and that we can go on to something else. "But what does a Cultural Attaché DO?" they come back brightly, sensing they've got me on the defensive. I try to pass it off with a melancholy quip like "as little mischief as possible," hoping that my unwillingness to supply information will discourage them. Such a happy solution is rare. They persist (more inquisitorial now): "But I mean, what DO you DO?"

I'd really like to explain that my purpose in life, if you want to get down to that, is being, not doing, but even I have come to realize that there's no point trying to go into all that at a cocktail party. So I resign myself and try to fabricate a version of "what I do" that will confer on my activities some semblance of respectability.

I cast about for the proper retort. Education. That's it. It's a respectable word. (Culture is still a "dirty" one.) So I reply, in that serious, deliberate tone proper to the civil servant, that I am involved in setting up exchanges of students and professors.

"Oh, how interesting," warbles the little old lady, her birdlike eye taking on a glitter, "how *glad* I am to meet you.

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JOHN L. BROWN, *a frequent* JOURNAL *contributor, asks the editors to make clear that this is "a snippet from a long essay on the formation, the functions, and the future of the CAO." He now holds that post in Mexico.*

My granddaughter wants to get a Fulbright and go to Europe to study singing. Could you tell me . . . ."

You're saved. For, as all of you know, our exchange apparatus is as complicated as a Dr. Seuss machine, and you can spend a very very long time trying to explain it.

Educational exchange is a fine face-saver. But it's only a part of my job. What *do* I *do* besides? Much of the time, I am afraid that I am doing nonsense, measuring out my life with coffee spoons, engaged in the hallowed rituals of telephoning, conferring, meeting, lunching, exchanging memoranda, writing efficiency reports and giving evidence of effectiveness; keeping pointless appointments with people who persistently want favors that I cannot possibly grant, attending official ceremonies (at which it doesn't matter if you're there, but terribly important if you aren't), receiving tourist-taxpayers who want to find out "what you are doing with their money," meeting painters who want the Embassy to arrange a show, songstresses who want the Embassy to arrange a concert, lecturers who want the Embassy to arrange a lecture. If you can't quickly oblige, they inevitably raise the old cry of "Well, what *DO* you *DO*, anyway?"

I go on all day long talking, talking on the telephone or vis-a-vis to the most inconceivable variety of people, in English and in the language of the country, on the most inconceivable variety of subjects, from Etruscan archeology to Pop art, from early American coins to old age security. (You're supposed to be expert and interested in all of them—you're the Cultural Attaché, aren't you?)

Moreover, the CAO must be eternally watchful in all that he says. Conversationally, he must appear universally informed, endlessly articulate and "enthusiastic," but at the same time cool and noncommittal. Ideally, he should share everyone's tastes, nourish coexisting passions for Grandma Moses and Jasper Johns, Zane Grey and William Burroughs, Leonard Bernstein and John Cage.

No wonder that after a few years of this regime, the Cultural Officer, dispersed to the point of being schizoid, despoiled of his cultural baggage if he ever had any, becomes a kind of dispensing machine, spewing out cultural "packets" or "kits" that have been sent to the field for distribution and performing all the miscellaneous chores that no one else wants to do.

For normally when a problem does not fit neatly into the political, economic, military, administrative or "information" pigeonholes, it is "sent over to culture." A large percentage of these problems are really insoluble. What can the CAO do, really, for collectors who wish to sell dubious Old Masters to American museums, or about protests against the shipping of Michelangelo's "Pietà" to the New York World's Fair, or how to get a degree from an American university by correspondence, or about requests for subventions from lunatic-fringe inventors (the Cultural Office attracts the illuminated as the flame attracts the moth), or about complaints of aging canaries who believe that prejudice against America and Americans is the only factor preventing them from making a brilliant debut at the Scala; or about tourist groups (armed with official letters) who want arrangements made right away for them to take tea with the Queen, or lunch with the president of the Republic, or have a private audience with the Pope?

To these and all the other bizarre requests (both foreign and domestic) about which nothing can be done, the CAO (or some member of his staff if he has one) must reply. And it is notoriously harder to write a letter which politely says "no" than it is to tell someone he can have what he asks for. (It is a melancholy task on a Friday afternoon to review the week's correspondence and see how little time has been spent on anything "cultural" and how much on such communications.)

Gradually the CAO learns that if he wants to avoid the most stultifying aspects of his métier, he should make sure to get out of his office as much as possible. If he schedules at least ten days of travel per month, he will find that everything seems to be looking up. He will feel better, since the change, the open air, and the gentle exercise involved in walking around the schools, museums, cultural monuments or vineyards will be of benefit to him. He will get along more amicably with his colleagues in the Embassy, since he won't be around to get in their hair. And he will escape being sent on all the miscellaneous errands that would have been his lot if he were available.

Moreover, following the example of a number of vigorous recent ambassadors, it has now become the thing to get out of the capital ("Paris isn't France, Conakry isn't *really* Guinea, you know") and to seek for the "grass-roots" reality in provincial areas. In fact, no good cultural officer has ever had the illusion that the people he *really* should know will make an appointment to see him in his office. Professional "friends of America" may—but few others. He must seek them out himself. Only then can he start operating in terms of people he knows and of places he's been, and of situations he has experienced. No amount of theoretical knowledge can replace such contact with concrete reality. Like Leon-Paul Fargue, he should opt for *"l'intelligence qui mange de la viande,"* that can observe the shape of roofs and the color of skies and can seize the importance of such things in understanding people and communicating with them. For he must *understand* (and, if possible, love) *before* he can convince. (The CAO soon comes to realize that his job is really a form of love-making and that making love is never really successful unless both partners are participating.)

In the past decade I have traveled thousands of kilometers every year, in order to accept as many invitations to speak, to inaugurate, to "manifest" as I possibly could. I have delighted my eye with monuments and landscapes, my palate with food and drink (for culture must be well nourished!), my ear with the sound of native song and oratory. (Ah, those wonderful exhibitions of rhetoric in which I have participated, when I raised my voice to vie with the Prefect, or the Rector, or the President of the Chamber of Commerce in exchanging superlatives, in offering compliments, in embracing on both cheeks—thus "strengthening the bonds between our two great democracies.")

I have never been able to be scientifically rigorous in deciding whether or not my attendance at a congress in honor of Leopardi in an obscure town in the Abruzzi, or my presence at a wine-tasting in Anjou, or at the inauguration of a statue of Marie Harmel (the supposed "inventor" of Camembert and a folk heroine throughout Basse Normandie) constitutes a valid "evidence of my effectiveness," or how such activity might advance the purposes of American foreign policy. (I privately have had my doubts, for I uncomfortably suspect that my activities have very little measurable importance in themselves.)

But you can never tell in life, finally, what may acquire importance. *"Si le nez de Cléopatre. . . ."* Soon after my arrival in Belgium, I had accepted an invitation to *"dire deux mots"* (for in Latin countries culture is always articulate) at the opening of an exposition of ancient instruments in a small town near the German border. This village—it was no more than that—had long been famous for its *luthiers* and was known throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages for the manufacture of fine instruments. The ceremony was scheduled for a Sunday afternoon. When I submitted a request for a car, the grumbling started. Why did I need to go there on a Sunday when drivers were scarce? What did American culture have to do with ancient instruments? I finally did get the car, but as I drove through the Ardennes on that lovely Sunday morning, I began to wonder if attending the ceremony was simply an act of self-indulgence.

On my arrival I was greeted in front of the beautiful old town hall, which flew both the Belgian and the American

flags. Inside, the ancient instruments were a marvel to behold. A special ensemble from Brussels, specialized in the execution of fifteenth and sixteenth century texts (and organized, some thirty years ago, by an American from Colorado, who had come to Belgium to study and had remained to revitalize a nearly lost art), played a brief selection of works composed by one of the town's medieval composers.

In the course of the inauguration, I was introduced to the ranking Belgian present, a high official from the Ministry of Education, a gifted, somewhat erratic "intellectual of the Left." He was known for his hostility to the United States.

We were seated side by side at the banquet which followed the inauguration. The savory ham of the Ardennes, smoked over a juniper fire, the fresh mountain trout, lightly browned in butter with golden almonds sprinkled on their crisp skin, the tender chickens (the famous "Coucous de Malines"), their white flesh punctuated generously with black truffles, the excellent wine, the cordial atmosphere of the old *Hotel de ville* all made conversation very easy. We talked about the concert, the music of Joaquin des Prez, the contributions of Belgium to medieval art, the researches of Pirenne on the Flemish cities. I found him a most pleasant companion, learned without being pedantic, animated with a real enthusiasm for the past of his country.

When the cheese came, he asked: "But how can an American be interested in these things? Americans like only jazz." I said that of course many Americans did like only jazz, and that in this they were very much like many Europeans. But, I went on, the organizer and director of the ensemble which played for us is an American and there are many such groups in the United States which are specialized in ancient music. We began to speak about musical education, about Juilliard and Curtis and Eastman, about the place that music occupies in the public educational system in America. We parted friends. We continued to see each other. I am still in correspondence with him. And our good relations dated from a meeting at an exhibit of ancient instruments in an out-of-the-way country town.

There is a song of the '90s which goes: "Love is just a game which two are playing/ Love is nothing but a game of chance/ And the one who chooses, very often loses . . ." The CAO, it seems to me as I look back, should often let himself follow the dictates of his fancy and his own tastes, and not always be anxiously concerned about restricting his activities to those areas which he feels may be unambiguously presented as "advancing the purposes of American foreign policy."

Some of my own more picturesque exploits as a *commis voyageur* of culture have been closely related to agriculture. Of course, the word culture, which now seems so abstract, is thoroughly earthy in its origins.

The Greeks, significantly enough, did not have a word for it. They certainly possessed to a superlative degree the quality of what we call "personal culture," but just didn't see any reason for talking about it. For them, it was a human function as normal as digestion. You had "culture" (if you were a proper man) rather as you had a good stomach. I am all for this. When secure in possession of something, you don't have to be discussing it all the time.

It was the Romans (just as significantly) who invented the word. Cicero speaks of *"cultura animi."* (From *colere*, to tend, to cultivate, which gave the substantive, *cultura.*) People who are professionally concerned with culture should never forget its agricultural origins. The fairest flower springs from the compost heap; and Bacchus is not only the god of wine but also of poetry and drama.

In the countries to which I have had the good fortune to have been accredited, agriculture and culture always seemed to go happily hand in hand. This Virgilian alliance of the soil and the spirit has been a constant source of pleasure to me, particularly since it usually expresses itself by combining intellectual or artistic "manifestations" with the consumption of food and drink. And quite natural that is, since connoisseurs in such matters agree that there are two ideal places for committing effective cultural relations and that the table is certainly one of them.

In fact, in the actual practice of my trade, I have often been called upon to fulfill the functions of an agricultural attache. I certainly didn't mind, for I oppose over-specialization and like to remain a marginal man. Well I remember an incident which remains one of the high points of my official career. We had journeyed to a little Norman village, there to inaugurate an "Exposition of Agricultural Productivity." After visiting the exposition, our host, Comte de Tocqueville (descendant of the famous Alexis de Tocqueville, author of *"De la Démocratie en Amérique,"* indicated that he had a special treat in store for us. Lili, the champion cow of the Basse Normandie, had been brought here for a personal appearance, and the Count courteously invited me to step forward and milk her, as a concrete gesture of solidarity.

No Washington briefing had prepared me for such a situation. I had never touched a cow in my life. But it was clear that national honor was at stake. I could not refuse to pay homage to Lili, I could not give the impression of being ignorant or disdainful of traditional rural arts. So I marched up like a man, sat down on the milking stool, and pressed myself against Lili's majestic flank. The peasants crowded around closer to have a good laugh at the expense of a city slicker, and an American one at that, who obviously had no idea of how to milk a cow.

At first she repulsed my faltering advances, aware no doubt that I was a rank amateur. She turned her head and her great brown eyes shone with malice. No milk was forthcoming, and the peasants started to snicker. But I insisted, conscious of what was at stake. Lili finally capitulated, and a niggardly trickle descended visibly into the pail. The next morning, the papers carried pictures accompanied by a wealth of light-hearted captions: one I well remember read, *"L'attaché culturel américain met la main à la pâte."* (The American cultural attache on the job, i.e. "with his hands in the dough.") I don't know if this exploit really advanced the purposes of our foreign policy or even, to employ that hallowed cliché, "struck a decisive blow in the battle for men's minds." All I known is that I was thereafter received like a native son throughout the area. In this business, the small human gesture will sometimes strike the popular imagination more directly than the large but impersonal, official act.

On another occasion, during a banquet in a small rural town in Brittany, I was making conversation with the mayor. In order to establish the proper rapport I remarked that, although forced to live in the city, I was really a countryman at heart, since even in Paris we kept hens. (Two baby chicks we had bought for the children the preceding Easter had somehow survived, and roamed at liberty through our minuscule garden in the 14th arrondissement. This declaration of common rural concerns seemed to move the mayor deeply. He called an assistant, whispered a few words. The assistant withdrew in haste. He soon returned bearing an enormous white rooster. The mayor seized the furiously struggling bird, rose to his feet, and proclaimed: *"Monsieur Brown, j'ai l'honneur de vous offrir, pour vos poules americaines, un coq gaulois!"* And then he thrust that savagely protesting rooster into my arms. Naturally, delirium broke out in the hall. And, naturally, I had to get up and reply. It was the most difficult speech I ever made in my life. If you don't believe me, try it sometime, with a large and muscular rooster in your arms, wildly flapping his wings and trying to pick your eyes out!

I might note for the record that he never got a chance to exercise his virile seductions on those American hens. He ended up in the pot as soon as I got him back to town (there was no question of NOT taking him), and I can tell you he was a tough old bird. ■

# PORTRAITS BY PATRIC




Here are mirrored a few of the people from one country of the vast Pacific area, Japan:

1. Grandmother. This tiny, 82-year-old lady has the bearing of the universal grandmother.

2. Sakuma-san. Sakuma-san pulls a trash cart in Shibuya and his portrait was later admired by seven of his fellow trashmen.

3. Mrs. Yamamoto appears weekly on a nation-wide TV program teaching English to students and businessmen.

4. Yumi-chan poses in her brightest kimono to celebrate the New Year season.

5. Every country has its bonlevardiers and Japan is no exception.

6. Umezo-san, a farmer, can make flowers grow from rocks.

7. This bearded patriarch is, like most aged Japanese, a gentleman of leisure.

8. Nakamura is a ballet dancer and danced with Tallchief and Fonteyn in Tokyo.

9. Mrs. Honda is a typical metropolitan house-wife and mother of modern Japan.

# EDITORIAL

# SPEAKING OUT

On March 25 Senator Fulbright spoke out about foreign policy in a speech before the Senate. Much of the lively discussion which has ensued has concentrated on the individual problems and proposed solutions in the field of foreign policy which he discussed. From what we can gather, Senator Fulbright's proposals, and even the criticisms of these proposals, have been widely publicized throughout the world. We do not propose to draw a balance sheet of these debates on individual issues in this column. But we do feel it appropriate to recall the major concerns which caused Senator Fulbright to speak out and consider it valuable for the Association members to reflect on these major points.

The framework of his approach is clearly set forth in the following:

> "We are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities and we are seeking to escape the contradictions by narrowing the permissible bounds of public discussion, by relegating an increasing number of ideas and viewpoints to a growing category of 'unthinkable thoughts.' I believe that this tendency can and should be reversed, that it is within our ability, and unquestionably in our interests, to cut loose from established myths and to start thinking some 'unthinkable thoughts'—about the cold war and East-West relations, about the underdeveloped countries and particularly those in Latin America, about the changing nature of the Chinese Communist threat in Asia and about the festering war in Vietnam."

After analyzing the changes which have taken place in the East-West confrontation in the last few years, notably since the confrontation over Cuba, Senator Fulbright concludes this section with the following passage:

> "There is little in history to justify the expectation that we can either win the cold war or end it immediately and completely. These are favored myths, respectively, of the American Right and of the American Left. They are, I believe, equal in their unreality and in their disregard for the feasibilities of history. We must disabuse ourselves of them and come to terms, at last, with the realities of a world in which neither good nor evil is absolute and in which those who move events and make history are those who have understood not how much but how little it is within our power to change."

What Senator Fulbright does not point out is how significantly that little element of change can affect the course of future events if we approach our problems realistically. One of the greatest disservices that the late Senator McCarthy rendered to the nation was to confuse the American people about the nature of the issues in the East-West struggle. By depicting collectively as "communism" a wide variety of political and economic programs which he opposed, and then depicting his "communism" as an evil in absolute black and white terms he diverted attention from the fact that the real threat to our national security and national interests came from Communist imperialism in which Communist ideology was linked with the growing military power and subversive capabilities of the bloc countries. Unfortunately this distortion of issues by Senator McCarthy continues to appeal to impatient and frustrated elements in our country.

After exploring the questions of Panama, Cuba, and the Far East within his framework, Senator Fulbright concludes:

> "These, I believe, are some, although by no means all, of the issues of foreign policy in which it is essential to reevaluate long-standing ideas and commitments in the light of new and changing realities. In all of the issues which I have discussed, American policy has to one degree or another been less effective than it might have been because of our national tendency to equate means with ends and therefore to attach a mythological sanctity to policy and practices which in themselves have no moral content or value except insofar as they contribute to the achievement of some valid national objective. I believe that we must try to overcome this excessive moralism, which binds us to old myths and blinds us to new realities and, worse still, leads us to regard new and unfamiliar ideas with fear and mistrust.
>
> "We must dare to think about 'unthinkable things' because when things become 'unthinkable' thinking stops and action becomes mindless. If we are to disabuse ourselves of old myths and to act wisely and creatively upon the new realities of our time, we must think and talk about our problems with perfect freedom, remembering, as Woodrow Wilson said, that 'The greatest freedom of speech is the greatest safety because, if a man is a fool, the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking.' "

Apparently Senator Fulbright was willing to run this risk and all the discussion of his suggestions, while much of it was critical, has been in terms of a responsible airing of foreign policy issues. In an election year we hope that this sets a good pattern. It is inevitable that many of these issues will constitute pivotal debates in the forthcoming election. Senator Fulbright may have done his country a great service by speaking out as frankly as he did when he did.

But the Foreign Service officer must, by the very nature of his profession and preoccupation, continue to look at these issues in the hard, objective and realistic terms of serving the continuing national interest. Whether it is an election year or not, he must dare to think the "unthinkable thoughts" and make his judgments and recommendations on the basis of every conceivable alternative.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL offers its columns for the exposure of such "unthinkable thoughts" in the same spirit in which Senator Fulbright made his speech—as a forum for responsible discussion of foreign policy alternatives. ■

# THE LABOR ATTACHE

*by* JOHN W. PIERCEY

A LABOR ATTACHE, like others in the diplomatie eorps, often finds himself plied with questions about his joh. The questions direeted to him are usually a bit more probing, hecause labor is "controversial." The opening query may be simply "What do you do?" Sometimes he is asked for whom he works: The Labor Department? The ILO? George Meany? Some questioners reveal their prejudices, as did one lady who remarked tartly, "I hope you're against unions like I am."

The function of labor attaehé is one of the newer speeialties in our diplomacy. Started experimentally in Latin America in 1943, the program now has some forty offieers with the title "labor attaché," plus dozens more performing as part-time labor reporting offieers. In addition AID and USIA have small eorps of labor speeialists at home and abroad. With firm support of the American lahor movement and strong backing by the State and Labor Departments, the labor attaché is firmly established in our diplomatic life.

The program is a natural part of the expansion of diplomacy to inelude relations among peoples as well as among governments. It is also a natural outgrowth of the inereased political importanee of organized labor throughout the world after World War II. Labor-related political movements—communist, social democratie and Catholic—emerged from the war with enlarged strength and prestige. Even in the newly independent countries with limited industrial bases, trade unions and their leaders, who had often played a leading part in the struggle for independenee, beeame important factors.

After World War II most of the democratically-oriented trade unions (the American Federation of Labor was a notable exeeption), basking in the glow of victory over fascism and the aura of good will among the allies, joined the World Federation of Trade Unions, whieh ineluded the unions of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the eommunist bloe. Like many government leaders of the West, these labor leaders had not yet recognized the aggressive intentions of the Soviets. However, when the Soviets attempted to use the WFTU and eommunist-controlled labor organizations in western Europe—partieularly France and Italy—to block the reeonstruetion of Europe's eeonomy under the Marshall Plan, the demoeratic unions withdrew from the WFTU and founded the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The AFL, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the unaffiliated United Mine Workers were eharter members.

From that point labor played an important role in the building of a strong Europe. The demoeratic unions aetively supported the creation of NATO, Benelux, the Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market, and other European integration efforts. There was close cooperation between European and Ameriean labor. Large numbers of Ameriean trade unionists were recruited by ECA and its sueeessors to serve as labor advisers and productivity offieers; some heeame mission chiefs. Many hundreds of European labor leaders visited the United States to ohserve our industrial and soeial progress and study our produetivity methods and eollective hargaining machinery. The elose bonds forged by these exehanges unquestionably have exerted a major influenee on political and economie trends in Western Europe over the last fifteen years. The old differences between the European and Ameriean labor movements—principally the European workers' adherence to socialist or clerieal union ideals in eontrast to the Ameriean workers' pragmatic support of free enterprise—lost significance in their common endeavors.

*JOHN W. PIERCEY was educated in Kansas, has worked on farms, in Detroit factories, for textile and automobile unions and entered the Foreign Service in 1951, serving as labor attache in The Hague and Oslo, and as Labor Adviser of the European Bureau of the Department.*

The eommunist-direeted WFTU and the demoeratie ICFTU are competing openly for influence on the union movements in the developing countries. The ICFTU and the international trade secretariats (the industrial or craft international organizations such as those in transport, mining, and oil), have eondueted extensive programs of aid to the new unions. This aid, and the vigorous ideological campaign they wage in the ILO to convinee the representative of the young nations that workers can best advance their social, political, and economic status in a free society, have cheekmated the WFTU in most areas. This does not means that trade unions in the new eountries will be copies of the western models. American and European unions alike understand that these new movements must create organizations which will serve their own special needs and cultures.

To this effort Ameriean labor has made a substantial contribution. Currently the AFL-CIO spends 25 per cent of its budget on international activities. AFL-CIO affiliates participate in the aid projeets of the various international trade secretariats and give some direct assistanee to unions in developing countries.

THE GRADUAL expansion of the labor attaehé eorps represents a recognition of the increasing importance of labor in the eold war, in the economie and political life of every nation, and in the development of demoeratie institutions in the new nations. Because labor questions are eomplieated, and aetions in the labor field may have far-reaching consequences, the labor attaché needs to know the histories, goals, personalities and organizational structures of the lahor movements.

Recently a trade union friend of mine who frequently travels ahroad remarked that he had found it difficult to decide just what a labor attaché's functions were. In one post the labor attaché seemed to be prineipally involved in information work, at another he was largely a political officer, at a third, in a developing country, he was a kind of teehnieal adviser to the embryo trade union movement, and in still another post he was engaged mainly in reporting on wage trends, inflationary pressures, manpower and industrial relations developments.

I admitted that indeed the emphasis varied greatly from post to post. The political and economie situation as well as the trade union movement's relationship to the government are naturally faetors determining the role of the labor attaehé. In some eountries—the Seandinavian ones, for example, un-

*Miss Margaret L. Plunkett, Labor Attache in the Hague, pays a visit to a coal mine. The Department of Labor, which provided the photograph, was unable to identify her escort.*



ions are the principal power factor in government. In other countries the unions are directed by or dominated by the governments. Sometimes there is a wide spectrum of trade unions with various relationships to communist, socialist and religious organizations. In some cases the "free" trade unionists are in jail. In some dictatorships, where there are no free trade unions or where contacts with workers are impossible, the usefulness of a labor attaché would be limited. The economic situation also varies widely. Wage restraint, as in Europe just after the war and in some of the newly independent countries at present, may be the overriding necessity.

Because of this wide variety of economic and political situations labor diplomacy requires an unusual amount of adaptability and discretion.

The labor attaché's reporting function has two aspects: first, the contribution he makes to the basic economic and political assessments, and, second, his reports on specific social and labor matters. The former are likely to concern more crucial and immediate issues. The latter provide an understanding of the social fabric and longer term trends. Reports on collective bargaining, social security, manpower training and similar subjects usually have no bearing on immediate foreign policy issues. Such information may have been requested by American employers or unions through the Labor Department or other government agencies. It may be required by executive agencies or the Congress. In recent years labor attachés have been reporting on the way other countries deal with such problems as housing for the aged, unemployment, women's rights, health insurance, and student loan and scholarship programs.

Seeking such information from our friends abroad has a supplementary advantage. When Arthur Goldberg, as Secretary of Labor, came to Scandinavia and asked: "How do you prevent unemployment?", he paid the Scandinavians the highest of compliments.

Probably the most important function of the labor attaché is giving our Government the social temper of the area in which he serves. In these days when gnawing dissatisfactions can lead to sharp upward movements in wages and prices, prolonged strikes, changes in government, even revolutions, this kind of information is crucial to both current and long-term planning. The psychology of people has become increasingly important to us. Judgments as to what a country should do, based upon economic theory, may prove wholly unsound in practice if they do not take into account also the factors of emotion, rising expectations, the frustrations of the masses. Effective labor reporting that gives a broad coverage of the social scene can thus correct any bias that might result from the fact that an embassy must deal largely with the "ins," who are usually the successful, the affluent, the well-fed. One could mention some of today's crisis areas where a genuine appreciation of the frustrations and bitterness of the people might have made it possible for us to avert the crisis by bolder and more far-reaching policies.

The role of the labor attaché calls for a special kind of diplomacy. He does not achieve his results through the foreign office. His beat includes headquarters of unions, associations of employers, labor political parties, cooperatives; ministries of labor, social affairs, housing, and consumers affairs; newspapers, parliaments, vocational training schools. His range of contacts is wide. He usually knows several ministries of labor, social affairs, housing, and consumers in traveling around the country, he often talks with ordinary workers. If he is to be most effective, he must speak the local language, for few of his contacts will know any other.

Shortly after I arrived at my first post, I was invited to a Labor party congress. At lunch time I was asked by the party secretary to join a small group. I found myself sitting with several ministers, including the PM, and other top European political figures. One labor attaché on leaving his post of assignment entertained the prime minister at dinner and in turn was invited to lunch at the PM's home. Frequently, officials of governments who belong to labor parties consider the labor attaché their special channel to the embassy and to the United States Government.

The breadth of his associations makes it necessary for the labor attaché to be much more than a narrow specialist. He should be a mature, experienced, broadly-educated officer competent to discuss not only labor and social questions but the whole range of economic, defense and political issues.

His role within the embassy family reflects this wide range of activity. He is a close ally of the USIS, for labor is usually a prime target of our information work. Whether he is assigned to the "pol" or the "econ" section, he makes an important contribution to both, because he has unique sources of information affecting both areas. For the same reason he may be called into key policy meetings and have direct access to the Ambassador.

It is obvious that the labor attaché has an unusual opportunity to extend U.S. influence and to bring his own government an accurate picture of trends and developments. It is my belief that to make the most of this opportunity he should possess not only the usual qualifications of a diplomat but should also be a "labor man"—that is, prior to entering the service he should have either been an active trade unionist or have been associated with some agency or organization which would give him a close understanding of organized labor. Such a background will give him entree to people and meetings, a "feel" for situations, and rapport with people in the labor movement. Without this rapport a labor officer will usually obtain only superficial and unimportant information and may make inaccurate assessments. If, however, the foreign labor leader recognizes the labor officer as knowledgeable and sympathetic, he will usually talk frankly and may even seek advice.

Our Foreign Service has made some progress in building up the labor specialist corps, but much remains to be done to create a stable, fully professional group. Perhaps the weakness here is characteristic of the Department's grappling with the problem of specialists in general. The Wriston Report stressed the importance of enriching the Foreign Service by recruitment of persons who had had practical experience elsewhere. This is especially applicable to the labor attaché corps. The primary source for such officers ought to be the American labor movement, where there are many persons with rich experience in economic and political affairs, including international activities. Now that many of the pioneer labor attachés have retired or been promoted to higher positions (one could mention Sam Berger, Oliver Peterson, Tom Lane, Dick Eldridge), the time is ripe for recruitment of more specialists.

Labor work in our diplomacy is based on a partnership between our free labor movement and the government, but fully effective cooperation depends upon both partners' understanding and respect for the values as well as the limits of the relationship. While they have much in common, their interests are not identical. Close consultation and coordination can reduce differences to mutual advantage. Trade union leaders should recognize the labor attaché's role as a government official, just as the government should recognize the labor movement's independence and its purposes and tasks.

This cooperation has been an immense asset to our foreign relations in recent years and offers even greater possibilities for the future. AID has launched a program to assist the growth of consumer, producer, and credit cooperatives through contracts with American cooperative organizations. Through the labor and cooperative programs the United States is building a bond of friendship with the common people of the developing countries. It is through such programs that our country shows that it cares about people. Perhaps it is this human side of our diplomacy which will tell the most in the competition with communism. ■



*on the beach the Engineers led the way*



*dead before touching French soil*

# Twenty Years Later

by Howard R. Simpson
with illustrations by the author

The twentieth anniversary of the Normandy Landings on June 6, 1964 will be marked by ceremonies, speeches, flags and the depositing of wreaths. To the thousands of men of all nationalities who took part in the Normandy campaign it will mean a fleeting return of certain memories:

—The new tastes of acid cider, throat searing calvados, German rations; black bread, pickles and tube packed cheese.

—The strange blend of odors. The sweetness of the apple trees and the rich soil, or the dark smell of burning buildings and abandoned dead.

—The sudden revelation that not all German soldiers were six foot supermen with blonde hair but also myopic, middle-aged stumblers in lice-infested greatcoats and runny-nosed teenagers with long, unkempt hair.

—The smashed gliders, ripped like badly opened sardine cans and the glider troops scattered nearby, broken khaki bundles, soundlessly still, irretrievably dead.

—The wild rumor that ran the length of the beaches of the Japanese fighting alongside the Germans brought on by the hundreds of Mongol troops captured in Russia and fed into the Atlantic Wall as expendable cannon fodder.

—The cool, ominous quiet of the apple orchards and the low, constant buzzing of the aggressive yellow jackets.

—An American rifleman squatting in the courtyard of a Norman Manor painstakingly straining fresh cow's milk through a bandage, "spots in it," while small arms snap in a field nearby.

—The buccaneering bands of unshaven paratroopers with foulards of camouflaged parachute silk, Lugers stuck in their belts, ranging the countryside in jeeps days after their drop, looking for their units, looking for more Krauts, before falling once again under the uncompromising discipline of a stabilizing front.

—The sullen arrogance of the elite German troops. The Parachutists, Waffen SS and Panzer Grenadiers looking as if they had stepped out of a wartime Hollywood movie; furious at being forced—at bayonet point—to gather and bury the dead.

—The true, deep warmth of the French population; the old men in their best Sunday suits hung with World War I medals; the girls in shabby prints, still pale with fright and the war, lost in the joyful delirium of liberation. The generous offering of aged bottles on dusty roads, the shouting "Vive l'Amérique!" The understandable undercurrent of nervousness that "they" — the Germans — might come back.

—Everywhere, the cows of Normandy. Nonchalant under the crump of mortars. Bellowing with pain, abandoned with full udders. Or dead, swelling under the sun, legs pointed skyward, teasing trigger fingers with the sudden rumbling of decomposition.

—The beachhead at night looking like a gigantic fireworks display. The German raiders gliding in with cut motors. The sky opening into a fountain of red, green and yellow flashes counterpointed by the long, seemingly lazy trajectory of the searching tracers.

—The morning roar of Allied aircraft passing overhead like schools of striped silver fish. A symbol of overwhelming power above the unbelieving, upraised faces of the German



prisoners touched for the first time with the shadow of inevitable defeat.

—An RAF fighter coming in too low, too late and off course, trying desperately with waggling wings to signal its identity. And the eruption of eager Allied anti-aircraft guns bringing it down like a well shot duck, wings fluttering off like mutilated feathers.

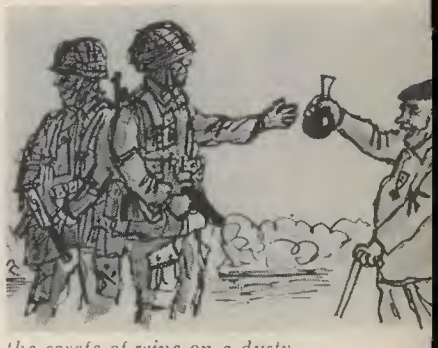
—The quiet, pastoral beauty of a hedgerow line of thick greenery marred only by the young German in field grey flat on his back as if sleeping, his right arm lying four feet away.

—The long line of dusty field ambulances heading back toward the beach, the four pair of limp feet jiggling at the end of the litters. The sobering thought, after counting sixty ambulances pass on one road and multiplying each by four, that the Wehrmacht was very much intact and still full of fight.

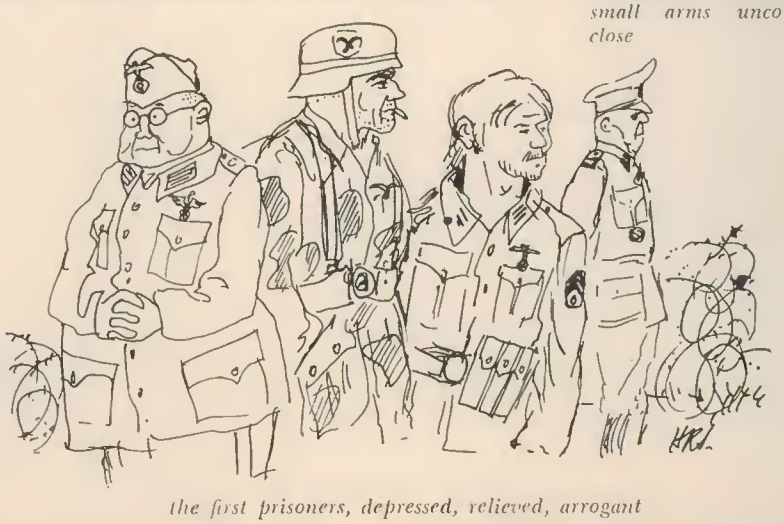
—The tall trees catching the intermittent flash of artillery after dark. Necklaces of tracers flicking and skidding low through the hedgerows. The Aid Station marked by the dull sound of scraping as a group of prisoners work silently scrubbing and sluicing the blood off the busy litters. ■



*parachutists of both camps—a bitter, bloody rivalry*



*the carafe of wine on a dusty road and the pock-pock of small arms uncomfortably close*



*the first prisoners, depressed, relieved, arrogant*

# WASHINGTON LETTER

*by* Ted Olson



*Mrs. Heyward Isham welcomes fellow-artist Earl Wilson to the opening of her show in Hong Kong's Chatham Gallery.*

### *This Way to the Exit*

Our curiosity aroused by headlines in the newspaper columns that keep watch over the fortunes and misfortunes of government personnel—headlines such as "Selection-Out Setup Starting at Grade 12 Studied by Officials," "State Dept. Widens Selection-Out Setup to Foreign Service," "Paring of AID Jobs by Selection-Out Is Proposed by Bell"—we sent our best legman over to PER to check. He brought back this account:

There's fire under all that smoke, all right, but it's still only smoldering. Informant admitted guardedly that both Department and USIA are considering blanketing all FSS personnel into the retirement system regardless of length of service—which of course includes extending the selection-out process to staff as well as officer corps. Legislation to permit this is before the Bureau of the Budget, and negotiations are continuing as we go to press.

AID is a special case: Administrator Bell is asking Congress for extraordinary authority to fire at will—the kind of authority, incidentally, that USIA's first director received back in 1953. Director Bell has announced that by the end of the year the payroll will be cut by 1200. Some of that, of course, will be by attrition; the normal turnover is high. A great many AID employees are reserve officers, and reserve appointments have a built-in selection-out procedure; they expire at the end of five years unless renewed.

One thing is sure: the administration's general slimming-down and rejuvenating process continues.

On this matter, as on all too many, we find our pragmatism and our emotions in conflict. As a gardener just about ready to get to work on the forsythia, we know that every organism benefits by the excision of deadwood. But we can't help wondering what happens to the man, or woman, turned out in the middle 40s or early 50s, when it isn't going to be easy to find other employment, because he has reached his ceiling of achievement.

Private enterprise recognizes — or used to recognize—that some men are born to be bookkeepers and will never rise to vice-presidencies. But as long as a man kept books adequately, he was not pressed to attempt a job beyond his competence. At the designated retirement age he was sped on his way with a testimonial banquet and a gold watch—and, let us hope, a competence.

The selection-out system appears to assume that we have no use for the permanent-bookkeeper types; the Service tries to recruit only potential Career Ministers, and if the examiners guess wrong and the recruit runs out of fuel and stalls at O-4, get him out of the way so that the future CM can move on up.

Of course it hasn't ever worked that way. The panels habitually temper justice with mercy. But the problem is basic in an employment structure represented diagrammatically by a pyramid.

Does SHMAD have an answer that is both efficient and humane?

### *Worthy of His Hire*

Avarice has never been a dominant motive in luring people into the Foreign Service. The fringe benefits are what really count. Just the same, everybody is anxiously watching the progress of H.R. 10700 through the legislative labyrinth, and is cheered by reports that President Johnson is putting his formidable leverage behind it. That's the pay raise bill substituted for the one turned down previously because Congressmen didn't think it good politics to vote themselves more money during an election year. It would jack up the ceiling for an FSO-1 to $24,500, for an FSS-1 to $19,495.

Meanwhile the newspapers are wrenching their readers' heartstrings with stories of top-level officials recruited from business, industry, the law and college campuses who are going quietly bankrupt on comparable salaries. As every FS character on home assignment knows, there are no post, hardship or representation allowances in Washington. And it's not a cheap place to live.

### *Lamps Out*

It was inevitable that somebody would recall Lord Grey's sad words of half a century ago—"The lamps are going out all over Europe"—and apply them to the current brownout in Washington. Newsweek got there first. One needn't be as pessimistic as Britain's Foreign Minister—he concluded, you remember, "we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime." Things haven't gotten that bad. But official Washington is rather a melan-

choly spectacle these nights: only a few windows alight in the White House, blinds drawn tight in New State, 1776 Pennsylvania, the Pentagon and other government buildings. The orders are to flick off the switches when you leave your office, and be sure that the Venetian blinds are closed. That was to conserve heat during the winter and spring; it has the ancillary effect of keeping the outsider in the dark as to whether the lights really are off or on.

The press discussion of the campaign to shrink the government's light bill has raised some upsetting questions. When we drove out-of-town visitors past New State after dark we used to point with pride to the many illuminated windows. "Look," we'd say, "they're still at it, vigilant, tireless, unsparing of themselves and their families—just so you and *your* family can go to bed in the assurance that peace is being defended and no crisis will catch us unready." Now they're suggesting that most of the toilers behind those brilliant windows may have been charwomen.

### *Now It Can Be Told*

Robert Murphy's "Diplomat Among Warriors" has lodged firmly in the non-fiction best-seller list—which surprises nobody—after getting the lead reviews in most of the weeklies and being capsulized for the SATURDAY EVENING POST. What does surprise us, though, is discovering how many more of our colleagues and ex-colleagues have books in various stages of incubation. And not only the retired officers. Somehow Ambassador Charles Yost has found time, in a succession of demanding assignments, to write a volume of philosophical colloquies—"The Age of Triumph and Frustration"—a sample of which the JOURNAL offers in this issue. It got a glowing reception in the SATURDAY REVIEW. Excerpt: ". . . a volume to keep close to the night table—a wise, salty, slender but muscular tract that brings a moral elegance to the serious dialogues of a free people." We've had wind of at least half a dozen other books a-brewing, and we've put in our bid for chapters, in advance of publication or simultaneous with it. Of course, we can't compete in the same league with the SEP.

### *Laurels for FSJ Artists*

The JOURNAL cannot resist the temptation to boast about the recognition recently accorded several of its contributors. Two artists who have often permitted us to reproduce their work have had exhibits in foreign countries — Sheila (Mrs. Heyward) Isham in Kowloon, Hong Kong and Tokyo, Marie (Mrs. George W.) Skora in Caracas.

Mrs. Isham had three successive shows in Hong Kong in February and March—at the Alliance Française, at the Chatham Galleries in Kowloon, and at Hong Kong's Mandarin Hotel, and on April 20 a collection of her prints and paintings opened in a Tokyo gallery.

Mrs. Skora had eight etchings in the 25th Annual Official Salon of Venezuelan Art at the Museo de Bellas Artes in Caracas in April. Two of those accepted—"Wood Goddess" and "Fantasy with Faces"—have appeared in the JOURNAL, and another, "Planted by the Water," appears in this issue.

Paul Child writes us that the cover photograph in our April issue—"Children on Ruined Tower, Marseille"—has been acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, on the recommendation of Edward Steichen.

And just after Wolf van Eckardt's article on embassy architecture appeared in April, the Ford Foundation gave him a $10,000 grant, which he plans to spend in further study in Europe.

### *Angle of Repose*

Jim Stewart, our staff antiquarian, writes that he isn't much tempted by the prospectus of the new International Club. He admits a preference for a Whittlers Club he's heard about, somewhere in the Ozarks. "There are no dues, no rules, no officers. All one needs is plenty of leisure time, a few sticks of wood and a jackknife, and curbing high enough to permit a man to sit comfortably with his feet in the street." We pass the information along for the benefit of other retirees, or for anyone approaching the fateful birthday.

One man for whom that particular problem—what to do with your time—hasn't yet arisen is Ambassador Livingston Merchant. Testifying before the Jackson Subcommittee, he remarked that technically he had been retired for nearly two years. Senator Jackson commented: "You have been busily retired." The American representative on the United States-Canadian Group—that is the latest of a number of special assignments he has undertaken — admitted, "I haven't found what the engineers call the angle of repose."

All this is by way of working up to the announcement that by the time anybody reads this, your correspondent hopes to have achieved that angle (or posture). His sub-lease on this corner of the JOURNAL has expired and he is turning the key over to other tenants. Actually, he's been hanging around a good deal longer than he originally expected, when he signed in last September.

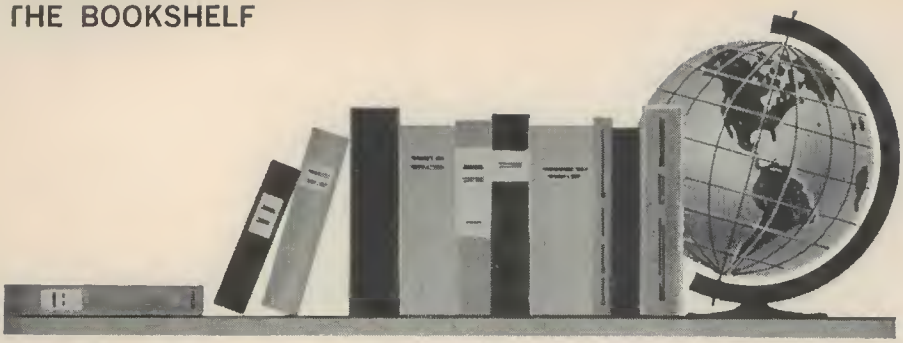
It's been nice knowing you-all. ■

**"LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE"**



*Photo by Wilbur W. Hitchcock*

*"Oh, no! Not another security violation!"*



## On Top or On Tap?

In October 1939 Dr. Albert Einstein managed to get a letter to President Roosevelt suggesting that the U.S. study the development of an atomic chain reaction to produce a source of energy which might turn the course of the war in Europe if the Nazis should succeed in developing it first. Dr. Einstein's letter had been two months in preparation and was inspired largely by Dr. Eugene Wigner and Dr. Leo Szilard, who, together with other scientists, had become concerned that the Germans might exploit this potential source of very great energy in time to use it in the war. Very little was done by the U.S. government until the eve of Pearl Harbor, when the Manhattan Project was authorized. It produced an atomic chain reaction within a year.

By the time this led to the development of the bomb in Alamagordo two and one-half years later, the scientists had begun to have second thoughts about the unleashing of this destructive force. Some seventy of them joined in a petition to the President not to use the new weapon in actual combat. They suggested a demonstration on a barren island accompanied with a threat to use the weapon on the Japanese unless they agreed to surrender. This suggestion was not accepted and after the Japanese rejected the ultimatum to surrender, the bomb was used in anger. Since that time the alliance between scientist and politician has gone its troubled way.

Two recently published books—Donald W. Cox's "America's New Policy Makers: the Scientists' Rise to Power," and Eugene Rabinowitch's "The Dawn of a New Age: Reflections on Science and Human Affairs"—cover this relationship from 1939 to the present. The former book does so in a reportorial and objective fashion; the latter from the viewpoint of a partisan participant.

That the scientist and the politician are, for better or for worse, joined in facing, and trying to solve, problems of the world today is a fact. Just how they learn to understand each other and work together is the problem that remains to be solved.

Cox's book is a very good summary of the various aspects of the problem and an attempt to analyze the reason why the scientists failed to make their valid points to the politicians in a convincing way. For anyone trying to understand the relationship between science and politics (including foreign relations), the Cox book is a useful introduction to the whole maze of problems in space, in atomic energy, in disarmament, and other fields where the two become intertwined. The Rabinowitch book continues to plead the cause of the scientist, sometimes in a convincing way, sometimes giving the impression that the scientists do not consider certain political facts relevant to the issue. Thus, for example, in his criticism of the witchhunts which went on during the McCarthy period and involved such eminent scientists as Robert Oppenheimer, Dr. Rabinowitch chooses to ignore the fact that there were some real witches who contributed to the speed with which the Soviets also acquired mastery of the weapons of total destruction. Nevertheless, the fact remains that both authors recognize that the acquisition of these weapons and the means of delivery has added a qualitative new dimension to the problems of power and diplomacy. The fact that so many former colonial countries have been granted their freedom, that so many small countries can successfully defy the power of larger ones, all this has been made possible by the standoff between the two great powers because of the realization that unleashing these weapons would involve total mutual destruction.

To control these forces the politicians need the scientist. But the scientist sometimes fails to appreciate that political forces can be just as explosive and as difficult to understand and control as some of the elementary forces which the scientists have unleashed. So the answer to the question we have posed in our title is that the scientist should be neither on tap nor on top but should engage in a continuing and fruitful dialogue with the politicians in a mutual attempt to understand and eventually to bring under control the explosive forces, both thermonuclear and political, which threaten to destroy the world. —E.M.J.K.

America's New Policy Makers: *the Scientists' Rise to Power, by Donald W. Cox. Chilton Books,* $6.95.

The Dawn of a New Age: *Reflections on Science and Human Affairs, by Eugene Rabinowitch. University of Chicago Press,* $6.95.

### One Bright Glow

This is a technically interesting book and a depressing day-to-day record of the never-ending war in Vietnam that we inherited from the French with a vague idea that "now, we'll get things moving." Well, considering that helicopters rise vertically, we did move things in another direction.

Tregaskis is an experienced war correspondent and his sorties with our Marines and Army units in Vietnam provide one of the first detailed public records of just how we are fighting in the rice paddies and jungle areas against the Vietcong.

In 1953, American correspondents, including this reviewer, were highly critical of the large operations mounted by French mobile groups that resulted in little if any contact with the Communist Vietminh. Reading this book one finds that whereas the French used tanks and armored cars, we today use helicopters—with often the same disappointing results. "As apparently often happens in this kind of counter-guerrilla action, most of the VC slipped away while the cumbersome mechanism of our combined air-land operation hung fire," Tregaskis tells us. We also shudder when the strafing pilots talk of "friendlies" and "VC" and only hope that their information is correct, remembering the French air strikes that hit "enemy villages" and sent the surviving husbands, sons, orphans and widows into the ideological embrace of the Communists.

The only bright glow in this book comes from the constant sacrifice, courage and dedication shown by the professional American fighting man doing a rough, dirty job that has to be done.

—Howard R. Simpson

Vietnam Diary, *by Richard Tregaskis. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95.*

### To a Peacetime Economy

In an effort to arouse public interest in what could happen to the United States economy in the event of disarmament, co-editors Benoit and Boulding, both longstanding students of arms control and disarmament, have inspired and guided the publication of a perceptive and what is probably the first com-

prehensive treatise on the problems and prospects of converting a war-based economy to a complete peacetime footing while avoiding an economic catastrophe. The authors are under no illusions that disarmament is easy or close at hand, but are fully persuaded that this nation can solve the economic problems which would be posed. They are unanimous, however, in their view that considerable advance planning, by private industry, labor, and government at all levels, is indispensable if severe economic maladjustments are to be avoided.

In their comprehensive analysis fifteen professional economists examine the size and nature of this nation's war industries, hypothesize a disarmament model to guide the analysis, evaluate the problems of adjustment affecting both labor and industry, and propose a wide-ranging program of private and public expenditures designed to facilitate the transition to peaceful production. It does not, however, follow necessarily from the analysis that savings derived from sharp reductions in military expenditures would permit a substantial scaling down of the national debt, since offsetting costs of disarmament itself coupled with government outlays to maintain demand and consumption levels would likely postpone early debt retirement.

In sum, "Disarmament and the Economy" could serve as a useful departure point for a joint comprehensive study by the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Departments of Defense, Commerce and Labor.

—Harland B. Moulton

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Disarmament and the Economy, *edited by Emile Benoit and Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper & Row,* $5.75.

## International Law and the UN

Dr. Higgins' study provides a repertory of United Nations practice on the international law topics of statehood, domestic jurisdiction, recognition, the use of force and treaties. For each topic she discusses policy considerations, claims made by states before UN organs, and the effect of their responses on the development of international law.

With regard to statehood, Dr. Higgins indicates that UN organs have generally followed the traditional definition, except that for newly independent territories the requirement of effective government has partly yielded to what she calls the emerging legal right of self-determination. The Charter's domestic jurisdiction restriction has been flexibly interpreted, and Dr. Higgins writes that in fact, with "the flowering of the juridical principal of international concern," such items as internal legislation on race and human rights are no longer essentially in domestic jurisdiction.

The tracing of UN activities with respect to these and other topics is interesting and informative, and the book is recommended for persons wanting a closer knowledge of the organization. However, Dr. Higgins' contention that the practice of states in the United Nations has brought significant changes in international law is debatable. Do yearly General Assembly condemnations of *apartheid* make it a violation of international law? One of international law's many moot problems—which the author recognizes—is how long state practice must repeat itself before it represents customary international law. On such issues as self-determination and human rights does a series of votes reflect new law or only the expanding Afro-Asian influence?

More fundamentally, the reviewer does not agree with Dr. Higgins that the UN has had a far greater impact on international law through its political than its legal organs. Even though the International Court, the General Assembly's Sixth Committee and the International Law Commission have hardly been overworked, their achievements cannot be totally disregarded. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to find such a careful study as this which goes far to contradict the view attributed to the framers of the Charter that international law would not be a useful tool for dealing with post-World War II problems. Dr. Higgins demonstrates that international law has been deeply involved in the work of the UN. Not only has the law been followed, but also it has shown itself susceptible of development and adaptation to a world radically different from that envisaged by the drafters of the Charter.

—Barbara B. Burn

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The Development of International Law through the Political Organs of the United Nations, *by Rosalyn Higgins. Oxford University Press,* $8.80.

## A Latin American Bookshelf

Dubois, Jules. *Operation America; the Communist Conspiracy in Latin America.* New York: Walker, 1963. 361 pp.

Eisenhower, Milton. *The Wine is Bitter.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1963. 342 pp.

Clark, Gerald. *The Coming Explosion in Latin America.* New York: McKay, 1963. 436 pp.

Thomas, Ann Van W. and Thomas, Aaron J. Jr. *The Organization of American States.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963. 530 pp.

Daniel, James and Hubbell, John G. *Strike in the West.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. 180 pp.

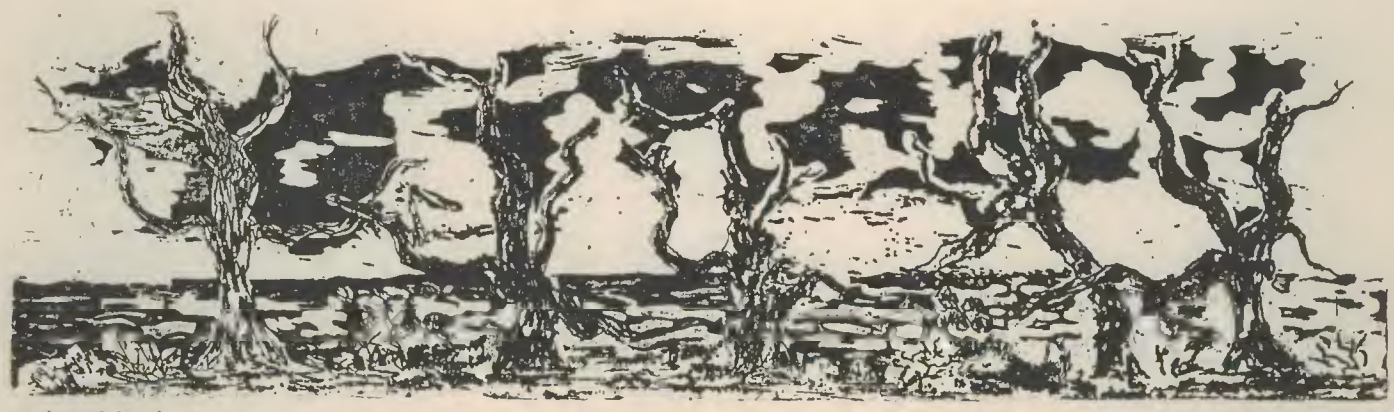
Monahan, James and Gilmore, Kenneth O. *The Great Deception.* New York: Farrar, Straus. 1963. 213 pp.

Tanenbaum, Frank. *Ten Keys to Latin America.* New York: Knopf, 1962. 237 pp.

Donovan, John. *Red Machete.* Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill, 1962. 309 pp.

Foreign Policy Association. *The Cuban Crisis: A Documentary Record.* New York: 1963. 84 pp.

Galvin, Miles E. *Unionism in Latin America.* Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, 1962. 58 pp.



*"Planted by the Water"* *by Marie Skora*

Morray, Joseph P. *The Second Revolution in Cuba*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1962. 173 pp.

Romero, Jose Luis. *A History of Argentine Political Thought*. 3rd ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963. 270 pp.

Williams, William A. *The United States, Cuba, and Castro*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1962. 179 pp.

Pendle, George. *Uruguay*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1963. 127 pp.

Beals, Carleton. *Eagles of the Andes*. Philadelphia: Chilton, 1963. 363 pp.

Symposium on Latin America, Wellesley College, 1963. *Symposium on Latin America*. Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1963. 223 pp.

Glade, William P., Jr. and Anderson, Charles W. *The Political Economy of Mexico*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963. 242 pp.

Healy, David F. *The United States in Cuba, 1898-1902*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963. 260 pp.

Horelick, Arnold L. *The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Analysis of Soviet Calculations and Behavior*. Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand, 1963. 60 pp.

Gironella, Jose. M. *On China and Cuba*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides, 1963. 175 pp.

Szulc, Tad. *The Winds of Revolution*. New York: Praeger, 1963. 308 pp.

Smith, T. Lynn. *Brazil, People and Institutions*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. 687 pp.

## Of Particular Merit

LATIN AMERICA, which until recently received very little attention from any except writers in the vernacular, is now the subject of an increasing number and variety of readable nonfiction works. The quantity of these (and indeed very often the quality as well) remains generally below that for Europe and the Far East, and possibly even for the Middle East and Africa, if British and French works are considered. The following are of particular merit:

Lincoln Gordon's "The Alliance for Progress: A New Deal for Latin America" explains the economic rationale for the Alianza and the ways in which it differs from the Marshall Plan. It contains seven speeches which this well-known international economist gave during the first two years of his assignment as Ambassador to Brazil. While he concentrates on that country, much of what he has to say is of interest to anyone concerned with economic progress in underdeveloped countries. His contention appears quite well taken that education, if properly linked to development, should prove a more productive form of investment that many other of the traditional components of Gross National Product. The book, however, makes only the most tentative efforts to explore political factors wich must be mobilized if the Alianza is to serve as something more than a new and enlarged U. S. aid program. (*Harvard University Press*, $3.25)

Leopoldo Zea's "The Latin American Mind" (*University of Oklahoma Press* $5.95) follows William Rex Crawford's "Century of Latin American Thought" as the first comprehensive work in English in nearly two decades approximating Crawford's exposition of the concepts by which our southern neighbors have sought to order, understand and resolve their social problems. Anglo-Saxons tend to regard Latin Americans as a group given more to the contemplation of ideas and abstractions than to the creation and management of things. If this attitude reflects a significant difference in the values and ideas underlying the two cultures in this hemisphere, it is curious that so little attention has been given in English to an examination of the role of ideas and of those who hold them in Latin America. We are ill-informed about cultural and philosophic currents in Latin America and should be indebted to Professor Zea's translators for this study of the development of Latin American Positivism and the political concepts which derive from it.

A new and readable standard reference work is "Latin America, A General History," by N. Y. U. Professor John Edwin Fagg. Covering the entire history of the area, it presents recent developments in especially good form since the author obviously relishes the opportunity to present his own views of contemporary figures in Latin America. The bibliography is extensive. (*Macmillan*, $9.75.)

—BRUCE M. LANCASTER AND CHARLES A. GENDREAU

## Evolution or Explosion

TO all of those who wished they could have been present at the Bahia Conference on Tensions in Development in the Western Hemisphere in August 1962, this compilation offers a fine second-best. What a stimulating atmosphere was created by the presence of so many pundits and how fortunate for those of us who are working in this field to have their observations in this brief and readable form. The roster of contributors reads like a Who's Who of Latin America, with a sprinkling of Norteamericanos and Europeans.

Our colleague, Lincoln Gordon, has done his usual masterful job on the tensions engendered by the Alliance for Progress, while Lester Pearson's contribution, "The Essence of the Problem," is just that. He provides the book's title in the last lines of his article: "Time is against us in this effort because the growing consciousness that poverty and degradation are not to be tolerated has produced an angry impatience which is inflammable. It is now a race between evolution and explosion."

José Figueres, Germán Arciniegas, Galo Plaza, Eduardo Frei and Daniel Cosío Villegas provide thoughtful comment on the problems of the area. Cosío's comments on the growth, origin and nature of Latin American nationalism are worth the attention of all of us who are working in the "good neighborhood": "seldom born from or suckled by faith in its own values . . . it is old and deep and nourished on outrages, robbery and blood, and there is the fullest justification of it; it is wholly or largely expressed negatively in suspicion, contempt or hatred of foreigners." How to turn this great emotional force to a positive purpose is one of the major tasks of the decade. As Ambassador Campos says in the opening article, we need a "mystique of equity," or a "hemispheric nationalism" as Felipe Herrera puts it. In his bold support of the Alliance, Campos says: "To make the Alliance succeed is the great and perilous but rewarding travail of the Americas in this fateful decade."

Reynold Carlson's Summary is a masterful distillation of the wisdom of the contributors as they examine the role of the church, the unions, the schools and universities, the military, the oligarchy, the intellectuals and their countrymen and allies generally in their progress toward evolution or explosion.

—TAYLOR G. BELCHER

LATIN AMERICA: EVOLUTION OR EXPLOSION, *edited by Mildred Adams. Dodd, Head, $3.25.*

## Half and Half

SELDOM does one pick up an anthology with such diverse materials as excerpts from a Chekhov play, Rostow on the stages of economic growth, selections from a modern Japanese novel, Malthus on population, and a UN report by U Thant. No one interested in the social, political and economic problems created by a world "half industrial and half underdeveloped"

could go through these readings without gaining some new insight.

The dichotomy indicated in the title is that between the industrial civilization which emerged in Western Europe and the Afro-Asian remainder of the world now struggling to industrialize and thus redress the imbalance *vis-a-vis* the West. The readings are organized into three parts. The first deals with the development of industrialism in Western Europe. The second covers the impact of Europe on the rest of the world, with selections on colonialism, nationalism, democracy and communism as well as on the sociological, economic and demographic aspects of the adjustments made in the non-Western world. Part three deals with the interaction of West with non-West during the second half of the twentieth century, taking as its first reading a chapter from Toynbee's "The World and the West" on the psychology of encounters between civilizations, and attempts to summarize "the lessons learned from the experience of diplomats, economists, foreign aid experts, the Peace Corps, and international civil servants."

Each part begins with an introduction by the editors. Other prominent authors represented include: John Kenneth Galbraith, Max F. Millikan, Edwin O. Reischauer, Gunnar Myrdal and Eugene R. Black.

—Leo Moser

West and Non-West: New Perspectives, *by Vera Micheles Dean and Harry D. Harootunian. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. $5.95.*

### A History of American Foreign Policy

This comprehensive, wide-ranging and interesting account of American foreign policy can be of great value to both student and professor. Its extensive bibliographical notes and many useful maps make it an extremely useful tool. It is stimulating reading, particularly if one has had to neglect some areas of diplomacy and wishes to be reminded of changing trends and the variety of issues in our past history.

Agreement or disagreement with the author's opinions on controversial matters inevitably varies with one's individual attitudes towards such matters, but there is little in this book to indicate biased opinions unjustified by demonstrable facts. The treatment is even-handed: there are few inaccuracies of fact.

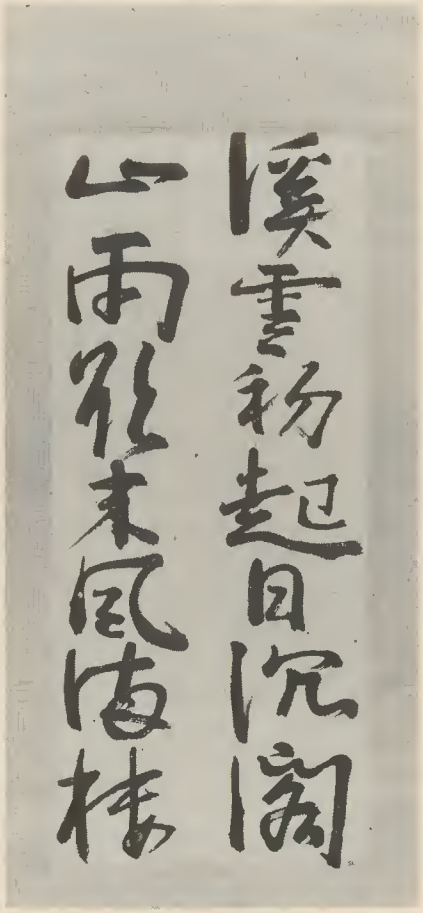
The discussion of the origins of World War I, however, passes quickly over the invasion of Belgium and thus does not reflect the views which influenced American action. But the discussion of Wilson's policy is illuminating.

The statement that the Eisenhower Doctrine seemingly ignored subversion does not take full account of the hearings in which this danger was aired. There is a suggestion, too, which might lead to the erroneous impression that access to Berlin is based on the Potsdam agreements. The story of the Japanese Peace Treaty does not indicate the underlying basis for a generous and constructive settlement.

However, there are many perceptive comments, and many dramatic events recorded—I enjoyed the book.

Eleanor Lansing Dulles

A History of American Foreign Policy *by Alexander DeConde, Scribners, $12.*



Poem by Tung Chi Tsong
by Sheila Isham

*The clouds begin to rise from the stream*
*The sun sinks below the pagoda*
*The mountain drizzle penetrates*
*And the wind blows through the pavilion.*

### Communist Strategy in Asia

This book is a collection of essays by political writers, each of whom is well known in the field of his contribution.

The sections on the Sino-Soviet dispute are written by Donald S. Zagoria and Robert North, but like most works on this subject, these suffer from having been overtaken by events. The omission of much of the material which became available only in the latter half of 1963—Chinese "racial" agitation in Afro-Asian circles against continued Russian rule of Central Asian non-whites, the alleged Russian complicity in the revolt in, and flight from, Sinkiang—leave the impression of overbalance on the side of the predominantly "ideological" interpretation. Peking's "unequal treaties" charges are given only a few lines.

Miss McVey's explanation of the parallelism of Indonesian political parties and the traditional classes in Indonesia illuminates the long persistence of what appears to the outsider as a highly unstable situation. Too little is said, however, of the Achilles' heel of the party: the Chinese minority, who, although most of them are citizens of Communist China, comprise virtually the only "bourgeoisie" in the Marxist sense, and by their very existence make nonsense of the hallowed "class struggle" ideology imported from Europe. The PKI's elaborate measures to conceal its Chinese connections and financial support are themselves evidence of the importance of the Chinese in PKI strategy, as was the party's panic during the Chinese "pogroms" in the spring.

Harry Gelman gives a lucid account of the debilitating effect of the long public Soviet flirtation with Nehru upon the Indian Communist Party and the growing strain between China and Russia on this issue.

Bernard Fall's discussion of communist strategy in Vietnam is also excellent, but one might wish that more of the essential information (inter alia, the data on the declining rice consumption under collectivization in the north) were in the text, not buried in footnotes in the back.

Paul Langer's discussion of the Japanese CP gives refreshing insights into the dilemma of a Communist party forced by the success of indigenous capitalism into "the Procrustean bed of Marxist dogma" and foreign Communist prescriptions ill-suited to the Japanese scene.

It is true that Burmese Communism lacks the rich congresses and pronunciamentos which scholars love to analyze, but its current history provides some insights into the impact of Communism on this heterogeneous, traditionalist, developing nation currently experimenting with an indigenous super-socialism. The parallel with certain African countries is inescapable. The omission of a section on Burma is therefore regrettable.

All in all, however, this is a valuable addition to the library of the FSO posted to that part of the world.

—William N. Harben

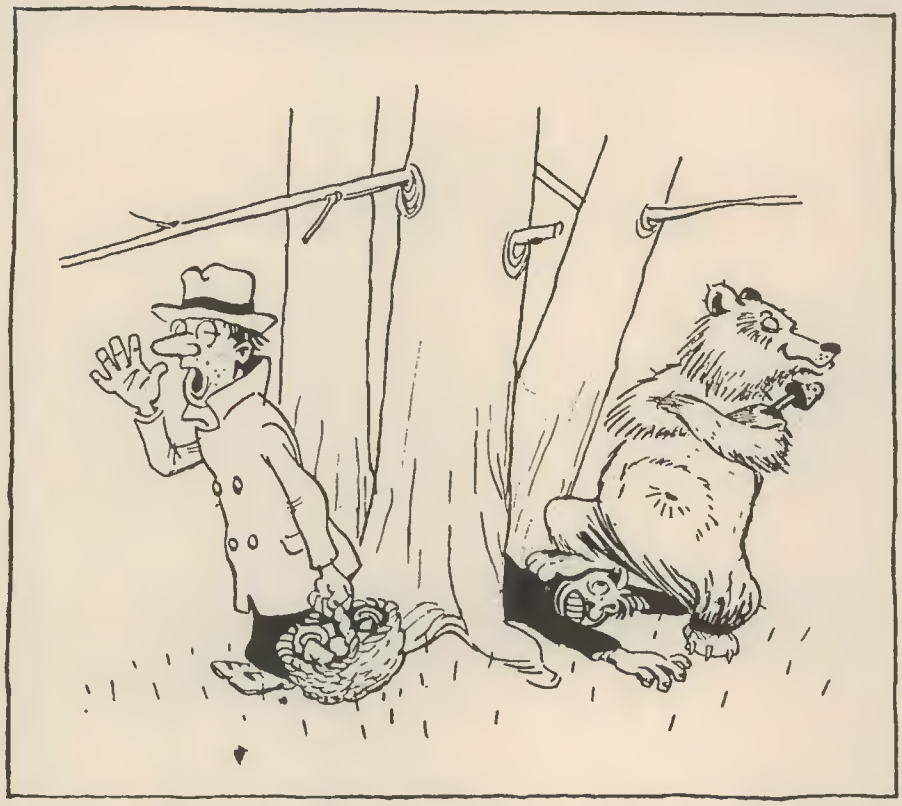
Communist Strategies in Asia, *edited by A. Doak Barnett. Praeger, $6.50.*

# THE BEAR ON THE EAR

*by a* BALDING MUSCOVITE

— Иван Петрович, ау! Вам что, медведь на ухо наступил?

Рисунок Г. АНДРИАНОВА



I WAS sitting waiting in Barbershop No. 19, more depressed than usual by the surroundings. Of eourse one is not supposed to admire Moscow barhershops but rather Moseow subways and—what else? Anyway, everyone knows that the Russians suffered terribly from the War, which was sprung on them unexpeetedly hy Batu Khan in 1238. But when I sit in No. 19 I can't help thinking about those bright old barbershops baek in Hinsdale, Illinois, where I used to go as a sehoolboy to get my ears lowered.

The principal reason I was depressed this time was that the cloakroom (Slavic *garderobe*) was being shifted for unknown reasons from one side of the small waiting-room to the other, and a carpenter was busy planing a rough plank that was needed in the new construction. Lacking a sawhorse, he laid the plank on two ehairs eovered with red upholstery, braced the plank's end against the wall, and went to work, with visible damage resulting to hoth chairs and wall.

Not that anything in that grim plaee was niee or shiny; a photograph of it would fit nieely into one of those exposés of Hell's Kitehen in the 1890s, and I am willing to blame Stalin, beeause the building was built just about fifteen years ago, when he was tops. But the immediately depressing thing was that the earpenter didn't care about the wall or the upholstery, and all the manager eared about, of course, was fulfilling the haireut plan. And that's no joke; each Moscow barber has a daily tally sheet to show how mueh revenue he has taken in, and he has a eertain norm to fill. What he does if he doesn't fill it, I don't know; I suspeet he starts to eharge the oecasional foreigner like me fifty kopeks for a faney haireut when in faet all he's given me is the plain nineteen-kopek job. Frankly, I don't see any differenee between the two kinds, and I never got far asking.

Anyway, I took refuge in an old magazine that was lying on the table, a KROKODIL. I skimmed through the usual attaeks on Bonn, Washington, and erooked *kolkhoz* ehairmen, and at the baek of the issue found a funny little eartoon which furnishes the title for this midget dissertation. A Russian is standing in snowy woods, looking for his comrade; he calls out "Ivan Petrovieh, ah-ooo! What's the matter, did a bear step on your ear?" (This is the Russian equivalent of "Cat got your tongue?"). And behind a tree lies poor Ivan Petrovieh; a bear with a boorish grin is, in fact, stepping on his ear.

I am not putting this eartoon up for eompetition against Charles Addams or some master eartoonist from the SATURDAY EVENING POST; but it lightened my spirits not a little as I went into the cutting room for my nineteen- or fifty-kopek speeial.

I was still thinking about it when I got home; it seemed important. First of all, it was not only funny, it was downright silly. And silliness, lightheartedness in general, is about the rarest commodity of all in the Sovict Union; the shortage of good white bread and Broadway plays is nothing in eomparison.

Seeondly, poor bear-oppressed Ivan Petrovich lying in the snow represented, I realized, Russia itself. Ivan Petrovieh is the poor *kolkhoznik* who leaves a ton of eorn on the damp ground after it's harvested, or somehow never builds a roof to keep the snow off the unrepaired traetors; he also lives in town and uses red upholstered chairs for sawhorses. And he blames it on the bear, who, of eourse, is everything and everyone that has ever oppressed Ivan Petrovich or his ancestors: Batu Khan, Nicholas I, Hitler, Stalin, winter, eolleetivization, the turnover tax, drought, wolves, distances—it is a long list, but one he knows, and uses.

But Ivan's eomrade is also Russian; he is probably the Party seeretary from Ivan's *kolkhoz*. He knows Ivan's weaknesses, knows that Ivan suffers from a tendeney to get bears on the ear. But what is he to do about it? Up to now, his approaeh has been to use the bear to seare poor Ivan worse than ever, after Ivan has squirmed out from under the bear's paw by main strength. But maybe this nameless eomrade in the woods will think up a hetter approaeh in the future. Certainly he could start by belittling the bear; he must know it is really a bugbear. For we are not Batu Khan, or Hitler; they are dead; and the wolves are disappearing. ■

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USS
TRADEMARK

# DEMOCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP

*by* CHARLES W. YOST

[*This is a condensation of the fifth of ten "dialogues" which make up Ambassador Yost's recent book "The Age of Triumph and Frustration." The dialogues are assumed to take place on an unidentified Mediterranean island among "an odd set of characters," fortuitously assembled. Those taking part in this dialogue, as excerpted, are:*

MANUEL: *a Latin-American dictator, now in exile.*

OSCAR: *a former Senator who has come to Europe to try to reestablish communication with his son.*

CHATTO: *an Indian, recently expelled from the Communist party and sent to the island by his doctor to await death.*

LUKE: *a retired lawyer, ex-judge, ex-Congressman, product of "an unconventional bent of mind and a conformist environment."*

BESS: *Luke's granddaughter, eighteen, engaged in "an adolescent love affair" with Oscar's son.*

JAMES: *a successful novelist, "constantly frustrated by his compulsive disavowal of the best in himself."*]

MANUEL: Society in our times is a prisoner of the nation-state, just as a Communist is a prisoner of his ideology. . . . All we moderns bow down before the state, that ersatz divinity, that dispenser of status and largesse, that guardian of home, dogma and profits, that soothsayer, priest, lawmaker and judge, all of us bow down as slavishly as the Egyptians to Pharaoh or the Chinese to the Son of Heaven.

But what is the state? I should know since for some years I was one. It is only the man or men who for a fleeting moment wear its toga. It is simply Pharaoh or the Son of Heaven in modern dress. These men-symbols, sometimes by naked force, sometimes by the power of personality or the perfection of political machinery, sometimes merely by stubbornly epitomizing an ephemeral public mood, are the state, and from them there is no appeal except to time. If they are evil, the state is evil and the citizens are condemned to evil; if they are wise and virtuous the state is wise and virtuous and the citizens are dedicated to wisdom and virtue. As long as the state is supreme it will inevitably be a dictatorship, whatever it may call itself and however its dictator may be chosen. But if the state is not to be supreme, how is society to be held together and how are private interests to be protected? That remains, as it always has been, man's insoluble problem.

OSCAR: It's amazing to me how little people who haven't lived in the United States know about it. The political dilemma you mentioned was solved at Philadelphia in 1787 when the American Constitution was drawn up.

The American solution for the problem of government is that private interests shall be limited as little as possible but as much as necessary, that when it *is* necessary they shall be self-limited as far as possible, and when that is impossible they shall be limited by government, first, as moderately and briefly as possible, and second, only with the freely and frequently expressed consent of the majority of private individuals. In practice it works very well. The secret and the goal is to break power up into such small interdependent fragments that Marx's "withering away of the State" is really accomplished.

CHATTO: That may be the secret and the goal but even you are a long way from it. Almost everything is true "in the long run." But in my country and all the rest of Asia and Africa we can't wait for the long run. We face the Last Judgment next week. You Westerners have wiped out our gods, our laws, our habits, our institutions, our faiths and our philosophies. You've astronomically multiplied our numbers and our appetites. You've intoxicated us with materialistic creeds and dreams. You've torn the fabric of our societies into a thousand pieces and made us patch it together again in your style, which doesn't suit our figures.

You admit that democracy takes practice. Where has it worked? Where is it working successfully now? Great Britain, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand? Where else? A rather restricted area, less than 300 million out of nearly three billion people on earth.

LUKE: It's true that democracy is working only in a very restricted area but it's working there, all things considered, better than any other system that's been tried out or seriously proposed. I realize that Asia and Africa can't take over and assimilate anything so complicated in less than several scores of years at best, and that even then it won't be the British or the American or the Scandinavian system they'll end up with. They'll do as many wrong-headed, damned fool experiments as everyone else has, suffer the political and moral calamities that their hibernation spared them for several centuries, but they'll come to democracy in the end because democracy is the only system adapted to the present stage of social development. Even the totalitarians have to pay it lip service by stealing its name and panoply.

OSCAR: The first virtue of democracy is that it lets man go. If a democracy has 180 million people, it has 180 million possibilities. A dictatorship can have 600 million people but it has only one possibility. It's hard to imagine a worse poverty than that.

CHATTO: I still say democracy can't work, indeed can't exist, except in a very special environment. It requires education and experience. Lacking them, it's just a slogan for demagogues. As a matter of fact, even where democracy seems most firmly seated, it will wither away if public education is skimped or perverted and if the mass of the people are denied or neglect continuous political practice. . . .

Eric Hoffer says, "The game of history is usually played by the best and the worst over the heads of the majority in the middle." I remember that when as a young man I used to travel through Europe by train I found the people in either first or third class infinitely more agreeable, humane and disinterested than those in second. The latter were the dreary bourgeoisie, selfish, acquisitive, churlish, complacent, cowardly, wholly disregardful of other people's rights and feelings. Modern democracy's most conspicuous consequence, and it may turn out to be Communism's as well, is to reward and glorify this vast dull stifling "majority in the middle," to canonize their ideals as those of the whole of society. But that cannot last, because those ideals can't nourish an enduring society, because neither the best nor the worst will stand for such sluggishness. A new aristocracy based on a new idealism, a new spirituality, as well as on the dark, envious vitality of the lowest depths, will arise and inveigle or dragoon democracy into a richer incarnation.

BESS: Isn't there any chance this dull nasty bourgeoisie, which is most of us, I suppose, will beguile *itself* into the new

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incarnation, without having to let the best and the worst do it for them?

CHATTO: There is always a chance of anything, Miss Bess, but do most of you really care enough about ideas and ideals to pay for them with your cheap illusions and your beloved comforts? I think very few have that much courage and curiosity and those few are the aristocrats.

MANUEL: I'd like to put in a plea for dictatorship, the old-fashioned variety of course, consisting simply of a dictator, preferably but not necessarily benevolent, and a police force, efficient but unobtrusive and knowing its place.

The old style of dictatorship was, at its best, the simplest, least troublesome and gentlest form of government. As long as a minimum of law and order was observed and the dictator and chief of police were not interfered with in their simple pleasures, everyone was allowed to do just about what he wanted. Of course this gave a certain unfortunate advantage to the strong as against the weak, but what government in history ever failed to do that? At least dictatorship was honest even in its dishonesty, unpretentious even in its pretensions, and, most important of all, indulgent of the frailty and foolishness of its citizens and its rulers.

CHATTO: Let me recall to you the dilemmas of countries like mine, countries which have been submerged for years or even centuries under the tide of Western imperialism and have suddenly come up, gasping and half-blind, into the modern world. What in heaven's name are they to do? They want to be entirely free and indigenous, but most of their political and economic superstructure is foreign. They want to be modern and scientific, but most of their culture is embedded in a purely supernatural tradition. They want to have a massive heavy industry and a rising standard of living, but most of their exploding population still ekes the barest subsistence out of the land. They want to follow the most up-to-date practices of representative government, but the people they represent haven't the faintest conception of the essential disciplines of such government. Yet these people demand all these things of their leaders immediately on pain of disgrace, humiliation and even death.

How can they succeed? If they free themselves completely from the old colonialism, they risk isolating themselves from the trade, capital, and techniques a modern state requires and, perhaps, having to indenture themselves to a new colonialism in order to recover them. If they try to exhort their people into industrialization and a high standard of living, the pace is too slow to keep ahead of political demands and population growth; if they dragoon them, they end up with a new slavery and very probably new masters. If they copy the political patterns of the West, they go through motions which have no meaning for them, and soon fall into anarchy; if they adopt the Western heresy of Marxism, they tumble all at once into German dogmatism, Russian obscurantism and Tartar despotism; if they fall back on their own antique political forms they find them too weak to bear the weight of modern technocracy. They have had and lost so many faiths, all they have is hope. God pity those who betray that.

JAMES: As a disinterested spectator I can only conclude from what you have all said about modern politics that everything is going steadily from bad to worse. Democracy is restricted to very few countries and even there is operated in such a bungling antiquated fashion that it can't possibly meet the demands of a mechanized world or compete successfully with Communist totalitarianism. The newly independent nations are so inexperienced politically and so overwhelmed with insoluble problems that they are bound to end up in dictatorships of either Left or Right. Yet dictatorship is fundamentally the most unstable form of government and certain to break down sooner or later into anarchy or democracy, which in turn are hardly distinguishable, equally unviable and simply means starting the same tedious cycle all over again.

LUKE: I'm far from admitting the situation is hopeless. On the contrary, I don't think prospects have ever been potentially brighter. Of course they have also never been potentially worse. Nothing except our own shadow lies between us and Utopia—but what a long, fickle, craven shadow it is.

How can we make democracy work? It's far from easy but it isn't impossihle. I'd venture to say there are seven imperatives for modern democracy. The first is simplicity of form and practice. Most of the barnacles with which democratic bodies and procedures have becomc incrusted through the centuries must be ruthlessly scoured off. Legislative and executive bodies, bureaus and bureaucrats, laws and regulations must be cut down and in many cases cut out. Democracy must again hecome simple enough to be understood and controlled hy ordinary people.

The second imperative is briskness. Democracy must learn to he agile and light on its feet, particularly in its foreign relations. It has no longer time for hair-splitting and shilly-shallying. Justice, vigor and generosity must be swift and meet. The American Congress, for cxample, can no longer afford thc luxury of grinding every appropriation annually through four committee hearings and four parliamentary debates. There are times when safeguards beeome straitjackets.

The third imperative is public spirit, the indispensable quality which has launched every repuhlic and the loss of which has destroycd most of them. Every citizen must feel a sense of personal responsibility for the success or failure of the state, and a strict obligation to participatc faithfully in its duties as well as in its henefits. He who disparages or negleets the practice of democracy, because it is onerous or imperfect or even corrupt, is hetraying his neighbors, his children and himself.

The fourth imperative is education. Not merely a happy-go-lucky ritual, skimming over the surface of current facts, folklore and fads, not merely facility in technical know-how sufficient to build a mousetrap or a cyclotron but ignorant of mice and men, not merely perfection in the minutiae of some tired literature or juvenile science, but a many-sided, full-blooded, humanistic education fit for mcn and women who must ride and curb not only satellites but the savage anachronistic spirit of man.

The fifth imperative is courage, without which any enterprise is doomed. Democracy has rarely bcen faint-hearted, it has died more oftcn from fecklessness than fright, hut in these days a special valiancy, bold and serene but not overweening, has never been morc needed.

The sixth imperative is sacrifice, sacrifice of material benefits for social and spiritual ends, sacrifice of party, class, national and racial interests for universal human interests, sacrifice of private gain, privilege, pleasure, egotism or exclusivity for public safety, general welfare, equal opportunity, and personal excellence. The remarkable material triumphs of the dictatorships are due not primarily to the unparalleled hrutality and despotism of the regimes but to the moving self-sacrifice and dedication of whole generations of their subjects. Democracy cannot achieve morc mercly by the casual efforts of business-as-usual but only by reviving its own neglected, undespotic dedieation.

The last imperative for democracy is tolerance and harmony. It is an essential element of dcmocracy that democrats reserve the right to differ and to differ out loud, hut democracy cannot survive if democrats do not recognize each other and each other's interests, if they cut each other's throats and beat out each other's brains. Living democracies still have to he deeply rooted in liberty, equality and fraternity; democracies perish from factionalism, caste and intolerance. If the democracies werc ever able to cstablish a predominant harmony within and among themselves, the iron curtains of thc totalitarians would tumble at this "high, white note" as did the walls of Jericho before the trumpets of Joshua. ■


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# AFSA : News

## Minutes

**April 21, 1964:** The Board of Directors agreed to the appointment of Lindsey Grant to the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL and the appointment of Charles S. Whitehouse as vice chairman of the Editorial Board.

The question of amendment to the bylaws to cover the proposed broadened scope and membership of the Association was referred to Frank Siscoe of the Legal Affairs Committee. A letter regarding such membership action has gone out to all members of AFSA and is printed in this column.

May 1, 1964

Dear Colleague:

Your officers and the Board of Directors of the Association have been discussing ways in which the Association could be made more meaningful for its members and could establish a closer relationship with those many private Americans who are concerned with or interested in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service. We have, as set forth below, already taken a number of steps in this direction. However, we have been discussing whether and how to proceed further. We hope that what we have already done will commend itself to you, and that you will frankly express your views on what we might seek additionally to do.

With respect to what we have already done, we have elected a retired officer to a current vacancy on the Board as the first step in strengthening our ties with that group of our members who can contribute so much from their experience. We are recommending that future Electoral Colleges include a *retired officer* among those selected for the Board of Directors.

In an effort to create closer relationships with the *younger officers* and with the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club, a member of the Board has been appointed for direct liaison with the Club.

We have been struck by the fact that, among all the committees of the Association, there has not been one that deals systematically with the career service principle and the relationship of current policy and administration to the *strengthening of the Foreign Service as an instrument of foreign policy*. We are establishing such a committee and hope that it can play a valuable and constructive role.

While we believe that the *Journal* is a good magazine, we are seeking to make it increasingly a professional journal of opinion and comment in the foreign affairs field, drawing upon the unique practical experience and competence of the Foreign Service. Loren Carroll has agreed to come to Washington to assume the position of full-time editor. He has been a newspaper reporter, foreign correspondent, and foreign and city editor for a total of 22 years, as well as having served in the OWI as Press Attaché, and as First Secretary, Consul and Consul General in the Foreign Service.

We are working to make our *luncheon programs* more provocative—the forum for the presentation of significant new ideas.

We believe that the Association should intensify its efforts to bring the *story of the Foreign Service to the American public* through personal appearances, motion pictures, articles, and television. The Board and its Publicity Committee Chairman recently met with Mrs. Louchheim who is working on this problem for the Department. Our discussions are continuing and we hope the Association will be able to play a broader and more useful role in this effort.

Members of the Board are actively pursuing the possibility

of establishing a Foreign Service Association *Club*, with *parking space* for rental at reduced rates to members of the Association. We are also pursuing the possibility of obtaining for members of the Association other parking space accessible to the Department.

We should like to add that we are proud of the useful work the Association is already doing. The *Scholarship Committee* awarded 54 scholarships last year, totalling $27,000. The *Personal Purchases Committee*, the *Legal Committee*, and other services continue. The *Foreign Service Protective Association*, a related organization, gives excellent insurance and health coverage. We shall continue to encourage such helpful activities.

We now turn to those additional steps we have been discussing, on which we would particularly appreciate your views before deciding whether to proceed further. It is our feeling that the Association should seek to establish a closer relationship with those Americans outside of the Government who are especially concerned with or interested in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service. We have in mind, for example, leaders in the academic community in this field, leaders of World Affairs Councils throughout the country, or outstanding analysts of international affairs. We feel that they have much more to contribute to us, and we would have much more to contribute to them if a closer relationship could be established.

With such individuals in mind, we are proposing that three new categories of membership or affiliation be established. The first of these world be represented by what we would call "*Fellows in Diplomacy.*" Made up of private Americans of recognized stature in international affairs, individuals in this category would have a relationship to the Association comparable to that of a Fellow of the National Academy. The Board of Directors might elect no more than, say, five such Fellows each year. Their membership would be for life. Their election would be announced at an annual banquet which we hope could be attended by the President or the Secretary of State. We see the criterion for their selection and the honor it would bestow as somewhat different in character from that of our Honorary Members, who would of course continue to be chosen as in the future and honored as in the past.

The second new category would be that of *Corresponding Members*. They would be scholars and writers in the field of foreign affairs or active leaders in World Affairs Councils and similar organizations, and they might come to number several hundred, invited from centers across the nation. Especially for them the Association, with the cooperation of the Department, would sponsor annually a full day of symposiums and seminars, designed to acquaint them with current international problems and policies, and culminating in the annual banquet proposed above. For a fee to be determined they would enjoy such privileges of the Association as seemed appropriate to their status, and they would receive the *Journal*, with encouragement on our part for their contribution to its contents. Time and experience would guide both the Association and such members in further developing this relationship.

Finally, a third category, likewise under the heading of *Corresponding Membership*, would be open for the affiliation of organizations, such as World Affairs Councils, and the establishment of activities for them at the time of the annual symposium and banquet. Though details for this part of the program might be more difficult to work out, we do believe there is need for closer association with these groups whose personal interests so clearly relate to our official interests.

To establish these additional categories of membership and to provide for the election of "Fellows in Diplomacy" will require minor amendment of our by-laws. Such amendments





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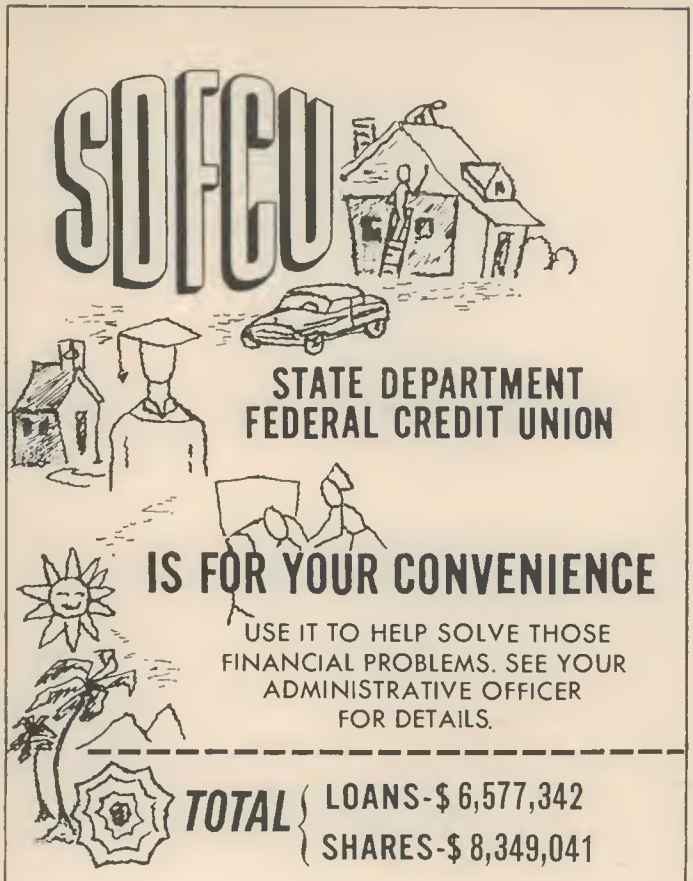
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are being drafted and if the concepts commend themselves to the members of the Association we would plan to offer these drafts for approval at a special general business meeting to be called for this purpose.

We very much hope soon to have your reactions to what we propose above.

Sincerely.

U. Alexis Johnson
President

Leslie S. Brady
Chairman

### Our Men in Philadelphia

The 68th Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences was held in Philadelphia April 10 and 11 and was devoted entirely to the topic of "Africa in Motion." According to the officials of the Academy, the attendance was the largest in its history. Delegations were present from embassies in Washington, missions to the United Nations, government and quasi-government organizations, universities and colleges, and international civic, scientific and commercial organizations. Included were two representatives of AFSA, the Honorable Joseph Palmer II, and Edwin M. J. Kretzmann.

In a series of five sessions, each of which presented complementary, and in some cases contradictory, points of view, the following aspects of the African problem were illuminated: "Africa and the East-West Cleavage"; "Cultural Development in Africa"; "Africa and the United States"; "The Trials of Democracy in Africa"; and "Africa and the United Nations." The emphasis was academic, although some of the participants evidenced deep emotional involvement. Discussion in a group of that size was difficult, and, due to the formal organization of the conference, resulted largely in brief presentations from the floor by frustrated participants who would have preferred inclusion in the program.

The over-all picture which emerged from the competent contributors was that of an Africa which was determined to solve its own problems and which, despite their complexity and difficulty, was going about the task in a resolute and responsible manner.

### New Board Member



*W. T. M. Beale*

AFTER four years as Minister for Economic Affairs at Embassy, London, W. T. M. Beale has recently assumed his new duties in the Bureau of Administration. Readers of the JOURNAL may remember that Mr. Beale was Chairman of the Board of the JOURNAL from July, 1958 to February, 1960. From reliable sources the JOURNAL has learned that Mr. Beale thoroughly enjoyed his tour of duty in London but is delighted to be back in the United States. After experience in the political and economic areas of the Department, Mr. Beale admits to a deep interest, as yet unsatisfied, in administration.


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AAFSW REPORT

# Year-End Round-Up

*by* BETTY KALISH

MAY is "turnover" month for the Assoeiation of American Foreign Service Women. Results of the labors of the past club year are studied and appraised, new officers are eleeted, and a new board marshals its forces for the eoming twelve months.

What have been AAFSW's aehievements of 1963-64, under the presidency of Mrs. Jaeob Beam? The major ehange of the year was the broadened membership policy, under which women of other ageneies, notably USIA and AID, were invited to join. Total membership now stands at about 800, aeeording to Mrs. William Sanders, membership ehairman for 1963-64.

Biggest events of the club year were the annual Book Fair of last Oetober. and the tremendously popular exhibit, "Showcase of American Women Around the World."

The first AAFSW Book Fair took place in 1961. It was so successful that it has beeome an annual event, with proceeds going into seholarships for Foreign Serviee ehildren. In three years, the Book Fair has proved conclusively its worth as a fund-raising project. This year it earned over $4000 of the $5700 turned over to the AFSA in April for the joint scholarship fund. The Book Fair has beeome not merely an autumn money-maker, but a major year-round projeet, with eolleeting and prieing of books in progress during the entire club year. Substantial planning has already been done for next fall's fair, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Frederick Merrill.

Thousands of enthusiastie visitors filed through the Department of State's exhibit hall last fall to view, and praise, the "Showease of Ameriean Women Around the World." The exhibit, of whieh Mrs. George Morgan was ehairman, was an instant and eontinuing success on its own, but its by-produets have been just as exeiting to AAFSW members.

First of all, there were numerous requests for material based on the exhibit, which dealt with the volunteer work of American wives stationed overseas. Stories and pietures appeared in various publieations, and many groups wrote in for material to be used in programs of their own. Some wanted portions of the exhibit for display.

Another by-product was directly related to work overseas. With the wealth of material on suceessful overseas projects at hand, the board eonsidered how these ideas could be ehanneled back into the field as guides for similar activities at other posts. The board spent many hours working on ways and means. It appears that the "Showease" will lead a long and active life.

Meanwhile, the officers and committees were busy with day-to-day AAFSW activities. Mrs. William Hall's Speeial Projects committee sponsored a spring bridge party as a money-making event; organized an exciting "Day on the Hill," which included visits to Senators' offices, luncheon with wives of members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the like; and made a study of the need for a loan fund for education and/or welfare. This committee also did some work on the Laubach Literacy Training Seminar in mid-April, in cooperation with the committee on Wives Training.

The Wives Training Committee, which cooperates with and supplements the FSI course for wives, started a series of seminars for new wives in March under Chairman Mrs. L. Wade Lathram. Further seminars are planned at regular intervals during the coming year. The language training program, offering members work in major world languages, is also handled by the Wives Training Committee, to supplement the language training courses at FSI. The committee also sponsored a seminar on administration last October.


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The Edueation Committee, under Mrs. Thomas P. Dillon, has had a busy year, building on the solid work done by previous edueation eommittees. Material on sehools and on edueation problems of Foreign Serviee young people has been gathered and classified in a form that can be consulted by assoeiation members either through the AAFSW desk in the Foreign Serviee Lounge, or by way of committee members individually. The eommittee maintains close ties with the State Department on education work overseas, with the AFSA seholarship committee, and with various other groups.

The AAFSW Speakers' Bureau, whieh can provide for interested groups the serviees of about twenty member-speakers, cooperates with the State Department's Bureau of Speaking Arrangements and the Offiee of Community Advisory Serviees. Mrs. David Newsom has headed the committee since the resignation of Mrs. Peter Rutter, now overseas.

The work of the Washington Assignment Committee never ends, for its members, under the ehairmanship of Mrs. Niles Bond, man the AAFSW desk in the Foreign Serviee Lounge. During a twelve-month period, 3,212 persons were given assistanee of some sort through this desk. About 2,500 calls asking for information on housing and other subjeets were handled during the same period. This eommittee also takes eare of hospital visits to Foreign Service personnel, eooperates with the membership committee in mailing, addressing and other chores, and with the Book Fair Committee, by taking in book contributions throughout the year. These volunteers also are in eharge of AAFSW's book, "Assignment: Washington," the sale of which is a source of steady income for the assoeiation.

One of the busiest eommittees was the program committee, ehairman, Mrs. Bruee Laneaster. This eommittee arranged the luneheons, coffees and teas held regularly the second Tuesday of each month.

To keep members, here and overseas, in touch with AAFSW's doings, an association newsletter was issued each month by the secretary, Mrs. John Henderson. Monthly eolumns appeared in the State Department News Letter and in the Foreign Serviee Journal.

This year's AAFSW board has not been plagued by the personnel shifts, due to transfer, that dogged the board in 1962-3. Only one board member had to resign because of transfer overseas. Mortality among committee ehairmen has been higher. Chairmen of the Speakers Bureau, Wives Training Committee and Membership Committee had to he replaeed midstream.

Other offieers who served the assoeiation during the past year were Mrs. Clare Timberlake, viee-president; Mrs. Seaborn Foster, treasurer; Mrs. Philip Trezise, recording secretary; and Mrs. Robert Follestad and Mrs. John Moore, members-at-large, along with Mrs. Morgan. ■



# A LIBRARIAN IN ASIA

*by* PAUL BIXLER

WITHIN the vast grab-hag of total Ameriean overseas assistance, educational programs are an economic incidental. In the years since the end of the Marshall Plan, the United States has spent $50 *billion* for activities whieh have been euphemistically lumped together as foreign aid. Only three per eent of this sum (or $1.5 billion) has gone for technical aid—for help in health, housing, welfare, and education. Last year technical aid eost the United States $380,000,000. I do not have the part of that figure which is exclusively devoted to edueation, but let us estimate it as around $75,000,000. On the faee of it—an apparently respectable figure—this is less than two per cent of our average annual bill for all kinds of aid abroad.

Military assistance and technieal assistanee are assumed to have the same goal—a reasonably orderly world geared to legal and peaeeful change. But there is a differenee in time. Military assistanee is for the short run, technieal for the long.

I suggest that in Ameriean thinking we keep the two separated on this basis. If I am correct in this assumption, in five or ten years the annual bill for military aid should be less, but the bill for education (which must include library assistance) will be more. . . . As a eonsequenee, I see edueational (and in particular library) overseasmanship as an expanding, not a contracting, opportunity. Let us send more American librarians (and professors) overseas. I suggest that we select them with eare, that they he allowed to go ahroad on leave from their home institutions, that they be well briefed and prepared for the foreign experienee, and that they go with the idea that their experience and their learning abroad will be put to work on their return in Ameriean colleges and universities whieh require knowledge of non-Western culture and non-Western materials. A year of experience in an Asian eountry is worth more, sometimes much more, than the same amount of time spent in studying that country's culture and history at long range.

Recently, I asked a number of lihrarians with overseas experience ahout what happened to them and what they aecomplished.

I asked questions about their jobs: Was the job valid, had it been planned properly, what was there in the end to show for the effort? I asked ahout their working relationships—to their home office, to the host government, to fellow workers and librarians. I asked them whether they would "do it again" if they had the opportunity. And then as a kind of postseript, I questioned them about the relations of library projeets to other forms of aid.

To take the answers to the last question first, remarks about the relations of library projects to other forms of foreign aid were probably not far different from what they would be in similar eireumstanees in the United States: Libraries as parts of larger operations don't get rolling soon enough; instead of being under consideration in the original planning, they are afterthoughts. "I never saw a librarian as part of a regular aid program in any eountry," said one eorrespondent "—that is, I didn't see any librarian as a member of a country's USOM Education Division, as were school teaehers, national guidance people, and so on."


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As to previous preparation, the overseas library job may have been initially well-planned or it may not; there is a limit to what one may foresee in a foreign land thousands of miles away. If the planning has been adequate, this probably does not absolve the visiting librarian from going ahead and doing his own planning. He will find himself thrust far more on his own resources and dependent on his own initiative than at home.

My first year with the Soeial Scienee Library at the University of Rangoon was the most rugged I ever put in on any job anywhere. Problems arose overnight while I slept. I cite only one of several.

I had eome to the Faculty of Soeial Seienees at the request of two or three heads of its teaching departments who wanted a library devoted to its academic interests. The basis of our arrangement was a four-party agreement between the University and the Burman Government on one side, and the American Library Assoeiation and the Ford Foundation on the other.

It was part of our agreement that we should send three young Burmese to the United States for professional library training so that eventually they eould return and take over the library administration. But when I had seleeted the first two trainees, I discovered that I eouldn't get them out of the country. The Ministry of Edueation announeed that it had no reeord of our projeet, and how eould it give permission to two unaccredited candidates?

The Reetor of the University who negotiated the agreement had negleeted to send the final papers to the Ministry. In the meantime, the government had changed, and the Reetor had been deposed and was out of the country. As if this were not eonfusion enough, the new Ministry took the former Reetor's slip as an oeeasion to pay off some latent scores against the University and in a long memorandum proceeded to ask University offieials a series of embarrassing questions, of whieh our projeet and the prospeetive trainees were only the dynamite eap that set off the explosion.

Teehnieally, my projeet did not exist. To top it off, the newly appointed Rector had not yet returned from England to take charge of the university administration, and only a few days before, the office of Dean of the Faeulty of Social Scienees, to whieh I was assigned as adviser, had been abolished. When I visited the former dean (he was still head of the Commerce Department) to ask his advice, he told me regretfully that aetually I was now on my own.

That evening I asked my wife if she was ready to "break out the kyats" (Burmese eurreney) and go home. But the next day, the lihrary, though a "non-existent" projeet, seemed singularly alive, and we determined to sweat it out. Four weeks later I met the new Rector for the first time, a man who turned out to be so enthusiastic over the library that he used to take hours off from his enormous administrative joh to eome and study in the staeks. And presently, too, the Seeretary of the Ministry of Edueation apologized for his ignoranee of the project. To be truthful, though, our two trainees didn't make it to the United States till after I had returned home myself, a year and a half after they were scheduled to go.

ONE of the key faetors in any overseas job is the relationship to the home offiee. The worker in Asia is halfway around the world. The man to whom he is responsible at home may have some knowledge of the work abroad or he may not. Communieation is inevitably slow and inadequate and if somebody in Ameriea forgets to put a 25-cent airmail stamp on a key letter, the nail-biting baek in Kuala Lumpur or Rangoon ean suddenly beeome a daily oeeupation. The man in the field has to be flexible and meet the eontingeney of the day; he may even have to adjust his budget quiekly to a ehanged situation.

There is no single panacea for the relationship to the host government's officialdom, which looms so importantly in Asia but which for many Americans is truly *terra incognita*. This is something which the overseas worker must adjust himself to. He must adjust and then persist.

As everyone with Asian experience knows, the oriental pace of change seems painfully slow. A project with two-year goals is fortunate if it attains them in four. Yet life does move—if you wait it out.

Earlier I noted the extraordinary delay in getting our Burmese library trainees to the United States. When our trainees did finally return to Burma with their library school degrees, we were faced with another problem—their status. Although they had professional library training, they were still rated as clerks. In a way, this was the key to our project; for without professional rating for its administrators, the library itself would have no standing. The years of the project came and went. Presently, the Burmese government decreed the end of all privately financed projects, including ours; and finally, my American successor wrote his summary report ending it all. Still the problem of library status was unresolved. But when I visited Rangoon last January, lo and behold, I learned that two of our social science trainees had only the previous month been "posted" to the library and that a third was on the way! If there is a lesson here, it could be that Burmese officials basically "wanted to do it themselves."

I am sure that for every overseas librarian in Asia there is a kind of perpetual culture shock in the Asian attitude towards books. Reading, or at least the discussion of what has been read, is often "not in their culture." I once discussed with a Burmese woman who had taught English at the University of Rangoon for a number of years my scheme for improving Asian education. Every student, I told her, ought to have the experience of reading books on the same subject by recognized authorities of diverse views. "Then," I added, "on the basis of his own judgment, he should be required to choose which is the better, the more logical, the more applicable to the problem at hand."

She put her hand to her throat. "How disturbing!" she said. Suddenly, I could see a long line of Burmese students trooping to a psychiatrist (or more likely going into Buddhist meditation) in order to exorcise a dilemma for which their previous experience provided neither solution nor clue.

All of my correspondents but one (who failed to mention the fact) were favorably impressed by the side effects of their sojourn abroad. The fact that the American adviser, an expert of considerable prestige, was available and approachable meant that his opinion and advice might be sought more freely than only on problems concerning his own project. Miss Margaret Griffin of Indiana University says that in Thailand she spent endless hours talking with librarians about their specific problems. American women librarians often find themselves cast in the role of mother, mother-confessor, personal adviser, job-getter, and matchmaker to all comers.

I finally asked each of my correspondents whether he would "do it again." Yes, they would, provided the job met certain requirements. I have given the question considerable thought myself. The side effects of foreign service are usually pleasurable, but the basic conditions for accepting an assignment in a developing country are too. First, the term of service should be long enough to allow one to become adjusted and thoroughly acquainted with the problems one has to face, with time left to do something about those problems; the minimum is usually eighteen months. Second, the job must be needed or valid or vital enough so that one will inevitably become seriously involved in the life of the host country and thoroughly acquainted with some of its solid citizens. ■

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# New JOURNAL Board Members

## REED HARRIS



REED HARRIS, who recently succeeded Rome-bound Gordon Ewing as Director of the Information Center Service of USIA, has been involved in writing and editing since high school days. He was an apprentice printer-reporter on a country weekly during high school and at Columbia edited the Columbia DAILY SPECTATOR. He served stints on the New York TIMES and New York JOURNAL, contributed to syndicates, edited a fiction quarterly, and did some advertising production and copy writing before moving to Washington to become executive editor of the American Guide Series, WPA. He returned to private business in New York, editing travel books, then was asked by the late Lowell Mellett to join the Office of Government Reports where he ran the New York division with duties which included over 300 radio broadcasts, writing scripts for many. He served in the Office of War Information, then in the Army Air Force in World War II. He was Chief of Publications of the Department of State 1948-50, then deputy head of the international information program from 1950-53. In private business from 1953 to 1961, he headed two small corporations in the publishing, public relations and exhibits fields. Edward R. Murrow called him back into Government service in 1961 as his Executive Assistant.

Mr. Harris has authored, co-authored, edited or contributed to a number of books in such varied fields as gerontology, college athletics, linguistic instruction, programed learning, economics and political science.

## LINDSEY GRANT



LINDSEY GRANT joined the Foreign Service in 1949. He began his career with the Board of Examiners, having just taken their examination. He has subsequently served in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taipei, and would describe himself by now as a thoroughly inbred Far Eastern specialist. During these assignments, he began with some consular work, served for one tour in USIS, and has spent most of his time in political and economic work.

Mr. Grant returned to the Department in 1961, being then assigned to the Economic Section of the Office of Chinese Affairs. He subsequently served as Officer in Charge of Mainland China Affairs, and became Acting Director of the Office of Asian Communist Affairs when that office was created, last autumn.

Mr. Grant and his family live in Alexandria. He has an eleven-year-old daughter and a nine-year-old son.

# The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 29, 1964

### I. OPERATIONS

| | | As of March 1, | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 |
| Members carrying Group Life | | 2584 | 2650 | 2741 |
| Group Life in force | | $42,978,450 | $46,722,900 | $49,734,950 |
| Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan | | 6817 | 7303 | 7545 |
| Claims paid during year: | | | | |
| Group Life, | Number | 10 | 23 | 17 |
| | Amount | $160,500 | $304,250 | $210,250 |
| Family Coverage, | Number | 10 | 12 | 7 |
| | Amount | $6,200 | $10,200 | $6,200 |
| Accidental Death, | Number | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| | Amount | $17,500 | $35,000 | $17,500 |
| Foreign Service Benefit Plan | | $386,304.20 | $454,808.78 | $607,734.43 |

### II. NEW BENEFITS ADDED DURING YEAR

1. An increase of ten percent in benefits paid for Group Life claims arising from deaths during the period March 1, 1964 to February 28, 1965 without increase in premium (does not apply to AD&D, Additional Insurance or Family Coverage).

2. Further major increases in benefits under the Foreign Service Benefit Plan, including limited coverage for orthodontic treatment. See Civil Service Brochure BRI 41-61 revised November 1, *1963*.

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# LETTERS to the EDITOR

### Who Belled Whose Cat?

I LOVE people who write under pseudonyms. It gives one the wonderful opportunity to spend a happy half-hour with one's imagination, a part of one's makeup that is frequently neglected in this uncontemplative day.

Just what sort of a person is this Mary Stuart, who hangs the hell around her own neck to warn the world that she hates herself?

She's young, and doesn't know it.
She's junior, and resents it.
She's an egoist.
She doesn't like cooking.
She is envious of her neighbor.
Her memory is poor.

She confuses the lilies of the field with the green field next door.

But most of all, because she is young, she forgets to look at the other side of the coin from time to time. Or perhaps she doesn't like the Foreign Service.

Perhaps she would prefer to be married to a man on an equivalent salary in the States, where she could cook three meals a day instead of occasionally making cocktail sandwiches; where she could spend the rest of her life with her neighbors and never have the thrill of meeting new people with new and different outlooks on life; where she could go to the supermarket and buy a TV dinner, instead of wandering through colorful markets and coming home with a basketful of vegetables she had never laid eyes on before, and finding out from her native neighbor how to prepare them or merely experimenting on her own; where she could discuss religious and secular education in the United States with her best friend, instead of visiting institutions and schools in numerous different countries and comparing notes with parents of children of varied nationalities or of spending hours wandering through mosques, synagogues, Hindu and Buddhist temples as well as all manner of Christian churches with friends who are members of divers faiths, and then coming home to coffee and long question and answer periods to discover, to one's excitement, that the similarities are so much greater than the differences; where she could hire someone to take care of her children so that she could have a career and come home tired at bedtime and barely see her children at all; where her children would not have the fabulous education that travel and association with children of other lands gives them; where she could wear the same clothes she is wearing now and run into the same type of women who buy their clothes at Garfinckel's instead of Sears—and mind it just as much. Every woman would love to wear beautiful clothes. But I belong to her grandmother's school of thought. I have yet to choose a friend or enjoy a person's mind for the clothes he wears. Have you, Mary Stuart?

If this U.S.-located Mary Stuart invited her husband's boss and his wife to dinner, would she not rise to her feet when they came in? Would she not show them the common courtesies due a couple who are both older and in a more exalted position in the hierarchy of her husband's firm?

Does she not show greater deference to her grandparents than she does to her first cousin? Would she not show greater respect to the President of the United States (and therefore to his personal representative, the Ambassador) than she does to her husband's college roommate?

Our whole life is a series of hierarchies—starting from birth within our own families, through school and on into any career we may choose. But perhaps Mary Stuart doesn't see it that way. The Foreign Service is a family. Just as one learns to live with and adjust to the different characteristics and idiosyncrasies—some easy and some hard—of the various members of one's family, so one accepts those of the larger family. Just as one has rules to make this living easier, so we have Foreign Service rules to keep things running smoothly, except in the Foreign Service we call it protocol.

There are millions of women in the United States who are perfectly happy with their lives just the way they are. And it is a good life. There are a few who are fascinated by the interrelationships of peoples the world over and who want to spend every spare moment they have learning more and more. The fortunate ones in this last group are married to Foreign Service husbands.

There is a Santa Claus, Mary Stuart. His name is Uncle Sam.

Don't stand and wait. Brush those small ants away and serve yourself to a big slice of cake from the largest silver platter you'll ever have offered to you. It's good.

CYNTHIA BAXTER
*alias* ELIZABETH I

Calcutta, India

### Bonus for Early Retirement

HIGH-RANKING officers of the Department have recently testified to the need for a reduction and "thinning-out" of Foreign Service officers, particularly in the middle and upper grades. I have a proposal which is designed to achieve this end.

The proposal is based on the principle of a "bonus" for voluntary retirement, of which 187 participants in the Foreign Service Retirement System took advantage in 1963. My proposal is designed to offer an inducement to voluntary retirement. The inducement is essentially the opportunity for a Retirement Fund participant to accept private employment from age fifty onwards while simultaneously receiving the normal maximum annuity payable under the Foreign Service Retirement System.

I propose that:

(a) for up to two years from the date of enactment of the amending legislation

(b) a maximum of 500 participants in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System

(c) who elect to retire voluntarily under Section 636 of the Foreign Service Act (fifty years of age and twenty years of service credit) be given thirty-five years of service credit in computing their retirement annuity.

The effect of this proposal is as follows:

A participant in the Foreign Service Retirement System who elected this option would have an annuity equal to two per cent of his average basic salary for the highest five consecutive years of service multiplied by thirty-five years, regardless of the number of years of service credit (above twenty) that the participant had earned.

Consequently, such retiree would be entitled to receive at age fifty, after twenty years, not forty per cent of his average basic salary, but instead seventy per cent. Assuming an average basic salary of $10,000 at the time of retirement, such retiree would be entitled to receive $7,000 annually rather than the $4,000 the present law would allow.

If all 500 eligible participants elected to retire voluntarily under this provision, the additional cost to the Foreign Service Retirement Fund could conceivably be as high as $15 million annually. This sum is obviously far beyond the absorptive capacity of the Foreign Service Retirement Fund, which is already in difficult financial straits. The only apparent solution would be a simultaneous reduction of positions funded by the Department's annual S&E appropriation (and, thus, its total amount) by the number of positions occupied by participants who

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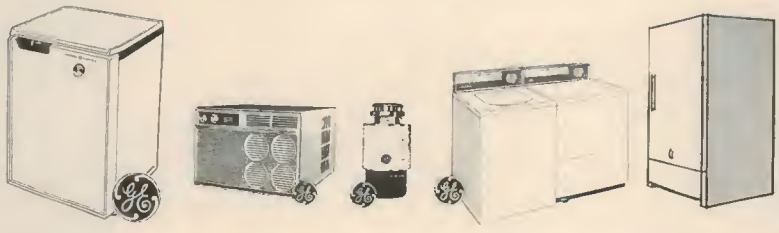
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elected to retire voluntarily under this proposal, and an equivalent rise in the amount of the anuual appropriation to the FSRF. The net outcome of this exchange on the Department's total appropriation probably would be nil.

In effect, this proposal would require the permanent reduction or elimination of one FSO or FSS position for each participant who elected to retire voluntarily under this option.

The Department's costs would be increased by the loss of the participant's retirement contribution for a maximum of fifteen years, as well as the cost of the Government's retirement contribution for the same period.

Presumably, the Department's annual costs would be hypothetically decreased by the estimated difference between the annual annuity paid to a retiring participant (say, $7,000) and the higher amount that would have hypothetically been paid to the participant had he remained in the Service up to age sixty or sixty-five, and received the normal increases in salary in that period.

The contributions of participants remaining in or subsequently entering the Retirement System would not be increased to help meet any costs arising from my proposal. I am informed that there are now about 4000 FSO participants and about 100 FSS participants in the FSRS. Assuming that the 500 voluntary retirees were spread proportionately between FSO and FSS participants, this would mean a reduction of ten percent in the FSO corps.

The overall benefits to the Department seem to me to be the neater, trimmer, "leaner" Foreign Service that I believe this proposal would induce.

The officers with whom I discussed a draft of this proposal felt its chances of acceptance in its present form were very slim because they thought my proposal was "over-generous." This may be. If some variant of this idea, offering a lesser inducement, could accomplish the same goal, this would be all to the good. However, I feel the key concept—an inducement to voluntary retirement which avoids creating an additional charge on the FSRF—will need to be incorporated into any plan for accelerating voluntary retirement that would he acceptable to the Department, the Budget Bureau, and the Congress.

KENNETH W. MARTINDALE

Washington

### Democratic Dilemma Again

"DEMOCRATIC DILEMMA," by John M. Cates Jr., which appeared in the November 1963 issue, was the most practical, common-sense proposal for a solution to the Latin American problem that I have read. It echoed many of my own views, which, more often than not, fell on deaf ears during more than seven years of assignment in Latin America. I worked with Jack Cates in Venezuela and came to respect his accuracy as a political analyst and forecaster there.

He pinpoints with precision the evolution and present complexities of United States thought today. But the question remains unanswered—Have we helped the Latin Americans to understand them? Also, is it fair and is it correct, therefore, to accuse Latin Americans of "failure . . . to understand modern capitalism in the United States . . . failure to realize the vast differences between the system on which Marx based his still revered doctrine and the current U. S. product . . . failure to understand our evolution . . .?" These are important questions because their answers reveal significant past policy errors. Their answers also help to correct the foregoing "failures."

The ". . . great reservoir of common heritage, of common aspiration, of identity of interest which forms us spiritually just as we are undissolubly linked geographically" that he points to is an excellent vehicle for our long needed popular pitch in Latin America. To this can be tied an exposé, as Cates puts it, of the absolutism of communist dogma on politics, economics, security, thought and religion.

I would point out the danger in the sentence "The only thing we can be dogmatic about is the necessity for experimentation, for trial and error, in other words for non-dogma, which might be thought of as dogmatic pragmatism." I would be even more discouraged to see a policy based on experimentation and trial and error with such crucial problems at this time. The Latin American masses search for results in this morass of conflicting thought, and they will look for them in a United States dogma. There is little time left for trial and error.

JOHN E. MONTEL

Brussels

### The Vicious Circle

THE editorial in your very good April issue brings up again "The Vicious Circle" of inadequate appropriations. As many before this have noted, this may not be unrelated to the absence of any domestic constituency comparable to Agriculture, Labor or Commerce.

Ted Olson's Washington Letter brings out that "foreign service" encompasses a lot more people than we ordinarily reckon, and speaks of the possibility of making better use of non-governmental resources.

There came to mind groups such as the Air Force Association which private firms and individuals, on their own but certainly with official support and blessings, have organized both to spread information and to rally support for legislation and appropriations when they think there is need. There is of course an element of mutual back-scratching here which I find distasteful, but, leaving out this element, the effort to bring public and private interests closer together makes sense.

I wonder whether an "American Overseas Service Association," privately organized, with U. S. Foreign Service personnel invited to be members but not to serve as active officers, could not draw together many corporate and individual interests. Retired and ex-F.S. people could of course be as active as they chose. The Department could undoubtedly offer cooperation and briefings as the military departments do.

I have long felt that the Department had badly neglected its alumni and wished for some way to bring them into some meaningful relationship, but a group composed only of former government people would be pretty thin. The possibility of bringing in major business organizations, together with labor and other groups who actually have personnel in the foreign field, could provide the essential leadership and financial backing. Other ramifications I leave to others closer to the situation than am I at my printing plant here in Annandale.

DAVID H. SCULL

Annandale



### It's All in the Game

The above photo may look like some weird dance, but it is, in fact, no more than badminton played at 12,000 feet by Don Torrey, our Public Affairs Officer, and my wife, Mary Stutesman. From the positioning of the rackets, I doubt that either of them hit that particular shuttlecock.

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.

La Paz

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| 10 | $ 25,000 Principal Sum — Member<br>$ 10,000 Principal Sum — Wife | 31.50 | 15.75 | — |
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|---|---|---|---|---|
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