Foreign Service Journal

NOVEMBER 1964
60 CENTS



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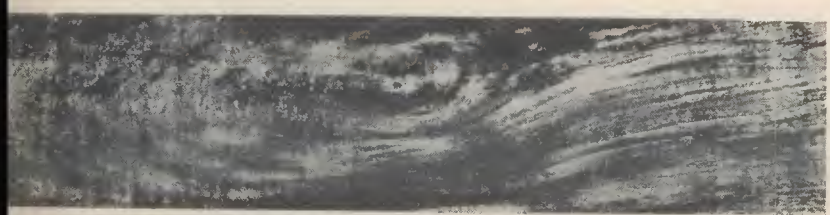
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Face of Infinity *by Marie Skora*

Ambassadorial Appointments

RAUL H. CASTRO to El Salvador

Marriages

CONNELLY-ATWOOD. Miss Adelaide Goodloe Connelly and Peter North Atwood were married on August 29, at Tiverton, Rhode Island. Miss Connelly is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard C. Connelly.

GREEN-FINE. Miss Shirley M. Green, FSO, and Sherwood M. Fine, FSR, were married on August 27, in Paris. Mr. and Mrs. Fine will continue to reside in Paris.

HYDER-JESTER. Mrs. Edith Brundrette Hyder and Perry N. Jester, FSO-retired, were married on August 18, in Williamsburg, Virginia.

THORESON-SCHLESINGER. Miss Karen Elizabeth Thoreson, daughter of FSO Musedorah W. Thoreson, and Anthony D. Schlesinger were married on August 30, in Dallas, Texas.

Births

BINGHAM. A son, John Hamilton Lewis, Jr., born to Lt. and Mrs. John Hamilton Lewis Bingham on September 30. Lieutenant Bingham is the son of Hiram Bingham, FSO-retired, and Mrs. Bingham, of Salem, Connecticut.

BULLEN. A son, Philip Anthony, born to Mr. and Mrs. Pierce Bullen, on September 2, in Cairo.

JESSUP. A daughter, Sarah, born to Mr. and Mrs. John Knox Jessup, Jr., on August 21, in Thessaloniki.

MOEN. A son, Alexander, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harlan G. Moen, on July 14, in Washington.

Deaths

AUERBACH. Frank L. Auerbach died on September 19, in Chevy Chase, Maryland. Mr. Auerbach entered the Department of State in 1951 and, at the time of his death, was Deputy Director for Visa Policies and Special Programs in the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. Mr. Auerbach was an authority on immigration law and the author of several books on this subject.

BROWN. Robert Y. Brown, FSO-retired, died on August 21, in Dothan, Alabama. Mr. Brown entered the Foreign Service in 1928 and retired in 1957. He served at Baghdad, Cairo, Bogota, Panama, San Jose, Montevideo, Manila, Athens, Kingston and Ciudad Juarez, where he was Consul General at the time of his retirement.

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

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

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

Address material to: Foreign Service Journal, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, D.C., 20006.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1964. The Foreign Service Journal is published monthly (rates: $6.00 a year, 60 cents a copy), by the American Foreign Service Association, 815 - 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 20006.

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OF POLITICS AND STATESMANSHIP

For this election year, here are some views, apolitically compiled, on the subject of politicians and politics, statesmen and statesmanship:

The good of man must be the end of the science of politics. —Aristotle.

American elections are too important to be left to Americans.—The London TIMES.

[By 1952] the world had become so small that American politics had come to be a matter of life and death for the whole of mankind.—Arnold Toynbee.

Party divisions, whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government.—Edmund Burke, 1769.

A nation without parties is soon a nation without curiosity.—Horace Walpole, 1760.

The strength of America's great two-party system lies in the fact that they are administrative rivals rather than political rivals. Either is in a position to take over from the other without involving a complete . . . change in the foreign and domestic policies of the Nation.—Ralph Flanders, onetime Senator from Vermont.

Neither the elephant nor the donkey can walk far on his two right legs alone.—Walter Lippmann.

A politician . . . one that would circumvent God.—Shakespeare, "Hamlet."

[Statesman]: A dead politician.—Author unidentified .

. . . the politicians of America—men whom I have found over the long years the pleasantest, shrewdest, and generally the most honorable of companions.—Theodore H. White.

A politician never believes what he says, and he is always surprised when other people do.—Attributed to Charles de Gaulle.

A gentleman of color in Raleigh recently described with unconscious acuteness the technique of making friends and influencing people: "Mr. Jones sure is a fine man. When he talks to you, he makes you feel like he just as ignorant as you is."—The (N.C.) STATE (magazine).

Practical politics consists in ignoring facts.—Henry Adams.

If people loved humanity as genuinely as they love their children, they would be as unwilling in politics as in the home to let themselves be deceived by comfortable fairy tales.—Bertrand Russell.

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If you would succeed in politics you must be solemn. Never make people laugh. All great monuments are built over solemn asses.—Thomas Corwin, U. S. Senator, 1845-50.

A voter without a ballot is like a soldier without a bullet. —Dwight D. Eisenhower.

One of the evils of democracy is that you have to endure the man you elected, whether you like him or not.—Will Rogers.

In political discussion heat is in inverse proportion to knowledge.—J. G. C. Minchin.

A statesman who is ignorant of the way in which events originate is like a physician who does not know the causes of the diseases he undertakes to cure.—Polybius, c. 125 B.C.

In politics, what begins in fear usually ends in folly.—S. T. Coleridge, 1830.

A statesman makes the occasion, but the occasion makes the politician.—George S. Hillard, 1852.

Great politicians owe their reputation, if not to pure chance, then to circumstances at least which they themselves could not foresee.—Otto von Bismarck, 1875.

A politician thinks of the next election: a statesman, of the next generation.—James Freeman Clarke (1810-88).

The politician says: "I will give you what you want." The statesman says: "What you think you want is this, what it is possible for you to get is that; what you really want, therefore, is the following."—Walter Lippmann.

A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.—Edmund Burke, 1790.

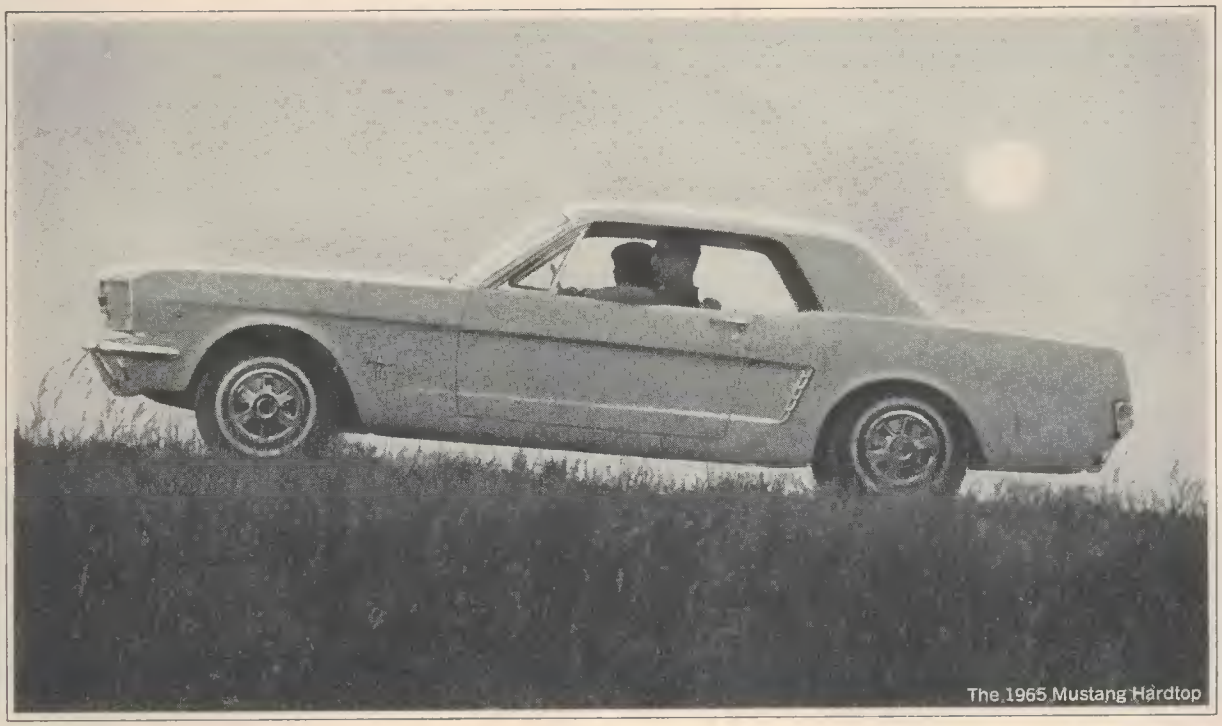
. . . it is of the nature of politics that men must always act on the basis of uncertain fact, must make their judgments in haste on the basis of today's report by instinct and experience shaped years before in other circumstances.—Theodore H. White.

—*Compiled by* JOHN P. MCKNIGHT



An Election Entertainment *by William Hogarth*

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"NOT A VICE CONSUL OF CAREER"

by Arthur C. Frost

This "eminence grise" who sat at the far end of the long bowling alley of a Consulate General at Obispo 7 was the best known and best loved consular officer who ever served in Cuba. At an old desk piled with papers, he fumblingly prepared divers notarials on a rickety machine. The fee was one dollar. Uncle Sam would have exacted two dollars for the same thing. The venerable public servant had wrangled himself into a job as commissioner for Ohio and his acts seemed to be generally recognized in the United States. Faithful friends made a becline to Vice Consul Joseph Alden Springer thereby doing him a fiscal favor and favoring their pocketbooks all at the same time.

Uncle Joe began his service at neighboring Matanzas in President Andrew Johnson's administration, later shifting to the larger port of Habana, where he continued to serve till the nineteen thirties, except during the Spanish War interregnum, when he helped establish Canadian banking in Cuba. This work stood him in good stead in the lean later years, as he derived therefrom a pension of $1,200. This stipend, together with his meager officer pay of $1,000 (without *any* extras) enabled him to huild up during the year a substantial deficit, which was balanced only by a considerable cash Christmas present that came providentially each year from a kind and grateful American colony. The Springers lived in a modest villa in Vedado, the household consisting of himself and three aged spinster sisters, one blind and all bulky. Their ancestry went back to the Pilgrim Fathers, as Joseph's middle name indicated, and the ages of the four unmarried siblings, added up, covered the period of years back to the landing on Pilgrim Rock in 1620.

At any Cuban gathering, Uncle Joe would receive warm greetings and multiple *abrazos* that bore witness to the cherished place he held in all hearts, unsurpassed by any American, unless it be General Leonard Wood. At any Presidential reception, he would be accorded every deference, with a special hearty hug even from the President himself. At one such occasion, he was accosted by his slightly jaundiced chief, the Consul General, who threw at him this querulous remark: "What, YOU here, Springer?" To which the venerable Vice Consul replied, curtly but correctly, "Yes, Mr. Hurst, but as Springer, NOT as Vice Consul."

Whenever, in the absence of the principal officer, I took charge of the Consulate General, I could count on one visit from the swaying gray-bearded old gentleman, who would amble unevenly into my office, and in a thin, polite, pleading voice say: "Mr. Frost, I have served Uncle Sam well nigh onto sixty years, and yet they say I am not a Vice Consul of CAREER?" Then without another word he would amble back to his desk at the far end. I could never think of an adequate answer to that query. When a new officer came, Springer would receive him ceremoniously and say at once, "Now I want to take you right over to meet the President." The new officer would demur, replying he was not dressed for it or otherwise pass it off as a joke. But Joe would insist and they would march up the street to the Hotel Florida into



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which the newcomer would be guided, and the aged officer would sing out to a waiter: "Dos Presidentes, por favor." Unless the new man caught on quickly, Joe would pay for the two *cocteles* or more, out of a scanty purse that did not permit such luxuries.

The story was that one of the C.G.'s at Hahana brought along a mistress to keep him company, and expected the Springer "girls," as they were called, to recognize her, but they disdained the doubtful lady and would have nought to do with her socially. In revenge for this slight on his friend, the C.G. had Springer reduced to $1,000 from the $2,000 salary, to which high level he had attained in half a century. The specious reason given was that Springer still retained some meager private interest, and should not get more than $1,000, the maximum pay of a Consular Agent. It was never possible for him to rise again above this minimum level, though the cost of living soared to dizzy, almost fantastic, heights in the "dance of the millions," when sugar, the main crop, rose to 28 cents from a previous two cents. Many high ranking officers found living costs prohibitive, though paid far above the starvation low of the old Vice Consul. Yet he always kept his head high and carried on, no one knew how. His complaints, if any, never reached me, except for the plaintive plea that six decades of service did not make him an officer of *career*. That he was an honest man his poverty offered tangible proof, when many another American had managed to line his pocket well, as the economy expanded under freedom established by the United States, and commercial opportunity resulted in an American market exceeding all the rest of Latin America. An example of success was the case of Steinhart, who had been an army sergeant under General Wood, and as the first C.G. went into real estate and cleaned up, so that in our time he owned the public utilities and had a choice box at the race course, Oriental Park. This was adorned with a shiny brass plate marked "U.S. Consul General," which his successors inherited and enjoyed gratis. Springer served under Steinhart, among others, and the latter could be counted upon to contribute liberally in the later days when the Vice Consul's larder was bare and household bills had piled up.

In those laissez-faire days, before inspectors multiplied, the F.S. was rescued from lame ducks, and the plush posts could be bought as political plunder for service at the polls, the duties of the office were about what the chief chose to make them. Springer would attend the chief as he opened the morning mail, and any commercial inquiries would be handed to Springer with the remark, "Is this of any interest to you?" If not, the Chief would throw them into the wastebasket forthwith, and that was the end of it. When Lawrence Briggs got to Nuevitas he discovered no commercial letters had been answered in three years, and he started to reply, saying "I have your letter of three years ago and have pleasure in supplying the data, etc." I wonder what the US firm thought of us when three years was normal for answering such inquiries. But it *does* show *some* progress.

Springer knew more of Cuban-American relations over the decades than anyone. I tried to get his story, but an octogenarian's mind is spotty and full of non sequiturs; and I could never patch his errant memories into a consistent whole, as a ghost writer, not overburdened with official chores under a Simon Legree, might have done. Springer had saved Presidents from execution and performed many memorable exploits in pre-Embassy times when the Habana Consulate General represented all our power in the Pearl of the Antilles. Today that story would be "stale, flat and unprofitable . . . full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Joe was worthy of his Pilgrim ancestors, a public servant of finest caliber. The New York TIMES devoted an entire column to him at his demise. He wanted to be buried in his native state of Maine, but probably lies forever in the land that desecrated the beautiful Maine monument and fell on evil, blighted days. ■



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25 YEARS AGO

IN THE JOURNAL — NOVEMBER, 1939

by JAMES B. STEWART

LA CHINA POBLANA

by Elizabeth Eistetter

THE 'China Poblana' has come to be recognized as the most characteristic costume of Mexico's great 'Mesa Central.' It is used everywhere as the companion of the 'Charro' suit of the men, and is very vivid and gay in its coloring and spangles. The skirt is very full and made of a woolen material with a heading or yoke of bright green cotton sateen. The rest of the skirt invariably is bright red and embroidered in spangles forming different figures, such as butterflies, the Mexican eagle, etc. The blouse is full, cut like a chemise and made of a white cotton material; it, too, is hand embroidered in bright flowers or eagles, etc., in beadwork or silk.

"The costume originated in a curious, half historical and, by now, half legendary story.

"According to this story, the Chinese Princess Mir-ra of the family of the Great Mogul, while en route to South America about the year 1684, was captured by British Pirates, taken to Manila and sold in the slave market. A slave trader then took her to Acapulco, where she was bought by Miguel Sosa, a merchant of Puebla, Mexico. Sosa carried the Princess to Puebla, gave her full liberty and had her educated by Catholic nuns. She was well known and universally beloved, because of her piety, humility, and great charity. She was buried in Puebla and her grave, to this day, is marked by a marble slab.

" 'La China Poblana' signifies 'The Chinese Woman of Puebla' and, unquestionably, was a term of endearment, as it is said that 'La China' was known and loved by all women and children of Puebla."

Two pretty girls, in their "China Poblana" costumes illuminate the article. They are Miss Betsy Lee Eistetter and Miss Patricia Bowman, daughter of the late Consul General Thomas Bowman.

CAREER WOMEN

G. Howland Shaw, Chief of Foreign Personnel, is quoted in the Washington STAR of September 17, 1939, on the subject of career women: "[Mr. Shaw] spoke highly of the career women who have seen active service in many parts of the world . . . [He mentioned] Miss Frances E. Willis . . . who since 1934 has been attached to the Embassy at Brussels as Second Secretary . . . She was a professor of history and literature at Vassar . . . Miss A. Viola Smith, who has been in Shanghai all during the war there, is a trade commissioner of wide experience who has done outstanding work in spite of the hazards of war. Constance Harvey, vice consul at Basle, Switzerland; Elizabeth Humes, trade commissioner, and S. A. Leslie, stationed at Rio, were among those Mr. Shaw mentioned as being especially qualified for the work. However, he did not single out any one in particular—these names happened to be first on a list of transfers."

Briefs: Staffs of the Embassy and Consulate General at Warsaw are pictured in the November issue. The photograph was received in Washington only a few days before hostilities broke out between Germany and Poland. Among those appearing are: Ambassador Biddle, North Winship, John K. Davis, George J. Haering, C. Burke Elbrick, Douglas Jenkins, Jr., Tomlin Bailey, Orray Taft, Jule Smith.

Hamburg. "Something over a thousand Americans recently passed through Hamburg on their way to the United



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States. Some left debts; some left their baggage; all left hastily. A British Military mission also visited briefly in the neighborhood where they were warmly received. It gets dark here nights."

► At a meeting of the Electoral College of the Foreign Service Association held on September 22, 1939, Mr. John K. Davis was elected as President of the Association and Mr. John Farr Simmons as Vice-President.

► A photograph in the JOURNAL shows John B. Keogh, Vice Consul at Bradford, accompanied by his old pupil, James Roosevelt, on his visit to the Brontë home when he was in Yorkshire in connection with the film production "Wuthering Heights."

Espionage Agent. "Various officials in the Department of State, and all members of the current Foreign Service Officers' Training School, were sent invitations to attend the Warner Bros. performance of 'Espionage Agent,' the premiere of which was shown at the Earle Theatre in Washington . . . This film is said to be the first full length picture dealing with the American Foreign Service . . . "

► Robert C. McGregor, Jr., Consul, Mexico City, has an article in the JOURNAL entitled "Canoitas." Preceding the article is the following note in part: "A plane, belonging to Mr. Bronson H. Rumsey and carrying him, Mr. Daniel S. Roosevelt and Miss Carlotta Constantine, crashed in the mountains near the small village of Canoitas, in the State of Puebla, Mexico, on April 18, 1939. The accident was fatal to the two young men, one of whom was a nephew of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . "

CLUB ROOM FOR "THE BOYS"

Dick Boyce, in a letter to the JOURNAL, endorses the views of Harold Shantz regarding the establishment of a club room in Old State. After describing what the room should be like Dick ends his letter: "There should be another room . . . equipped as No. 109 used to be . . . He (the visiting officer) can't concentrate on delicate shades of expression to the Comptroller General when some of the boys are telling some hot ones six feet away, and the boys can't really relax when one or two distracted waifs from Paramaribo or Pinsk are trying to explain post preferences in hasty but dignified communications to the Secretary of State in time to catch the next train to Dallas or meet the wife at the movie theater."



A son, Huston Thompson, was born on September 2 to Mr. and Mrs. John Farr Simmons in Ottawa, where Mr. Simmons is Chargé d'Affaires.

Comment, 1964: Huston graduated from Princeton in 1961, did Marine Reserve duty and is now making documentary films for NBC. The Simmons' eldest son, John Jr., is now at his first post in the Foreign Service, Damascus. His mother visited him in late spring and went further East to Afghanistan, Iran (to visit the Holmes) Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel.

RECENT SERVICE ITEMS

Retired Ambassador, Sheldon Mills, recalls an exciting adventure of his Bucharest days in which Bob Murphy was involved. "Bob, from Paris, arrived in Bucharest on his last stop of a trip he had made via the Orient Express to various Southeast European capitals distributing new code books . . . When it came time for Bob to leave, I said I'd drive him to the Gare du Nord where the Bucharest stub of the Orient Express started its journey north passing through Hungary, Austria, Germany to Paris. Bob was enjoying himself but finally I convinced him we must go to catch his train. He then remembered he had left his overcoat at the chancery. We swung around to pick it up. The station was surrounded by a huge plaza. There I suggested that Bob go to the train while I parked, for time was short. As I hurried across the plaza I met Bob coming back accompanied by

James Christea, Senior American Clerk, with the distressing news that on that very day the train schedule had been moved forward 15 minutes and the train had gone. Christea suggested that we overtake it. So we jumped in my little Plymouth and started out of town on the famous Chaussee Kisileff, past Banyasa woods and on the highway across the Danubian plain and up into the Carpathians. At every station, including Ploesti, the one sizable town, the train had just left. After Ploesti the hills began and the road, only two lanes, crept along cliffs, around curves with always the hazard of peasant carts with horses or oxen finding their way home while their peasant owner slept off the *tuica* (Rumanian slivovitz) he had enjoyed after he had sold his produce in the town. We raced along and I don't believe ever in my life, before or since, have I driven with such intensity. After nearly two hours we approached Sinaia, the summer capital, near the crest of the Carpathians. The highway was high in the city while the railway line and station were far below close to the course of the Prahova River. There we saw the train. It seemed to me that I took the curves leading down to the station almost on two wheels. Christea was on the running board with Bob's suitcase in his hand. Bob jumped out, raced to the train and caught the last car, while Christea tossed his suitcase aboard after him . . . In subsequent years whenever we met Bob and I both relived that two-hour adventure more than a quarter century ago."

► In commenting on the death of the noted historian, Dr. Carlton Hayes, last September, former Ambassador Willard Beaulac stated that he was on Ambassador Hayes' staff in Madrid from the spring of 1942 until June, 1944.

"The Madrid staff was small," continued Mr. Beaulac, "but an astonishing number of staff members became ambassadors. They included, besides myself, Walton Butterworth, Ambassador to Canada; Frances Willis, retiring Ambassador to Ceylon; the late Ralph Ackerman, who became Ambassador to the Dominican Republic; Julian Harrington, who was Ambassador to Panama; Outerbridge Horsey, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia; and Covey Oliver, recently appointed Ambassador to Colombia. Niles Bond, Consul General in Sao Paulo, also is an eminent graduate of Professor Hayes' embassy, as is LaVerne Baldwin, now retired.

"The New York HERALD TRIBUNE, in its obituary, recalled how Professor Hayes captured and charmed his classes at Columbia with the drama of history—how during one of his 'performances,' when he was not Professor Hayes but Talleyrand or Metternich, he fell off the platform—'but nobody in the class made a sound lest the spell of his lecture be broken'."

► The threat of fires kept a few away from the Foreign Service luncheon which Dave Maynard tells us was held at Redwood City, California on September 24. About 50 attended and if you would like to know who they were, just add Mr. and Mrs., Mr., Mrs., or Miss to the following names: Berger, Beverstock, Calder, Chesen, Doyle, Frost, Fredrickson, Hinke, Hudson, Horn, Krentz, Linnell, Madonne, Maynard, Mills, Myers, Maleady, O'Connell, Phelan, Oppenheimer, Sawyer, Service, Redding, Sheppard, Shields, Stevens, Taft, Vyse, Waterman, Waring, Wraga, Francis, Sokobin, Stuart, Francis.

There was no protocol, no seating except that no Mr. was permitted to sit next to his Mrs. ■

"A sovereign should always regard an ambassador as a spy."—*The Hitopadesa* (c.500)



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"Roma" *by Robert Sivard*

THE DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT

by RICHARD N. GARDNER

FOREIGN POLICY is not only concerned with survival, or with the maintenance of peace and security. It is also concerned with the promotion of welfare—both with material well-being and with nonmaterial goals essential to the fullest development of the human personality. The promotion of these economic and social objectives is not merely desirable for its own sake; it is vitally related to the pursuit of peace. The founders of the United Nations recognized in the Charter that to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" it is necessary to "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

The promotion of the general welfare through economic and social cooperation now occupies more than four-fifths of the men and money in the United Nations system. It is the concern not only of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the UN Secretariat, but of fourteen specialized and affiliated agencies, four regional economic commissions, and four special programs. This vast network of activity is supplemented by vital regional economic institutions in the North Atlantic Community, in the inter-American system, and elsewhere, and even by some world-wide arrangements outside the UN system.

The large majority of the nearly 600 international conferences in which the United States participates each year are devoted to economic and social questions. These conferences seldom make the headlines; indeed, most of them are noticed only by a small fraternity of specialists. The average citizen would probably be surprised to hear that his life was directly affected by these conferences in any way; yet his well-being would be jeopardized without them. They cover a bewildering variety of subjects from atomic energy to zinc, from the conservation of Atlantic tuna to the control of desert locusts. The bread-and-butter character of the conference program is illustrated by the State Department's statistical breakdown for 1963. It showed that the largest number of conferences in that year were concerned with the pursuit of the general welfare in specialized technical fields—seventy-one with agriculture, fifty-six with economic development and resources, forty-five with trade, forty-two with science, twenty-seven with shipping, twenty-four with social development, twenty-four with fisheries, twenty-two with finance, twenty-two with fuel and power, twenty-one with industry, twenty-one with specific industrial products, seventeen with transportation, fifteen with aviation, fourteen with communications, and so on down the line through labor, housing, and health to tourism and travel and patents and royalties.

The extraordinary number and variety of these specialized meetings provides eloquent testimony to the fact of interdependence. For these meetings took place for one very simple reason: the participating countries could not promote the welfare of their citizens as well by acting alone. In many cases the specific subject could not be handled effectively at all except through multilateral diplomacy, usually diplomacy operating within the framework of a regional or world-wide organization.

The work of the world-wide functional organizations is important to the rich and large nations as well as to the poor and small. The United States itself is a major beneficiary of these activities. Here are some current examples:

—The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) promotes the security of the United States and other nations by administering safeguards against the diversion of nuclear fuel from peaceful reactors to military purposes.

—The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) helps to bring better weather forecasts to the American people by assisting in the exchange of weather information from countries around the globe.

—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) reinforces the dollar and the U.S. gold stock by dollar purchases and credit facilities.

—The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) assists American airlines and air passengers by specifying the world-wide application of minimum navigation aids and other safeguards essential to safe and efficient air transport.

—The Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) aids American shipping and American ocean passengers by administering rules for maritime safety.

—The World Health Organization (WHO) helps protect American citizens against the use of dangerous drugs, such as thalidomide, through a new world-wide warning system.

—The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is laying the basis for expanded overseas telephone and television services for Americans via communication satellites by its work in allocating essential radio frequencies and developing regulations for their use.

—The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) promotes the safe and efficient marketing of foodstuffs by American agriculture and industry through the completion of a world-wide code of simplified food standards.

—The Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the United

This article is adapted from a chapter in Mr. Gardner's forthcoming book, "In Pursuit of World Order—U. S. Foreign Policy and International Organizations," which is being published this month by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

Nations helps safeguard the health of the American people through its work in limiting production and illicit traffic in narcotics.

—The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) promotes the sale of American products in foreign markets through negotiations to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers.

These examples, which could be multiplied at length, emphasize that functional cooperation is not a one-way street. The United States benefits as well as other nations. The rich are beneficiaries as well as the poor. Yet international organizations, particularly those in the United Nations system, have increasingly focused on the special problems of the less developed countries. It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at these activities and to consider their contribution in promoting the general welfare and US foreign policy goals.

Let us begin with some facts about the present distribution of world income. The facts are well known, but they bear repeating. In the United States, the average annual income per capita is about $3,000. In the other developed countries of the free world, it is about $1,200. In the less developed countries as a whole, it is about $150. In the vast majority of the less developed countries—a majority that includes two-thirds of humanity—it is less than $100.

There are many ways of dramatizing the meaning of these cold statistics. For example, US gross national product in the three years 1961-63 increased by $100 billion—from $500 billion to $600 billion—an increase that is more than the combined national products of 84 members of the United Nations. Or perhaps this is best put in everyday terms: The average person in most of the less developed countries has to spend per day on all his needs—food, clothing, shelter, health, education—about what the average American spends when he goes to his corner drugstore to buy a pack of cigarettes.

Let us admit that such monetary comparisons of living standards around the world are subject to a margin of error. Economists have no way of taking precisely into account the differences in internal purchasing power of national currencies, or the fact that persons in rural and agricultural societies tend to consume a large part of their own production which never receives a market valuation. Even allowing for a substantial margin of error, however, it remains clear that the conditions of life facing the mass of humanity are not compatible with minimum standards of human dignity.

Much is written these days about the importance of "closing the gap" between the rich and the poor countries of the world. If this is intended to mean closing the gap in absolute terms, it is almost certainly not a feasible objective. Growth rates are superimposed on huge existing absolute disparities. In the less developed countries as a whole, national income has been growing at about 3 per cent a year, population at about 2 per cent a year, per capita income at about 1 per cent a year. For most of the less developed countries, therefore, the average annual increase in per capita income has been about $1. In the United States, per capita income has been increasing annually by close to $100. If present trends continue, average annual per capita income between now and the year 2000 will grow from $3,000 to about $6,000 in the United States, from $1,200 to about $2,400 in other developed countries of the free world, and from something under $100 to something under $150 in the majority of the less developed countries. Thus the absolute gap will more than double. Even if we could achieve a doubling of the present annual rate of growth in per capita income in the less developed countries—a formidable assignment—the gap would still double in absolute terms.

A reduction of absolute differences in living standards between the developed and the less developed countries of the world could only be achieved by bringing to a virtual halt the increase in income in the developed countries. Such an objective, of course, is not only inconceivable on political grounds, it would not serve the interests of the less developed countries themselves. For the rapid growth of the developed countries provides a vital stimulus to the growth of the less developed countries through increased imports of their products and increased private investment and foreign aid. The discussion of development, therefore, should focus not on the reduction of income disparities, but on the achievement of a tolerable rate of improvement in the conditions of life of the people in the less developed areas.

The poverty of the less developed countries is an old story. What is new is their determination to do something about it. This determination—aptly termed "the revolution of rising expectations"—has brought to a large part of the world a turbulence and upheaval unique in history. Urgent demands for economic and social improvement are the dominant facts of life today in the poor countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. There is no longer any question of whether these countries will develop themselves—the only question is how.

The principal responsibility for the development of any country rests with the people of that country themselves. Paul Hoffman likes to say that in supervising preparation of the historic report that helped give birth to the Marshall Plan he wrote only the first sentence: "Only the Europeans can save Europe." This same truth applies to every part of the world. Most of the resources required for development must come from inside the developing country. Even more important, the policies and leadership and spirit to use these resources properly, whether they come from inside or outside, can only come from the governments and the people of the less developed countries. In the words of David Bell, US AID Administrator:

> The commitment of energy and leadership—the will to achieve economic and social progress—is more important than any other single factor in accomplishing development. . . . Development must be achieved from within, by the people of the less developed countries themselves. It cannot be imposed from without. This is a lesson we have had to learn over and over again. All of us know of excellent reports, impressive schemes, beautiful blueprints which have been drawn up by outsiders, showing convincingly how the . . . people of one country or another could overcome the obstacles that confront them. But in case after case nothing has happened. And the hard fact is that nothing will happen unless the local people are at the center of the process, unless they help plan and execute the projects, unless they understand how to maintain and carry on and use what has been built.*

All this is true. Yet as Bell himself has emphasized, it is also true that external assistance can provide the vital margin between failure and success. The rapid

*Address before the International Rural Development Conference, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1964.

and phenomenal recovery of Europe would not have been possible without the efforts of the Europeans; but recovery under democratic institutions would not have been possible without the Marshall Plan.

If foreign aid can be a vital factor in reinforcing the efforts of less developed countries to help themselves, just what is the interest of developed countries in providing it? There is still great confusion on this subject. For some, the principal purpose of foreign aid is humanitarian—it is an indispensable expression of the brotherhood of man. For others, the purpose of foreign aid is economic—it is to assure access to the raw materals and growing markets that are important to the growth and prosperity of the developed countries. For still others, the purpose of foreign aid is political—it is to influence the less developed countries in a favorable direction and prevent the spread of Communism. All of these viewpoints are wrong if they are designed to provide the sole explanation for a foreign aid program. All of them are right if they are designed to express one of its purposes. Foreign aid has many purposes, just as has foreign policy.

Perhaps the best way to see the many purposes involved in foreign aid is to contemplate the central choice now facing the developed and less developed countries. For the less developed countries, there are three possible sources of the capital needed for their economic development: domestic, Communist and free world. The relative emphasis they place on these three sources will profoundly affect their economic and political evolution, and hence the economic and political evolution of the whole world.

A good part of the capital needs of the underdeveloped countries can and must be supplied from domestic sources. But for most of these countries existing production is barely sufficient to cover current consumption needs. Only a small margin of production can be channeled into the formation of capital. If these countries despair of obtaining sufficient capital from abroad they will be more likely to adopt totalitarian measures at home. They may seek development by ruthlessly suppressing consumption and by forcibly mobilizing capital and labor. They may succumb to a militant and embittered nationalism. For them, development will be likely to occur in a climate in which freedom cannot survive. For us, this is likely to mean the loss of important raw materials and markets, a vast erosion of world power, and the end of an opportunity to further the cause of human freedom.

A second source of capital for the underdeveloped countries is the Communist world. We need not fear Communist aid to these countries as long as it is relatively small in comparison with the investment of the West. But when the Communist world—Soviet or Chinese—becomes the main source of trade or foreign capital for an underdeveloped country, it will use this leverage to try to bring it into the Communist orbit. Should this strategy prove successful in the case of some of the larger underdeveloped countries, the Communists would alter in their favor the balance of political and economic power. The free world cannot afford to let this happen.

The third and last source of capital is the industrialized North Atlantic Community and Japan. Aid from this source represents the only chance for many less developed countries to achieve a tolerable rate of economic development without sacrificing human values or becoming dependent upon the Communist bloc. Moreover, this aid is one of the most effective ways to build a bridge between the developed and less developed countries and achieving a reciprocal influencing of values and institutions.

Thus foreign aid has a direct bearing on security and prosperity. But we should not restrict our calculations to material considerations alone. There is a very special respect in which foreign aid can promote nonmaterial ends. For the people of the United States, currently enjoying power and prosperity unique in history, a foreign aid program represents an opportunity to express their natural idealism, their concern for the brotherhood of man and the dignity of the individual. Together with associated undertakings like the Peace Corps, it offers something to work for above and beyond selfish interests—an antidote to self-indulgence and decadence. In this respect, our pursuit of human freedom abroad may be part and parcel of our quest for human freedom at home.

To say this does not mean that we must be crusaders for an ideology, that we should seek to impose our political, economic, and social institutions on other people. To the other people of the world we must never say "be like us," but "be what you want to be." Our purpose is to help men everywhere toward security, prosperity, and freedom, through institutions suited to their own traditions and environments.

In short, foreign aid is a matter of both politics and economics, of self-interest and ideals. It promotes the enlightened national interest of the United States and other countries of the North Atlantic Community in the promotion of free, strong, and independent countries in the Southern Hemisphere—the kind of world in which free institutions can survive and flourish. The Act for International Development—the new foreign aid legislation adopted in the first year of the Kennedy Administration—put it well by declaring that it is a "primary necessity, opportunity, and responsibility of the United States, and consistent with its traditions and ideals . . to help make a historic demonstration that economic growth and political democracy can go hand in hand in the end that an enlarged community of free, stable, and self-reliant countries can reduce world tensions and insecurity."

The multiple aspect of the United States interest in the economic development of the less developed countries was sharply underlined for the American people by President Lyndon B. Johnson on two successive days in the spring of 1964. On April 20, in New York City, the President defined the challenge as follows in a speech to the Associated Press:

> Our mastery of technology has helped men to learn that poverty is not inevitable, that disease and hunger are not laws of nature. Having helped create hopes, we must help satisfy them, or witness a rising discontent which may ultimately menace our own welfare. What we desire for the developing nations is what we desire for ourselves—economic progress which will permit them to shape their own institutions, and the independence which will allow them to take a dignified place in the world community.
>
> Let there be no mistake about our intention to win the war against poverty at home, and to help fight it around the world. This battle will not be easy or swift. It takes time to educate young minds, and shape the structure of a modern economy. But the world must not be divided into rich nations and poor nations, white nations and colored nations. In such division are the seeds of terrible discord and danger in decades to come.

The next day, the President took up the same theme in impromptu remarks before a group of editors and broadcasters in the Rose Garden of the White House:

> Oh how I would like to feel that we could, here in the Rose Garden today, launch a new movement to develop a greater society in all the world, not only by driving poverty from our midst here at home . . . but . . . helping others help themselves, following the golden rule not only at home but abroad, saying to these 112 nations, "We are going to do unto you as we would have you do unto us if our positions were reversed."
>
> We must help developing countries because our own welfare demands it. It takes no great gift of foresight to realize that unless there is progress and unless there is growing satisfaction of just desires, there will be discontent and there will be restlessness. The developing world would soon become a cauldron of violence, hatred, and revolution without some assistance. How would you feel if you were a member of a family whose total income was less than $80 per year? Yet a majority of the people of the world have incomes of less than $80 a year. Under such conditions, Communism, with its false and easy promises of magic formula, might well be able to transform these popular desires into an instrument of revolution. That is why every American who is concerned about the future of his country must also be concerned about the future of Africa, Asia, and our old friends in Latin America.

If there are a number of aid purposes, it should come as no surprise that there are also a number of aid instruments. The counterpart of the fallacy that assistance must be given only for humanitarian, only for economic, or only for political reasons is the fallacy that assistance should be given only through bilateral or only through multilateral channels. The United States and other free world industrial countries transfer skills and resources to the less developed countries in both ways. Both kinds of aid are needed—and will continue to be needed—for the foreseeable future. The choice for the United States between giving aid bilaterally and giving aid through international organizations is a pragmatic one. The test is which route is more likely to achieve the purposes for which the particular kind of assistance is being granted.

The military assistance which the United States gives to the developed countries must normally be given on a bilateral basis. The same is true of economic aid in close support of security efforts. Bilateral aid also may be the only way to get adequate assistance to certain countries the US wishes to help—the Republic of China, Korea, Viet Nam, and Turkey are obvious examples. In certain cases bilateral aid may provide greater leverage to the US in stimulating self-help from the recipient or in implementing US foreign policy goals.

But multilateral aid may be superior to bilateral aid in other cases for a number of reasons:

First, some of the less developed countries—particularly those that are newly independent—are preoccupied with preserving their independence and maintaining neutrality in the Cold War. They are frequently reluctant to become too dependent for assistance on the United States or its NATO allies on the one side or on the Communist world on the other. They are also sensitive about accepting advice or conditions that affect the conduct of their internal affairs. This problem can be made more manageable when aid is furnished through international organizations in which these countries participate as full and equal members. The experience of the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and regional agencies shows that this is often true in the case of loans. The experience of the United Nations preinvestment programs shows that it is also often true in the case of technical assistance, especially in such delicate areas as development planning and the training of leaders in public adminstration.

Second, international agencies can help increase the contributions of other developed countries that can and should be doing more. They can bring contributions from small developed countries who would not undertake aid programs on their own. They can also encourage the nations receiving assistance to contribute substantially from their own resources.

Third, international institutions can draw on a worldwide pool of technical personnel which may not be available in the United States or any other single aid-giving country. In many cases internationally recruited teams of experts are not only less expensive, they provide language skills and experience more relevant to the conditions existing in less developed countries than would be available in a team recruited in the aid-giving country alone.

Fourth, international organizations are frequently better able to encourage regional projects—such as that in the Mekong River Basin—that overlap the boundaries of several nations.

Fifth, aid through international organizations can strengthen the international organizations themselves as instruments of peace and welfare. The increasing use of the United Nations system for technical and capital aid helps bind the members of the United Nations more closely to the organization through ties of economic interest. In some cases the deployment of economic resources by the United Nations can help achieve a political settlement: the role of the International Bank in the dispute between India and Pakistan over the Indus waters is an obvious example. Looking to the future, we may even envisage UN representatives who supervise assistance programs gradually evolving into a UN Diplomatic Corps available for political as well as economic assignments.

In considering these significant advantages of multilateral aid, we must also weigh the countervailing considerations on the other side. One obvious problem is the attitude of other aid-giving countries. The principal limiting factor in the channeling of United States assistance through international agencies in recent years has been the unwillingness of other developed countries to match US contributions with appropriate contributions of their own. The history of recent pledging conferences for United Nations preinvestment programs and of recent negotiations for an increase in the capital of the International Development Association shows that more United States resources would have been made available had other countries been willing to raise their contributions. As a rule, the United States is not willing to assume more than a 40 per cent share in the technical assistance and lending programs of the United Nations system—a share roughly proportionate to its share of the national product of UN members and a level that does not compromise the international character of these programs.

The other obvious problem about multilateral aid is the problem of control. So long as the world is torn by po-

litical divisions—so long as assistance must serve political as well as economic and humanitarian aims—there will be a limit to which the United States and other nations will be willing to channel aid through international organizations.

A recent controversy over UN assistance illustrates this point. In May, 1961, just a few weeks after the abortive landing at the Bay of Pigs, the Governing Council of the UN Special Fund approved a grant of $1 million for the expansion of an agricultural experimental station in Cuba. The United States vigorously opposed this decision. Paul Hoffman, the Managing Director of the Special Fund, defended it vigorously, as did most of the countries represented on the Governing Council, on the grounds that the charter of the Special Fund, like the charters of other UN assistance agencies, prohibits the granting or withholding of assistance on the basis of political considerations. The US representative in the Governing Council argued, however, that assistance to Cuba could not be justified under the economic and technical criteria laid down in the Special Fund's charter, in view of the chaos in Cuban agriculture that had resulted from the subordination of the economic and social welfare of the Cuban people to the narrow political aims of the Castro regime.

The failure of other United Nations members to support the United States in its opposition to the Cuban project was not caused in most cases by solicitude for Cuba, but by the fear that stopping the Cuban project would jeopardize other projects to which the Soviet Union and other countries had expressed objection. At the time of the Cuban project, the Special Fund had eleven projects, totaling $7.5 million, in Korea, Viet Nam, and the Republic of China that the Soviet Union did not like—and which have been carried out despite its misgivings.

Despite its opposition to the Cuban project, the United States has continued to support the Special Fund. The reason is clear enough: The price of participating in any political institution is that you cannot get your way all of the time. Neither the United States nor any other member of the United Nations can expect to get its way all of the time. There will be entries on the debit as well as on the credit side of the ledger. The central question is whether the credits exceed the debits, whether as a whole the institution is making a net contribution to the national interest. In the case of the Special Fund, the judgment of the United States is clearly in the affirmative.

Even in the narrowest sense, the free world has got more out of the Special Fund than it has put in, and the reverse has been true for the Communist world. At the time of the Cuban project, Communist bloc countries had contributed about $7 million dollars to the Special Fund; with the Cuban project, they had received $3 million in return. (If Yugoslavia is included, Communist contributions totaled $8 million, projects in Communist countries, $6 million.) Some 282 out of 288 Special Fund projects then authorized—involving about $248 million of a grand total of $254 million—went to the non-Communist world.

Of course the United States could insure that 100 per cent of its assistance was spent where it wished if it relied exclusively on bilateral channels. But to do this would be to sacrifice the considerable advantages of multilateral aid. The problem with multilateral and bilateral aid is obviously to try to get the best of both worlds—to maximize their advantages and minimize their disadvantages.

The history of the Cuban project helps to explain why some limits must be placed on the use of multilateral aid. The United States opposed the creation of SUNFED, the proposed Special United Fund for Economic Development, and currently opposes the creation of a capital development fund by the General Assembly, precisely because large amounts of capital aid would be disbursed under circumstances that would not assure the promotion of US foreign policy objectives. It is not merely that large amounts of aid might be given to Communist countries; it is also that the standards essential to the successful application of external aid would not be likely to be maintained.

Fortunately, the world has developed a variety of multilateral assistance institutions tailored for a variety of purposes. The Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress now engaged in the multilateral examination of the development efforts are working with growing effectiveness in the Western Hemisphere. The European Development Fund is transferring resources on a cooperative basis from members of the European Economic Community to their former African territories. The British Commonwealth has found a cooperative instrument for multilateral assistance in the Colombo Plan. The African Development Bank provides still another multilateral channel for development aid.

Beyond these essentially regional instruments, the United Nations system possesses two multilateral aid institutions of growing importance in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association. The United States and most other aid-giving countries of the free world have preferred to use the IDA for the transfer of public capital on liberal credit terms rather than a capital development fund, not merely because the weighted voting system of the International Bank applies, but also because the experienced management of the Bank is available to assure the efficient use of IDA resources. It is pragmatic considerations of this kind, rather than doctrinaire attitudes, that determine the policy of the United States and other countries—not only in the choice between bilateral and multilateral aid channels, but also in the choice between multilateral channels themselves.

The pattern of economic development assistance that has been emerging in recent years defies easy classification. It goes beyond bilateralism, but stops short of complete multilateralism, if that term is thought to mean the administration of all aid by international agencies. A large part of technical assistance and a smaller part of financial aid is now administered by the United Nations and other international organizations. For much of the rest, there is gradually emerging a kind of multilateral bilateralism, or multilateral coordination of bilateral programs, in which countries supply, on a voluntary basis, technical, financial, and commodity aid in support of projects and programs drawn up under international auspices. This pattern well serves the common interest of the United States and other countries by encouraging the maximum financial contribution from donor countries and the maximum cooperation in self-help and domestic reforms from the recipients themselves.

to be continued in December



POSSE FOR PEACE

by JOSEPH J. SISCO

DURING the disturbances in Elizabethville in December, 1962, UN troops manning checkpoints were beset by rioting Katangese women and formed a perimeter to hold them off. Suddenly a youngish matron thrust her baby into the arms of a startled Indian soldier. The UN soldier adroitly managed to hand back the baby without breaking ranks or dropping his rifle.

This kind of incident is not unique in UN experience. UN peacekeepers have often had to improvise tactics out of field manuals that are yet to be written. Since 1945 the United Nations has fought a war to repel Communist aggression (Korea), stationed military observers or forces to observe and report on cease-fires and supervise armistices (Indonesia, Palestine, Kashmir), to spotlight and report on subversive infiltration (Greece, Lebanon), to serve as a buffer (Suez), to supervise disengagement (Yemen), to backstop temporary UN administration (West New Guinea), and contribute to the restoration and maintenance of internal security (Congo and Cyprus). In most of these cases the United Nations was left holding the baby for one reason or another.

A New System of Lighting

Some brought up on classic diplomacy and on pre-Korea strategic doctrine have found it difficult to adjust to the idea that the UN can play an important role in keeping the peace. It is even more difficult to accept the thought that recourse to the UN can be a practical strategic option, usually as a supplement to the direct exercise of national power or of regional action.

The British novelist, E. M. Forster, somewhere advises modern writers that we must begin to see modern realities under a "new system of lighting." And the modern reality in the world of diplomacy which shows up most conspicuously under a "new system of lighting" is United Nations peacekeeping. It is also a reality of the modern world that the UN peacekeeping operations have served the national interest of the United States and the cause of peace.

What has happened to bring about this new look?

The Two Realms of Power

The nuclear stalemate has often meant—particularly for the great powers—that in certain crises that face the diplomat and strategist, the classic manner of exercising national power may not be desirable. Strategic doctrine must now serve a dual purpose.

To guard against the big thermonuclear war, the manifestation of power and diplomacy must continue to be direct (or through alliances): the credibility of deterrence rests on this.

But, as Governor Stevenson said in his Princeton lecture last March, in many ways we are at the end of an era of big wars and containment, and we are entering a period of limited peace and of cease-fires where little wars must be smothered before they become conflagrations, and changes must be brought about peacefully. We have discovered that the alternative to world war may not be world peace, but small wars which may threaten to get out of hand.

The two arms of this strategic doctrine are joined at the

point at which it becomes clear that nuclear war is threatened when local disputes reach a flash point.

The Triple Threat

For the past ten or fifteen years the world has been edging toward these new facts in foreign policy. Experience in UN diplomacy and UN peacekeeping suggests that there are three kinds of situations in which the UN has acted to help settle a quarrel, end low-level violence, or fill a power vacuum temporarily.

In quarrels and border disputes between small states. Sometimes these can be handled by bilateral or regional action. Sometimes not, particularly where feuds are ancient or warring parties cannot be reconciled by a regional organization. The UN can then step in to help enforce a cease-fire and engage in and promote mediation.

In situations like the Congo where internal strife threatens to draw in outside meddlers and perhaps lead to great power confrontation. The UN can help restore order.

In situations, such as Greece at the end of the 1940's and Lebanon in 1958, where subversion and infiltration needs exposure.

UN Peacekeeping Experience

Looking back at the record of UN experience with peacekeeping, several major themes emerge and are likely to be operative in the future.

The UN force is a posse, not an internationally recruited force. Each posse is made up of national contingents normally put together by the Secretary General and volunteered by the governments who are members of the UN. Each of these units remains nationally separable and their principal unity consists of donning blue helmets and being subject to the overall command of the Secretary General (accountable to the Security Council or General Assembly) and directly answerable to the UN force commander.

The range and versatility of UN peacekeeping are considerable. Peacekeeping has meant different types of forces and mandates—a handful of observers to report on compliance with cease-fires in Indonesia and Kashmir, and on a disengagement agreement in Yemen; a small Truce Supervisory group to enforce the truce on the Arab-Israel armistice lines; a 600-man observer corps to help prevent illegal infiltration in Lebanon in 1958; a security backstop for the UN temporary administration of West New Guinea; an emergency 5,000-man buffer force on the Gaza and Suez lines between Israel and Egypt; troops from 28 countries, numbering more than 20,000 at the peak, to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo; a 7,000-man force of British, Canadians, Irish, Swedes, Danes to restore order and keep the peace in Cyprus; and, the largest effort of all—in Korea—in which combat units of 16 nations were organized into a Unified UN Command under US leadership.

The mixture is not the same each time. The UN has been able to vary the geographic composition and military mixture to suit each operation. The practical problem of finding qualified personnel for a mixed force was met in the Congo: some infantry had to come from African states; technical units and specialists were needed and national establishments had to be combed for suitable personnel. In the end, the UN has succeeded in finding a workable mix and the needed skills. Some 54 countries have supplied personnel and had experience in UN operations.

Ground rules have been developed. In each case a political consensus had to be mobilized in the Security Council (involving at least the acquiescence of members not enthusiastic about the venture) or the General Assembly. The consent of the host government was needed for entry of the force. Certain ground rules were developed for the UN forces in the Middle East and the Congo which still provide the operating code of a UN force: the force must have the freedom of movement necessary to accomplish its mission; UN troops could use force in self-defense; the composition of the force must be decided by the UN, though the views of the host state are taken into account; and national contingents take orders from the UN Commander in the field, but soldiers guilty of infractions are handed over to the national unit commander for disciplining.

In each operation the US has participated. Sometimes we provided personnel—combat units in Korea and observers in Greece, UNTSO, and Kashmir—but more often we provided crucial airlift and communications and other types of logistical support. The US has paid about 40 percent of the cost of these operations. In the future the main US participation is likely to be that of providing vital logistical support and financial aid, but we are not ruling out the provision of manpower.

The UN peacekeeping task has called for extraordinary military virtues. The UN soldier, though combat-ready, must learn new skills. He must be ready to police and patrol, control mobs and rioters, assist the civil administration, investigate incidents and observe and report accurately, and serve as mediator and magistrate. He must be, as one UN Commander put it, a soldier without an enemy. This is a far cry from traditional soldiering.

A Flexible Call Up System is Practicable

The movement for the training and earmarking of standby units has made some very modest gains during the past year. This has been spurred by two facts of life about United Nations peacekeeping.

1) The members of the United Nations are not prepared to support a standing United Nations army or to give the United Nations a blank check to use their armed forces in unspecified, future operations.

2) In future peacekeeping emergencies, we should avoid or minimize delay and improvisation in assembling forces. They should be ready and trained.

An advantage of a flexible call-up system is that forces on standby are no charge on the United Nations budget. Another is that if enough countries pledge themselves to participate, the great variety of such standby forces will provide the United Nations with flexibility needed in manned peacekeeping operations.

The idea is not new, having been examined and recommended by the General Assembly in 1950. The concept was revived in President Kennedy's address to the General Assembly last year and advocated by Secretary-General U Thant in his Harvard alumni address in June 1963. Prime Minister Pearson has also been a foremost proponent of the plan.

Minute Men

The UN "Minute Men for Peace"—to borrow a tag given them by the London ECONOMIST—have become familiar figures in world trouble spots. In the realities of world power, the men in blue helmets are not likely to take the place of the British "thin red line" or the Indian *Javan* manning the Himalayan border, the South-Vietnamese G.I., or the forces of NATO on the ready. They are no substitute for direct national power, let alone for the nuclear deterrent. But they are becoming an increasingly well-suited and versatile supplement to traditional forms of power and an element in modern strategies. They can sometimes move in where direct national power is politically unacceptable. Through them the big powers on occasion can put their national prestige in storage: at times they offer the double utility of keeping the big powers out, while filling a power vacuum with politically acceptable force.

In short, UN peacekeeping has become a significant part of the world's arsenal of peace. ■

THE DESERT MAN



by HAROLD S. NELSON

A stretch of sand
A spring that's salt
An arid land
Hot black basalt

A cloudless sky
A petty breeze
A landscape wry
With Bhutum trees

A flashing rain
A burst of green
A field of grain
Pastoral scene

Orchid thistles
Bereft of scent
Spines abristle
Independent

Anemones
In flaming reds
Bending knees
And bowing heads

Complaisant reeds
Accept their lot
Wind ridden steeds
But breaking not

Iris tender
Strangely black
Tall and slender
Swing and tack

A sleek gazelle
A speedy hare
A fiery hell
A fox's fare

Wild boars snuffle
Snort at danger
Root and shuffle
Charge the stranger

A sand grouse dun
A falcon soars
The sand grouse runs
And is no more

A swaying palm
A camel tall
An ill fed lamb
A man so small

An ass that brays
A coal black tent
Some goats that graze
Female lament

A wadi deep
A clump of thorn
Some fat tail sheep
A child is born

A staring star
Watches the tell
Lest present mar
The ancient spell

A starving ghost
Gets bread and ghee
A gracious host
A glass of tea

Thus friendship's wrought
From gratitude
Which goes for naught
In passions rude

A word in jest
A woman's pride
Demands conquest
And death's the bride

True men are strong
And God is real
Good friendship's long
And bound by steel

Hate is stronger
Custom teaches
Feuds are longer
Than verbose speeches

Still'd tongues cry loud
"We want surcease
Make clean our shroud
And give us peace

"With flesh that's rent
With broken bones
With hot blood spent
With anguished moans"

The cry grows shrill
"Avenge you must
Kill, kill, until
You, too, are dust"

The tempered chains
Are torn asunder
And anger reigns
And fury thunders

An aching heart
Now split in twain
Though friend at start
Asks pain for pain

For blood once spilled
Proclaims its need
For killer, killed
With undue speed

Should fate the pay
Require be slow
The more delay
More sweet the blow

The sunshine plays
A golden light
The moon makes day
Of darkest night

Does this then keep
God's noble plan?
Poor witless sheep
Pathetic man.

TODAY'S SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS

by ROBERT A. HURWITCH

MEN who were born about the second decade of the twentieth century were destined to undergo early in life two of the most profound experiences of our times: the depression of the thirties and World War II. At impressionable ages, they saw family fortunes crash, poverty and despair prevail. They witnessed and participated in radical politics both on and off the campus, with socialism and communism earnestly debated as possible roads to new economic justice. They learned how few were post-graduation employment opportunities, and accepted any offer as a welcome alternative to idleness. Humility before seemingly uncontrollable forces contrasted sharply with earlier, romanticized visions of the individual as master not only of his own fate but of the ship of state as well.

Just when the Roosevelt program had begun to bear fruit and promised early return to prosperity, World War II gave a second, and perhaps even more profound, wrench to this generation. Millions were caught up in the call to arms. Young men learned how to measure themselves and their fellows during the ordeal of combat. They took on the responsibilities of leadership and command. The smell of danger and of death became commonplaces for them. At war's end, few remained young men.

And at war's end the United States could no longer remain a young nation. Catapulted onto the world stage as its leading player, unprepared and beset by isolationist traditions, the United States urgently needed many new men to staff out its new responsibilities in foreign affairs. Congress quickly passed legislation—the Foreign Service Act of 1946 which liberalized entry into the Foreign Service. At the same time a pool of manpower was readily available: the newly discharged "young" veterans. For some of them who had always wanted to be Foreign Service officers, the war had been an interruption in their planned careers. For most, however, the war had brought new horizons, and diplomacy and the Foreign Service offered a meaningful opportunity to continue to serve the nation, with perhaps the silent hope that, if successful, one's children need not necessarily share the same fate of war that previous generations had experienced with all too steady regularity. Also, government employment seemed to offer the security which past experience had demonstrated the business world did not. Whatever their motivation, the immediate post-war years witnessed these unusually mature young men swelling the ranks of the Foreign Service at a time when the nation, to meet the demands of world leadership, most needed them.

Given the dangers of generalization (especially with respect to as varied and individualistic a group as Foreign Service officers), it may not, nevertheless, be amiss to suggest that these new FSOs were in several senses different men from those who comprised the pre-war entering classes. Nearly all were in their late twenties when they entered the Service, and brought to the Service more varied social backgrounds than had those who entered prior to the passage of the Act of '46. Their depression and war experiences had fostered an unwonted maturity and had tempered their outlooks with a sense of humility and compasssion. Many had gained new insights into the complexity of the broad social forces operative in the world and had become cognizant of forces beyond individual control. Concomitantly they were skeptical of the advocates of "virtuous character and hard work" as the sole solution to world problems.

During the nearly twenty years that have elapsed since war's end most of these veterans have risen to the senior ranks of the Service. They will very likely continue to advance and to play key roles in United States diplomacy during the coming fifteen to twenty years.

One cannot help but think that this depression and war generation imparts a special shape and texture to today's diplomacy. The broad view of the present-day world would seem to be more nearly theirs: self-interest enlightened by an understanding of the wide dimensions of the area wherein interest lies. The aspirations and problems of the developing world, for example, evoke an intuitively sympathetic response in them. Our economic and technical assistance programs are, for them, not only useful political tools but, perhaps more importantly, are manifestations of the deep belief that our welfare and destiny do not depend upon ourselves alone. Their favorable predisposition toward participation in regional international organizations and in the United Nations derives from a similar recognition of interdependence and of the limitations of national power.

Keenly aware of the threat that communism poses for our survival, today's senior FSOs reject the simplistic view that all communists are foreign political freaks or are witting members of a world-wide conspiracy (at one time in the past, one's neighbors may have been among them). They know how despair and frustration can be played upon by the communists until salvation in the future appears to lie only in the violent uprooting of the present. With perception born of early knowledge of communist tactics, they are able to distinguish quickly between concepts of social justice as valid national goals and as a facade for the power politics of the Soviet Union. Comprehension of the attractions, both subtle and otherwise, of Communist nostrums places them in an advantageous position to combat them.

Nor is the military world a mystery to them. When so many of today's critical diplomatic problems require for their solution the careful melding of political and military resources, war-time military experience has proved an asset for senior diplomats. The Pentagon idiom and outlook are less alien; joint planning encounters fewer obstacles. And if in political-military planning, these "veteran" FSOs persistently seek the goal of avoiding the use of force whenever possible, this aim stems more from aversion to the known than from fear of the unknown.

If depression and war experiences distinguish today's senior diplomats from yesterday's, they create a similar gap with respect to tomorrow's as well. Today's middle grade and junior officers, born in the late twenties, the thirties, and some in the forties can sense only vicariously through the pages of history texts or by some other indirect route the events that have marked today's senior officers. These younger men have in turn, however, brought different backgrounds to the Service and, undoubtedly, will eventually leave their own distinctive imprints upon the substance and style of US diplomacy. ■

A brief, composite portrait of my colleagues in the Sixth Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy—with apologies to the Seminar's two lady participants.

THE RUSSIAN YOU DON'T HEAR

by LEWIS A. HARLOW

Describing the tonal quality of a language (as opposed to its structure or syntactical peculiarities) is a difficult feat. But the author of this article actually succeeds in pinning down the timbre of Russian for those who don't know the language.



"When I was a boy, we went to Church every Sunday."

WHAT does Russian sound like? It is not guttural like German—or sing-song like Chinese—or roller-coasterish like Swedish. If you are to identify Russian, there are two clues to listen for.

The first is the hiss effect. Russian is a sibilant language, full of s's and z's and sh's and zh's and ch's and shch's and ts's and the like. This is pure coincidence, and not the result of some physiological difference between the Russians and ourselves. Examples? *Tovarish, Khrushchev, borsht, babushka, tsar, Tchaikovsky, Minsk, Pinsk, Smolensk, Dneprodzerzhinsk.*

The second clue is that Russian is full of "y" sounds. The Russian alphabet boasts a double set of vowels, a conventional A-E-I-O-U group like ours and also a duplicate set which begin with "y" sounds—YA-YE-YI-YO-YU. These "soft" vowels are actually single letters in the Russian alphabet. Examples? The Russian spelling of their popular word "nyet" is n-e-t. They pronounce *Soviet* as we do, but they spell it S-o-v-e-t, using their soft E. In SonYA and YUgoslaviYA, the YA and the YU are single letters—again the soft vowels which give the language its y-ish coloring.

If your curiosity extends beyond this point, you will next want to see what you have been hearing. What does the Russian language look like?

The first barrier is the alphabet, and its appearance is a discouraging start toward the learning of the language. Actually the Russian alphabet is easy if the project of learning it is not cluttered by distractions. Five of the letters look and sound as you think they should. Five more of them

Those who have followed the author's penetrating remarks on the Russian language might be tempted to try out their knowledge with the television. But, according to the author, understanding television doings is hard indeed—even when Russian bears are doing the talking.



"Rocked in the cradle of the deep."



"And I said to her, 'Vera,' I said."



"Please be seated. The doctor will see you presently."



"You'll be needing a new hot water tank and new piping all over."



"Boss, there's some kind of a Chinaman knocking at the back door."



"A funny thing happened when I was on the way to the theatre."

look familiar, but the Russians cross us up and use them for other familiar sounds. (For instance, the Russian sound of N is written as a letter like an English H.) The remainder of the Russian letters are home-designed or borrowed from the Greeks, and these will take a little learning—but surprisingly little. All of the letters in the Russian alphabet call for sounds similar to those we make and use in our own language.

You doubt that it is easy? You question that it can be learned—say—in a couple of hours? Take your good English dictionary and turn to the listing "alphabets." Here you will find a chart comparing the English with the Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Russian. Write your own name in Russian. Print it in Russian capital letters. Then write the names of relatives and friends and any other familiar English words you can think of. Stay with the project for two hours. At the end of the time you will have a pretty good working knowledge of the Russian alphabet.

From an experience that started in just this way, here is the lowdown on the Russian language. None of it will be advice from the so-called "native-born Russian" who has learned his language in easy stages from infancy; he is not qualified to pass judgment on the learning of it by the native-born American who must take it in rather large lumps starting at age twenty or beyond. Here is the Russian language from the American point of view. What is easy? What is difficult? What is stimulating and rewarding after a brief struggle? What is just plain dull? The average is on the plus side.

Pronunciation is not one of the annoying problems of the language. To pronounce correctly, you must know only three things: 1, the spelling of the word; 2, which syllable to accent; 3, a few rules, such as the one that D is always pronounced like T when it is on the end of a word. There are no problems like ours where we pronounce *women* as "wimmin"—or we pronounce *read* one way if we do it today and quite another if we did it yesterday—or we must choose between the a's in *can* and *cane* and *car* and *care* and *call*. Russian pronunciation is straightforward. In the whole language, there are less than a dozen words that are pronounced unpredictably.

Frustrating at first are the clusters of consonants which seem to collect on the beginnings of certain Russian words. Some of these sound effects are not heard in English speech, but this is just coincidence. You can pronounce them readily, once you are accustomed to the feeling of them. Try these three for practice: *fstretch, mnoise, kmother.* Two minutes of practice will do it, and this is equally true of anything else the Russians ask you to pronounce. The beginner's most common mistake is carelessness. The Russian YE looks like the English E, and you forget to include the "y" sound. *Net?*

Accent (which syllable gets stressed) is not easy. On words that the Russians have borrowed from us, and there are many of them, they seem perversely to put the acCENT on the wrong sylLABle. Perhaps this is their way of Russianizing the words. On words of their own, they of course have the right to accent as they please, but with many of their commoner words they practice the nasty habit of shifting the accent depending on how the word is used in the sentence. There is no logic to this, and there are no rules to cover it. Every word is strictly on its own. The beginner at Russian is quite frustrated, and even after he has studied the language for four or five years, every time he resorts to a dictionary he must learn (1) the meaning, (2) the spelling and consequent pronunciation, and (3) does the accent shift under special circumstances. In this respect, English is much easier.

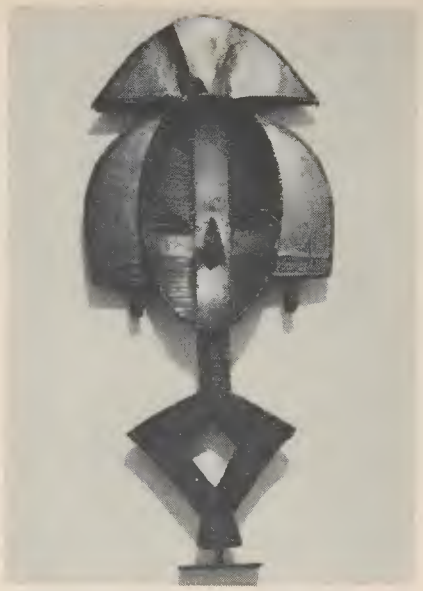
Spelling, on the other hand, is easier in Russian. Like

(Continued on page 43)

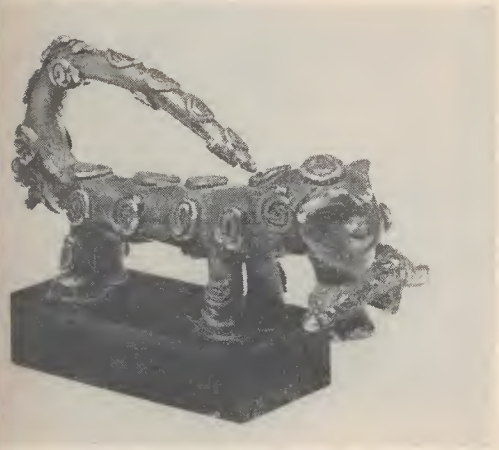
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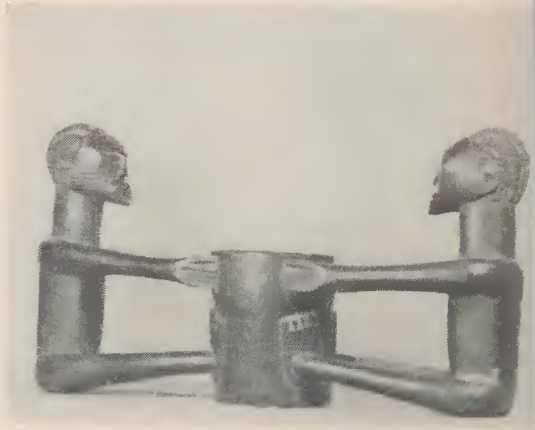
Ivory Coast Senufo tribe, Ancestor figure, wood, height 41". Collection of Chaim Gross.



Gabon, Bakota tribe, Mortuary figure, brass plates on wood, height 25". Collection of Alan Sawyer.



Ghana, Ashanti tribe, Brass figure used for weighing gold, length 2". Collection of Alan Sawyer.



Congo (Leopoldville) Basonge tribe, Ceremonial cup with two figures, wood, length 21". Collection of Emil Arnold.



Congo (Leopoldville) Bapende tribe, Helmut mask, wood, height 11½". Museum of African Art, gift of Harold Rome.





Ghana, Ashanti tribe, Brass gold weight, length 2½". Collection of Alan Sawyer.

Ivory Coast, Baule tribe, Weaving pulley, wood, height 10". Museum of African Art, gift of Harold Rome.

EDITORIAL

A GLANCE AT THE SIFTING PROCESS

THE eighteenth Selection Boards have been convened and are currently hard at work reviewing the personnel files. This year the new emphasis on functional specialization is being applied to promotions and we therefore read the thirty-five pages of precepts for the Boards and the article in the August NEWSLETTER with particular care. We came away, asking ourselves a lot of questions.

As we understand it, two new steps are being taken. All officers in classes III through VI are being ranked within their specialty and then subsequently ranked within their class. Secondly, special boards have been set up to evaluate personnel in specialized or technical functions. The NEWSLETTER explains the procedures the Selection Boards will follow, and it appears to us that the system will necessarily be very elaborate. We were pleased to see that the general directive which the Boards are to follow appears to stress the traditional factors on which officers have been evaluated over the years. It therefore remains to be seen whether the new procedures will have any significant effect on officer promotion and selection-out. We are inclined to believe that the new procedures will turn up the same criteria of excellence and that the same officers will be promoted as would have been promoted under the old system. What concerns us about the new method is the degree to which it appears to involve greater administrative participation in the promotion system. Who is to decide how many administrative officers in Class III should be included with other officers in the list recommended for promotion or how many consular officers in Class VI? Given the flexibility the Department has and must have in changing the level of positions, we question the validity of promotions based on an arbitrary estimate of position levels. This type of administrative decision can have far reaching effects on the Service and we should be interested to know how the ratio of promotions in each specialization within a class will be arrived at. We have yet to meet an officer who can explain how the cut-off line for promotions has been reached in the past. Last year, for reasons we do not understand, more officers went from Class II to Class I than went from Class III to Class II. This year two decisions will have to be made—first, how many officers in each class are to be promoted and second, how many officers within each specialty within a class are to be promoted. We are confident that the Boards will do their work wisely and impartially, but we wish we knew more about the manner in which related decisions affecting every officer in the Service will be made.

ANOTHER STEP FORWARD

THE Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes the recent announcement of steps to be taken toward the integration of Foreign Service Career Reserves from the United States Information Agency into the regular Foreign Service Corps. The Association anticipated this move last year by making our USIA colleagues full voting members of the Association.

The Foreign Service Act established a Foreign Service of the United States, not of any one particular Department or Agency. The foreign policy which the US Government pursues in the world today requires the involvement of virtually every Department and Agency of the US Government. We need a total US foreign policy to cope with the problems of today. The State Department's role is that of the chief agent for the President in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. It seems logical therefore that career officers who are carrying out US foreign policy abroad on behalf of other agencies with broad responsibilities such as USIA and AID should not only come under the authority of the Ambassador but should be integrated to the extent possible with the Foreign Service. The logical first step is the association with USIA because, like the State Department, its involvement is completely oriented to overseas activities. This move seems to us to be a step in the right direction. In making it, both the Department and the United States Information Agency showed an understanding of the needs of the US Government as a whole and exercised commendable wisdom in making arrangements to serve that interest.

A YEAR OF GROWTH

IN a traditional democratic ceremony the Foreign Service Association at its annual meeting in September endorsed the electoral slate of new officers which was presented to it. On other pages of this issue there will be found photographs and brief biographies of the newly elected officers. Two interesting sidelights to the election might be noted. Among our officers we now have three ambassadors: President Samuel D. Berger, Vice President Murat Williams, as well as Ambassador H. Freeman Matthews who has been asked to continue on the Board of Directors. Also worthy of note is the fact that among the candidates receiving the highest number of votes were two women officers.

The JOURNAL welcomes these new officers and is proud of the long record of service and the high caliber of the people who have been chosen to head the Association for the coming year. To repeat a truism, the Association can never be better than its members and leaders want it to be.

The newly elected officers face a real challenge. Under the able leadership of U. Alexis Johnson as President and Marshall Green as Vice President, the Association has registered great accomplishments in the past year. The Board adopted the concept of fellows in diplomacy. It opened the rolls to corresponding members whose long experience and keen interest in foreign affairs will complement the professional skills of the corps. The Board initiated a committee on career principles and started plans for an annual symposium, but wisely left the selection of personnel and the working-out of detailed plans for the new Board of Directors. In the process it might be said that Alex Johnson and Marshall Green wore out three chairmen of the Board: the Honorable Taylor Belcher, now Ambassador to Cyprus, Lee Brady, now Counselor of Embassy in Paris, and Tom Beale, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration. In truth, it should be admitted that duty called, but it was a tribute to the Board itself and the high quality of its continuing leadership that all of these innovations moved steadily forward. Not the least of these was the encouragement which the Board consistently gave to the JOURNAL in its efforts to improve the magazine in both content and format. To provide continuity in these directions the electors wisely decided to carry over five members of the old Board: Tom Beale, Nat Davis, Ben Weiner, and Nuel L. Pazdral, as well as Ambassador H. Freeman Matthews. We are sure the new officers will pick up the challenge and continue the work in progress toward giving the Association and its JOURNAL the stature which they both deserve. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

"He sometimes imagined himself as 'The Commander.'"

"He compared himself with the great leaders of history."

"There was some quality about him that led him to act with an apparent disregard for possible consequences."

"For a motive that appears incomprehensible to other men may be the moving force of a man whose view of the world may have been twisted, possibly by factors of which those around him were only dimly aware."

Thus the Warren Report on Lee Harvey Oswald. After ransacking the evidence, the report presents an imposing reconstruction of Oswald's character. An unexpected merit of the long narrative (considering the little time available for rewriting) is the high quality of the prose.

"Report of the President's Commission of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy"—to give it its official title—finds that Oswald and Oswald alone was the killer. No evidence can be found to support the theory of a conspiracy.

The report, despite its massive authority, will probably not convince all those who *prefer* to believe in a conspiracy. The history of jurisprudence is littered with those who never permit evidence to demolish their own beliefs.

The conspiracy theory is very popular in Europe and will probably remain so. Directly after the release of the Report, a British group styling itself, "The British Committee, Who Killed Kennedy?" sent a letter to the Manchester GUARDIAN condemning the Report as "a parade of altered evidence, sheer distortion and fabrication." "The British Committee, Who Killed Kennedy?" dashed off the letter without reading the Report. On the group's letterhead one sees the name of Earl Russell (of course) and a flock of other names, illustrious in letters and science. Five of these eminentissimi hastily disavowed "the wild condemnation" of the Report but Russell (of course) stuck to his guns. As Descartes said, "The greatest minds are capable of the greatest vices as well as of the greatest virtues." Or, as Gladstone said, "The heated mind resents the chill touch and relentless scrutiny of logic."

The conspiracy theory is also surviving well in France. Frenchmen hug the illusion that they are the most logical people on earth. A French newspaper explained everything: "We continue to believe there was a conspiracy because this belief is most logical." *Vive la logique* and to hell with the evidence!

In this country a few have been known to bewail the lack of a solidly constructed motive. They are asking for something that Oswald himself, had he lived to stand trial, may have been unable to supply. Anyone who ever spent a day in a police court or who ever read a Dostoevski novel will have no difficulty in understanding the complicated mechanism that was Oswald. He was a monstrous little man with a vaulting ego and a poor little brain. His twisted smile betrayed his twisted vanity. When the monstrous little man in the fatal moment took aim to wipe out the life of a President, he could have been driven by a dozen different motives or a dozen impulses too ill defined to bear the name of motive. All the jerky frustrations, resentments and day dreams of a lifetime may have reached a climax in that moment. As one studies the portrait of Oswald in detail, one must reject the initial impression of a weak character. He was probably one of the most stupendous malefactors of our era.

Already a Best-Seller

Rarely has a peacetime news story captured so much newspaper space as the release of the Warren Commission Report. To give only one example: the New York TIMES, in its issue of September 20, published 34 columns on the report and a special supplement of 48 pages. The Government Printing Office sales department which put out two editions (paperback $2.50 and hardcover for $3.25) had to stay open every evening until 9 o'clock to cope with the rush of buyers. Since the demand increased during the week, the shop stayed open on Saturday for the first time in its history. Oddly enough, the more expensive edition sold better than the paperback. Many customers seemed to feel that they were buying a historical document.

In addition to the government issued books, two commercial publishers have put out paperbacks: the Popular Library and Bantam Books. The Bantam contains not only the Report but four interpretative articles by New York TIMES staff members. Three more hardcover editions will soon make their appearance, one by the Associated Press, one by Doubleday and finally the Bantam Book will be put into a hardcover by McGraw-Hill and the Book-of-the-Month-Club. Printing orders so far have totaled 2,175,000. But by the time you read this the figure will be vastly higher.

P.S. Members of the Foreign Service Association will be able to order the Doubleday or the McGraw-Hill book through the Association at the usual discount.

Degrees of Riskiness

The Department of State was accused by J. Edgar Hoover of having pronounced Oswald "a thoroughly safe risk." The charge was denied but someone should have protested that no Foreign Service officer would be capable of perpetrating that illiterate phrase, "a thoroughly safe risk."

"Greatest Actress in the World"

Richard Burton recently remarked, according to a columnist, "My wife is not the greatest actress in the world. She's second after Dame Edith Evans."

Let's refrain from all comment on Burton's second actress and limit ourselves to Edith Evans. Many people will agree with Burton. The great Evans career has spanned more than half a century. It has compassed such diverse plays as "Romeo and Juliet" (the nurse), "Back to Methuselah" and "The Lady with a Lamp." One of her greatest performances was in the role of Lady Bracknell in "The Importance of Being Earnest."

This is a preface to saying that Edith Evans is currently visible in a movie made from Enid Bagnold's play, "The Chalk Garden." It's making the rounds everywhere and anyone who wishes to see a superlative demonstration of acting in the post-Duse tradition should see it.

Cro-Magnon Table d'Hote in the White House

Our campaign in behalf of the cook-in has suffered a setback. The President of the United States invited 71 Congressmen to a cook-out on the roof of the White House. Huge charcoal grills were flown in from Texas and the steaks came from Nebraska. Each guest was allowed to say how he wanted it, rare, medium or well done. Since we condemn society editors for withholding menus from the customers, we must not open ourselves to

the same charge. The Congressmen, in addition to the Nebraska steaks, got baked potatoes, lima beans with mushrooms, corn pudding, broiled tomatoes with watereress garnish, Freneh bread, green salad, peean pie, cheese eake.

After this encouragement from the President there has been a resurgence of the cook-out. And this despite the fact that Autumn is in the air, leaves are falling faster than rakes can cope with them, and overcoats are emerging from cupboards. It would seem that not even a snowfall will be able to curb the cook-out mania.

Sober but Stumbling

"The Night of the Stubbed Toes" is the Washington STAR's label for the night of October 5, when the temperature dropped suddenly to 40°. The newspaper's definition: "an annual phenomenon brought on by a ritualistic rummaging of closets in the darkness in search of blankets."

Award of the Month

The Washington Letter's achievement award for November goes to Emma White, a 53-year-old lady, who, feeling rather chilly in the first winds of Autumn, popped into an open-all-night laundromat, and crawled eozily into a dryer. There she was found, sound asleep in the morning and carted off by the police. One reason for giving her the award is to solace her for the judge's disobliging remark. "Sleeping in dryers," said he, "is disorderly conduct." The harmless pleasure of sleeping in a dryer is now proscribed. One can't say it too often, our liberties are being taken from us one by one.

The Dogs' Ears Again

The Bible is getting into the political eampaign. William Miller, eandidate for viee president, says that while President Johnson bolstered one of his points in a speech by quoting the Book of Proverbs, he "earefully avoided" 26.17. Aecording to Mr. Miller, 26.17 goes like this. "As he that takcth a dog by the ears, so is he that passeth by in anger and meddleth with another man's quarrel."

The text, while admittedly slick for Mr. Millcr's purpose, defies all our rcsearch. We can't run down the origin. The King James says, "He that passeth by and meddleth with strife belonging not to him is like one that takcth a dog by the ears." And the Revised, "He that meddles in a quarrel not his own is like one who takes a passing dog by the ears."

All Aboard for Outer Space

Mr. Robert Paekard is the Department of State's offieer in eharge of outer space affairs. Mr. Packard is a pleasant, urbane man who turned 45 on October 26. Considering the empyreal seope of his power he is a man of singularly equable temperament. If you are not impressed by this, think of what mere terrestrial power did to Genghis Khan, to Tamerlane, to Torquemada, to Elsa Maxwell. Even quieter types, given Mr. Paekard's seat, would probably send at least 20 people a day to outer space. "Let me see now, there's Mareia Trombley who has told everyone for the third time how she won the bathing beauty contest at Lake Winnebago . . . put her in capsule 5." . . . "That fellow, McKnish, who thinks it's cute to make annotations on the margins of other peoples' books, capsule 6 for him." "And eapsule 7 for Hortense Grosvenor who gave her guests martinis made with sweet vermouth." . . . "And . . . .

Breakdown on Foreign Correspondents

What eountry sends the largest swarm of foreign eorrespondents to Washington? The answer, according to George Kennedy in the Washington STAR is Japan, whose delegation totals twenty-eight. Second on the list is Great Britain with nincteen. Others: Germany, seventeen; France, fifteen; Canada, fourteen; Italy, six; Nationalist China, five; Korea, five; Sweden, five; USSR, five; India, four; Israel, two. There are 166 in all.

One Reason for Moving

Silver-foxy type to Connecticut Avenue bus driver: "Will this bus take me to Jackie Kennedy's home . . . She did *what*? . . . She *moved*? It just isn't fair after all the traveling I've done."

Good News For Fathers

Many parents have collected the delusion that they will lose a tax exemption if junior takes in more than $600 at his summer job. That's not the way it works at all. The law says that parents of full-time students are entitled to claim an exemption for a student with summer employment so long as they contribute more than half of the student's support. If this subject concerns you, you would be well advised to consult a tax expert because there are several twists in the law's intricacics that could ease your tax burden.

Gratifying Status Quo

It is comforting to know that some good things know how to resist change. Members of DACOR were asked if they liked the DACOR BULLETIN as it is, or would they like to jazz it up? Ninety per cent opted for the BULLETIN as it is. Before us is Volume XII, Number 7, a perfect little job in eontent and presentation.

All the issues eontain preeisely what one would like to know about the goings-on of DACOR and its members. To alter it would have been to succumb to ehange merely for change's sake. ■

Life and Love in the Foreign Service — by Robert W. Rinden



"Besides wear and tear on nylons, what other special expenses should we include in the cost-of-living report?"

I Led At Least 3 Lives



It was a cold, rainy morning in January, and Memorial Bridge was like a great cat asleep upon the fog of the Potomac. The walk from the parking lot to the lobby of the Foreign Service Institute had left my hair beaded with chilled raindrops. At least, I reflected, on a day like this my trenchcoat would not seem melodramatic.

It was the first day of the Introductory Course. Most of the others beginning their Foreign Service careers appeared as much victims of trepidation as I—for different reasons, of course. But one of the younger class members, a crewcut lad, had obviously buried his trepidation in gall. When he clapped me on the shoulder and cried, "Hi there! Are you one of us too?"—I was visibly shaken, for the moment. (*Which* group did he mean? I thought back quickly to the various briefing sessions I had attended in the last few weeks, but could not recall the crewcut person's being present. At least, I concluded, *he* is not one of *us*.) I recovered my composure, and at length discovered that the "us" he referred to was Kappa Sigma fraternity—which, by the wildest of coincidences, actually had three brethren in this class. My crewcut classmate was taken aback to learn not only that I had gone to Princeton, but that Princeton did not have a chapter of Kappa Sigma. (Actually I went to a small Methodist school in Texas, but that item left my biography several covers ago.)

I left him exchanging experimental handshakes with latecomers, and went about my own serious business. After all, I had to begin my Reports that night. For I was not—as you have deduced—what I seemed.

Before I go on with my story, let me fill you in. I must say, at the start, that only a series of improbable occurrences could have led me to divulge the truth. (It so happens that at the moment of writing I am at the bottom of the strangest possible series of wildly improbable occurrences.) My only hope is that the right people will read this.

As I said, I was ostensibly a first-day member of the Introductory Course in good standing. Ha! Let us go back a year *before*, to a cold rainy January morning, when Key Bridge was like a sleeping cat upon the yellow fog of the Potomac. I wore my trenchcoat that day too, but so did everyone else in the windowless room off a guarded corridor in a fenced-in building. (Ultimately it got so warm in the windowless room we all had to take off our trenchcoats.) This was, as you may have guessed, An Other Agency, or AOA, justly celebrated in song and story. I was present that day to begin the long, briefed climb, from cover to cover, that was finally to make me an undercover AOA man in the Foreign Service.

It was not, our briefer explained that January day, that AOA did not trust State. Of course not. However, it had become clear in the momentous years since the war that Intelligent Foreign Policy was a job for experts, for professionals, for dedicated, fully trained men. A job, in short, for AOA. (The final plan was to infiltrate until State was completely staffed by AOA men, then make State the administrative section of AOA. Even high-echelon AOA men were unaware of this master plan—but I had my *own* sources of information.)

Our job was, the briefing continued, to spend a year developing a perfect cover, coming up for air only to take the Foreign Service Entrance Examinations. (Unfortunately, the Board of Examiners spoiled this plan by passing over several perfectly groomed candidates in favor of non-AOA bumpkins from Badger Basin, Wyoming, Yakutat, Alaska, and similar unlikely locales; we had to resort to lateral entry.) As you can imagine, there were many chortles during the briefing at our good joke on State. Little did my AOA classmates know that I was furtively chuckling at my own private joke. You see, even at the AOA briefing, I was not what I seemed.

Let us go back a year before *that*, to a cold, rainy January morning when Fourteenth Street Bridge was lousy with traffic. I had been driven, blindfolded part of the way, to a mysterious building out from town. Inside a sumptuous Renaissance room (which, I later learned, had been imported brick by brick at fabulous cost from San Simeon, California) a liveried butler took my blindfold and trenchcoat. I sat down with my new colleagues, helped myself from the carafe of champagne by my chair, and gasped as the briefer—a great man whose name you would recognize instantly—made clear the insidious plot.

My Employers planned to infiltrate the Foreign Service, just as they planned to infiltrate all other agencies. I was a link in a cunningly wrought chain that was to bind up all the Government in my Employers' hands. (Their Machiavellian cunning was demonstrated in the fact that, far from going directly into the Foreign Service, thus leaving no cutoff between me and my Employers, I was to enter clandestinely *through AOA*.) Within ten years, perfect control by my Employers would be assured.

As the grand scheme unfolded, I began to wonder if all this was right, was safe, was truly American. But all doubt disappeared when I heard the briefer utter this homely phrase: "Trust us, men, we're sound as the dollar." Instantly we knew who the Employers were—the Bureau of the Budget!

Now, two years later, I had entered the Introductory Course, and had begun (in Kipling's memorable phrase) The Great Game.

I survived the Introductory Course, Kappa Sigmas and all. In my innocent way, I thought it hard work, because I had to pass up all the class parties to sit home and do my Reports. In reality, the hard times lay ahead.

I did not know—then—whether Personnel was infiltrated, and so wondered if my first assignment, to Administration, was by direction or by default—all my classmates having sought political jobs. (Like many others, they did not know where Power lies.) I quickly found that I was in Administration by direction: there was *so much* to report on.

Unfortunately, in addition to my daily AOA Reports and my weekly BOB Reports, my job consisted in doing monthly Administrative Reports. I found myself overworked. My boss inquired about my perpetual haggard air, and I was forced to say I had personal problems. (Normally a bad excuse—possible security investigation. But I happened to *know* that Security was infiltrated.)

In this atmosphere of unreality and overwork, I burrowed into a routine: daily, see my AOA contact (who had a plausible cover as a janitor), handing over the AOA report; Mondays, see my BOB contact (well concealed as an Assistant Secretary) and hand that report in; and between times, work hard enough to satisfy my boss (an old-line FSO who had not yet admitted that USIA existed, much less AOA). I began to feel inadequate.

Worse, I found my schizophrenic existence susceptible to divided loyalties. I *respected* the Assistant Secretary, and loved to hand him an especially meaty piece. But I *liked* the janitor, and glowed at his toothy smile when I passed along some juicy tidbit of information. I could not resist the temptation to withhold from AOA in order to get the Assistant Secretary's nod of "well done"—or withhold from BOB in order to get that jolly grin.

Worse yet: I formed friendships with several FSOs, and found myself sympathetic to their pathetic assurance that *they* were controlling foreign policy. One black day I began to withhold compromising information from both AOA and BOB. That was the top of the slide.

My slide was sped by two encounters. First, the Man in Mufti (I never knew his name). A tall gentleman, of West Point bearing, he asked for a match just after I had made my daily janitorial contact. Caught off guard, I was drawn into conversation, and soon found myself chatting freely over a brandy and soda at a nearby beanery. He seemed to know a great deal about me—he had apparently penetrated two covers, with three or four still solid—and I became suspicious. He quickly came to the point. He wanted me to enter the secret employ of the Department of Defence!

I was deeply offended—not to speak of shaken at the thought of still another set of Reports—and luxuriated in righteous indignation against DOD. My defense of the integrity of the Foreign Service was eloquent. The Man in Mufti departed, his hearing bent. But I was disturbed.

The second encounter, more shattering, was the Diplomat. I first met him late at night in the State basement parking lot. (Even AOA had failed to get me a parking permit, but BOB came through.) Both our briefcases were bulging. I knew why *I* was leaving so late, with homework yet to do: my Reports. But why *him?* After several late evening meetings, my suspicions were confirmed one day when I saw my man strolling jauntily down the corridors over at AOA. This was damning, for I know AOA, and AOA men do not work late at night as this man had been doing.

I made inquiries. Investigations started. They showed only that he was a loyal American, a solid AOA man. It was rumored that he was being considered for an undercover assignment in State—mark of a comer.

I was not satisfied. I reported to BOB. Now a real investigation began, with money no object. At last the chilling truth came out: the Diplomat was an FSO working undercover in AOA—infiltration in reverse!

The implications were enormous. State was striking back! What had appeared to be simple takeover suddenly became real guerrilla warfare—with me on the firing line. (I have not heard, where I am now, whether the Diplomat was assigned by AOA *back* to the Foreign Service. If he was, just imagine the Reports!)

My crisis of conscience began. Doubts, fears, suspicions multiplied. I even began to suspect that my boss knew. And certain cafeteria conversations made me wonder if my FSO friends were hinting discreetly that I consider working for State as a double agent!

My work suffered. My Reports suffered.

One night I had a dream. The janitor was sitting reading my BOB Report with his feet on the Assistant Secretary's desk, while that gentleman was sweeping from the carpet torn pieces of my AOA Report. From the men's room a security guard appeared—he was the Man in Mufti in disguise—and identified himself as an undercover recruiter for the Chamber of Commerce. "Not COC!" I screamed, and awoke in a sweat with visions of alphabetic triplets marching into infinity, all clad in trenchcoats: AOA, BOB, COC, DOD . . . .

The denouement was surprisingly simple. The day after my dream my boss, leering, assigned me to prepare the budget request for the entire Bureau of Administration. The Report load became too much. I nearly broke down—perhaps I did. At any rate, I finished the budget request, and the same night finished my daily AOA Report and my weekly BOB Report.

What did I do? I gave the AOA Report to my boss, the BOB Report to the janitor, and the budget request to the Assistant Secretary.

Doom!

I realized that night what I had done, and admitted to myself that there was nothing to do but await the ax. I was prepared for prison, for a firing squad, for—anything except what happened.

A nerve-wracked week later, my boss called me in, smiled grimly, and handed me an envelope. I rushed to my desk and opened it. Subpoena? Death sentence? No. It was a letter from Personnel, announcing my reassignment to the smallest, dampest, hottest consular post in the world. Thus doth the Foreign Service wreak its vengeance!

I rushed to AOA, but my pass was no longer valid. I ran to the janitor, but he kept pushing his broom. I pushed my way to the Assistant Secretary's desk, but he merely observed that my budget estimate was extravagantly overestimated. I went to my boss, babbling incoherently about triple allegiance, double agents, and All Working for the Same Government. He gave me a long talk about the elite nature of the Foreign Service, the duty to take any assignment for the Good of the Service, and the importance of visa officers in small damp hot consulates.

Doom!

Friends, it is indeed hot here. I have written letters to you, telephoned, sent packages to the janitor. You have not answered.

It is hot, friends, and damp visa applications cover my desk. I appeal to you in this public form as the last means of reaching you. Infiltrate me elsewhere, do what you will, but do not desert me here. AOA—BOB—don't forget me.

Help! ■



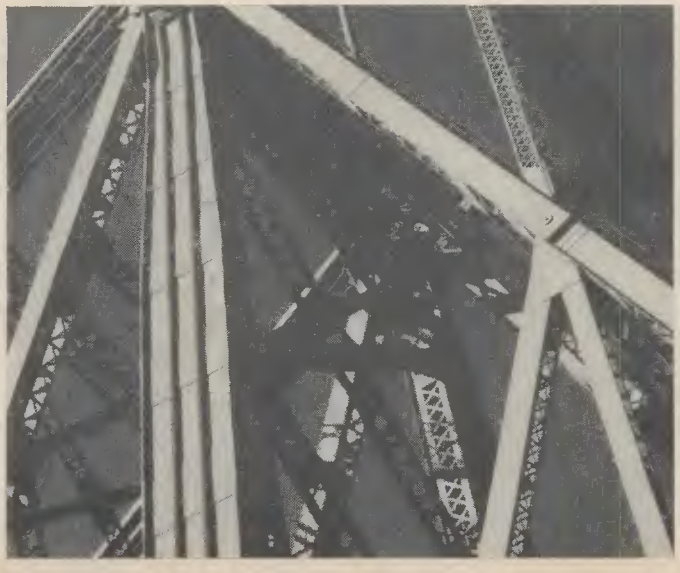
BEHIND THE SHUTTER

PART VI

by PAUL CHILD

EMOTION CAN BE CAUSED BY STRUCTURE. A sense of excitement is almost inherent in a composition based on diagonals. Horizontal suresses usually give a sense of calm.





THE PRECARIOUS GAIT

by MARY STUART

THE promotion list finally came out! (One must always start an essay with a compelling sentence. The above is the Foreign Service equivalent of that old literary come-on "'Hell,' said the Duchess. . .") Now that I have your attention riveted, let us consider together this awesome subject, so fraught with emotional overtones and undertones; dripping from it, seaweed-like, hostilities, repressions, agonies and who-knows-what guilt.

There are many ways to regard the promotion list. Like Cyrano, we can flourish several responses. The subject has epic grandeur, with its screams of damned souls caught forever in Classes Three and Four, contrapuntal background music for the swelling drama.

"But," say Eight, Seven, Six, and Five, "What about us? The monstrous language requirements: Portuguese in Canada, Italian in South Africa, Swahili never to be used anywhere. What about the way we are Moved, Juggled, Disregarded?"

Two replies stiffly, "At least you have not been led to the top of the mountain and shown the Promised Land, and then, like Moses, denied entry."

Between his sobs, One says, "Nobody sympathizes with a One. When you have been an Ambassador, be it ever so small an Ambassador, but still a *real* Ambassador, how can you be so disregarded!" They join in chorus: "No future. No future. No future."

They are all so right. The great majority, if by "future" you mean the top, have no future. There is *very* little room at the top.

How do you handle this melancholy idea which pops into the mind somewhere during the thirties or early forties, this idea you will probably not achieve the summit? Over the years I have seen carefree Foreign Service Officers suddenly struck with it, suddenly regarding their peers covertly, measuring themselves, estimating their bosses, figuring their chances.

And then the promotion list.

"I didn't make it this year. I haven't got what it takes." (Impenetrable gloom.)

"Did you notice how Joe Doakes was on it *again? He's* never served at an inconspicuous post." (He never has.)

"I was clobbered by my McCarthy-type boss." (He was.)

"Promotions for John Smith, hunh! Got himself shot twice with poisoned arrows. For that I'd even save a LIFE photographer." (He would.)

"It's the system. Something ought to be done to reorganize." (This is where we all came in.)

"If it weren't for those Wristonees . . . They're an undigested mass in a torpid boa constrictor."

"Remember when the Service was a career for Gentlemen?" (Even this bubbles to the surface.)

"Mike Jones, that stupid son-of-a-gun! How did he get on the list!" (You may well ask.)

It is easy to see that the sympathy of the writer is with you all: poor, unpromoted Foreign Service officers. The system is unfair, unappreciative, cruel. Not that so many undeserving get elevated, but that so many deserving do not: the hard-working, the conscientious, the intellectually honest (such rarities, she-in-hasty-parentheses-cried), the patriotic. Surely their names are engraved upon the heavenly ramparts. And there let us leave them, for we realize they will never be engraved anywhere else.

These are not the counsels of despair, but the counsels of *adjustment.* Fifty years ago exasperated parents sometimes shouted at their children, "If it's worth doing, it's worth doing well." I suppose most of us agree that it *is* worth doing. Then, one other thing has to be decided: do we *like* doing it? (Personally I don't, but I'm not a Foreign Service officer.) Two affirmatives mean that something can be salvaged from the clinkers: work and style.

Beyond these, what a relief not to care! Let us forget illustrious Hamilton, the younger Pitt; let us squelch envious thought of sated Alexander, to say nothing of Harvard classmate, John Smith, who has got ahead of us. Think of the difference at cocktail parties alone: no more "roving eye" perhaps, that awful by-product of the festivities, when Foreign Service officers talk glibly, although a trifle absently, with the victim before them while their eyes are busy searching out more important prey. In fact, there are all sorts of by-products. Propitiation of the grading officer and excessive laughter at his wife's sallies need no longer oppress. Even inspectors lose their frightening aspect. Perhaps one might even give fewer parties. This last is a daring suggestion and should be attempted only by the boldest.

At any rate, we can totter along. Perhaps not at a pretty pace, but our own, achieving

". . . that precarious gait
Some call experience."

■



Caesarea. In the first mateh between an areher and a golfer ever played in Israel, George A. Mann, Director of the USIS, is shown as he "drove off" the first tee at the Caesarca Country Club, with Charlie Mandelstam, club professional, waiting his turn.

SERVICE GLIMPSES



The Mandelstam/Mann rivals are shown again on the last green of their nine-hole contest. Thc golfer's objective was to putt the ball into the eup marked by pin and flag; thc archer's aim was to hit a small target within a eirelc the samc size as the cup. The match ended in a tie.

Provence. General Charlcs de Gaulle and Ambassador Charles Bohlen greet each other at the ceremonies commemorating the 20th anniversary of thc Allied Landings in Provence.

Madras. Mr. R. Venkataraman, Minister of Industries, aecompanied by Dr. Albert B. Franklin, US Consul General in South India (left), visited the new wet docks where the largest single consignment of wheat ever to arrive in Madras was being unloaded. Minister Venkataraman diseussed the unloading with Capt. William H. Thompson, second from left.







Biltine. Eavesdropping camel is in on the new friendship between Mrs. Brewster H. Morris and a market woman in Chad's outpost town of Biltine. Mrs. Morris accompanied her husband, Ambassador Morris, on a 2,500 kilometer tour of eastern Chad.



Kuala Lumpur. Ambassador James D. Bell and Tun Abdul Razak, Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, exchange toasts in an Independence Day salute. The holiday observances also ineluded a formal dinner-danee for Amerieans and their Malaysian friends and a picnic for the children.



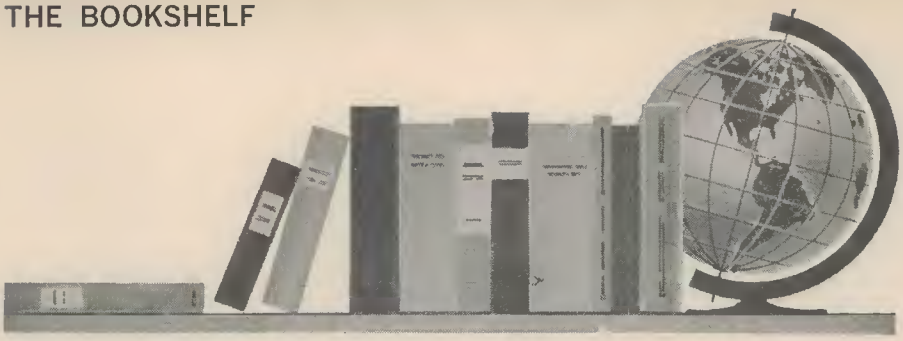
Freetown. Ambassador Andrew V. Corry bids farewell to Chief Justiee S. Bankole-Jones upon the latter's departure for the United States as a Leader Grantee.





Dakar. Ambassador Mereer Cook is introduced by President Léopold Sedar Senghor to members of his staff (from right to left), Mr. Léopold Angrand, Attaehe de Cabinet, Mr. Mamadou M'Baye (partially hiddcn), Conseiller Teehnique; Mr. Papa Gueye Sar, Chief de Cabinet; Mr. Cheikh Tahirou Doueoure, Consciller-personnel du President; and Captaine Ly. Aide de Camp.

Benin City. Benin City, the eapital of Nigeria's new Mid-West Region, recently opened its own equivalent of a US Cultural Center, the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library. The Library is the brainchild of the Nigerian American Friendship Soeiety, which donated the auditorium. USIS has presented the library with 400 books and G. Huntington Damon. Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs, presented the lispecting the new library are: Oba (King) Akenzua II of Benin City, Ambassador Elbert G. Mathews, Mrs. Mathews, Hon. Aghahowa, President of the NAFS, and Hon. E. O. Imafidon. Mid-West Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.



Power and Politics in Britain

PART of Britain's preparations for the autumn, 1964, general election has been the publication and the reissuance of some penetrating studies of her political system and parties. Those mentioned in this review have also been published in the United States.

The best known is Robert McKenzie's "British Political Parties." First released in 1955, it is thought by many to be as authoritative a commentary on the twentieth century realities of British politics as Walter Bagehot's essay was on the nineteenth century constitution on the eve of its democratization. It isn't really. But it is a superb piece of writing about the last fifty years of British parliamentary politics.

McKenzie's thesis is succinctly stated in the preface to the 1963 edition: "Regardless of the claims the parties themselves may make about their own internal organization, their power structure is determined, in practice, by their acceptance of the rules and conventions which govern the exercise of power by the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and Parliament in the British political system." Those rules have resulted in power's gravitating to the parties' Leaders in Parliament and their senior Cabinet colleagues.

The significance of the extra-parliamentary organizations of both the Labor and Conservative parties was badly underestimated in McKenzie's 1955 edition. This brought him a series of slaps from Labor pundits like R. H. S. Crossman, M. P., who maintains that there is a minimum of truth in his party's protestations of internal democracy. Tory folklore, on the other hand, assumes the essential accuracy of McKenzie's attribution of power to the party's parliamentary leader.

In his 1954 to mid-1963 chapters McKenzie made a few concessions to his Labor critics, and noted the increased weight of the Conservative constituency activists, but he refused to modify his thesis. So "British Political Parties" still underestimates the importance of the trade unions in the Labor party's power structure, and the necessity of agreeing major domestic policy with them that Mr. Harold Wilson would face should he become Prime Minister.

To what extent Sir Alec Douglas-Home would be deterred from vigorously pursuing his, and Mr. Wilson's announced goal of modernizing the British economy by the less structured relations between the Conservative party and the business community we get no intimation from McKenzie's study. And herein lies his book's great weakness. The parties are viewed as parliamentary institutions, which in part they obviously are, rather than as being, in larger measure, the parliamentary expressions of those interest groups, classes, traditions and sentiments which support them.

W. L. Guttsman's "The British Political Elite" will, I think, join McKenzie's volume on the shelf of standard reference works on contemporary British politics, and their historical background. Its central theme is the survival and evolution of the Establishment through the heyday of the industrial middle class and into the era of the challenge of a working class movement. The description of the gradual absorption of the upper middle class by the land-owning aristocracy is excellent, as is Guttsman's survey of the inter-relationships today between the peerage, the Conservative members of the House of Commons and the nation's industrial and financial leadership.

Labor's top parliamentary leaders, and the most potent of the trade union officials have, says Guttsman, joined the more numerous representatives of "the ruling class" to make up Britain's "power elite." But, he details, they are a small fraction of its permanent complement. It follows that when the Labor party is out of power it is well and truly out, while the Conservatives never are.

Guttsman insists that he is not rigidly applying C. Wright Mills' concept of an omnipotent "power elite" to Britain. Parliament and Cabinet still govern, he says, and the voters who go to the polls this autumn can at least choose which team, one more broadly based than the other, they wish to set the guide lines within which a power elite, still largely derived from a ruling class, must work.

It is with the voters, their social groupings and their parties, that J. Blondel, a French political scientist who teaches at an English university, begins his examination of "Voters, Parties and Leaders: The Social Fabric of British Politics." One does not wish to seem ungrateful to McKenzie and Guttsman and their publishers, but this gratifyingly low-priced "Pelican Original" is the most useful of the volumes noted here, at least for the current state of politics and the distribution of public and quasi-public power in Britain.

Blondel ventures beyond the topics listed in his title, and after examining these layers of conventional political participation writes about extra-political interest groups, "The Establishment" and the civil service. He notes that the civil service in Britain is, as one suspects it is in the United States too, a ladder to at least the edge of decision-making for the "ordinary middle class." The Foreign Office, however, remains securely in the hands of the boys from the right families who went to the right schools.

In his penultimate chapter, "The Web of Government," Blondel looks at the inter-relationships between governments and functional interest group organizations in less detail, but more broadly than does Guttsman, coming to much the same conclusions. Finally, he attempts to distinguish between "ruling class," "Establishment" and "power elite" concepts of integrated social, political and economic overlordship, noting that while there is something to all of them, not even the three together quite make the political contest between the party of customary preeminence and the party of "reformist" challenge a charade.

Unhappily neither of the two narratives of recent British politics available to us test the historical and anatomical findings of the analysts. Francis Boyd, a columnist on THE GUARDIAN, gives us a disjointed account of "British Politics in Transition," which suffers from a concentration on parliament as rigid as McKenzie's sharp sense of what really goes on in the Palace of Westminster.

More substantial is the American political scientist Leon D. Epstein's case study "British Politics in the Suez Crisis." It is what the title says it is, a study of how the British political system responded to a major international crisis, a crisis which as Profes-

sor Epstein shows was at least in part of its Leader's (Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden's) own making. It is not a study of the rights and wrongs or the international consequences of Suez.

Epstein vindicates McKenzie's thesis about the concentration of power inside the two great parliamentary parties, but inferentially at least accords, under carefully defined conditions, a significant supporting role to the "mass" organizations in the constituencies. Woeful indeed is the fate of an M. P. who defies both his Leader and his doorbell ringers.

One wishes, however, that Epstein had added a third dimension to his useful account, and ferreted out some clues (which is all that one can realistically ask) about the representations made to the politicians throughout the 1956-57 Suez episode and the reconstitution of the Conservative government by the extra-parliamentary centers of power and restraint.

—William C. Gausmann

British Political Parties, *by R. D. McKenzie. (rev. ed.),* $10.95.

The British Political Elite, *by W. L. Guttsman. Basic Books,* $10.50.

Voters, Parties and Leaders, *by J. Blondel. Penguin,* $1.25.

British Politics in Transition, *1945-63, by Francis Boyd, Praeger,* $4.95.

British Politics in the Suez Crisis, *by Leon D. Epstein. University of Illinois,* $5.00

For Rough Treatment and Drastic Change

I don't know whether I am too close to the problem to see it clearly or whether Professor McCamy is too far removed to understand it fully, but in any case I am not enthralled by his solutions to the woes that beset the government in its organization and approach to foreign affairs.

An advocate of "rough treatment and drastic change," he would bring order out of chaos by putting into the Department of State all those civilian units of government that work full time in foreign affairs. Among others, these would include the US Tariff Commission, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Foreign Agricultural Service, Treasury's Office of International Programs and Bureau of International Business. The Office of the President would be organized around five deputies—one of them for foreign affairs. This would be quite similar to the First Secretary proposed one election ago by Nelson Rockefeller.

As one consequence of this simplification of structure, the President and his Deputy for Foreign Affairs would have to deal only with the State and Defense Departments when concerned with foreign affairs and national security. The existing committees and other forms of interdepartmental coordination would wither away for lack of use.

To provide for effective policy development within the Department, Professor McCamy repeats his previously published proposal for a Policy Corps—a 400-man group of officers recruited, trained and used as policy makers. Typically, 320 would be assigned abroad, 20 in Washington and 60 would be in training. They would be free of routine, would not read mail and cables for information and would deal with the large issues. This would help cure the tendency of the Department to be overly action- and operation-oriented.

Although on the whole quite friendly to the personnel of the Department and the Foreign Service, he finds the Department of State as an institution "inadequate for its present assignment," being crippled by two "infirmities." The first is its sprawling organization and the second its domination by career Foreign Service officers who prefer the conduct of foreign relations to the formulation of foreign policy.

The book is written with considerable wit and a refreshingly light touch. Chapter II which describes the New Diplomacy is very well done. Although I can't endorse Professor McCamy's solutions, I do hope this book is widely read in the Foreign Service for it does cast some light on issues of organization and personnel which will have to be dealt with soon. And it is entirely possible that rough treatment and drastic change will be required.

—Herman Pollack

The Conduct of the New Diplomacy. *by James L. McCamy. Harper & Row,* $6.50.

Japan Journal

This is the first English edition of the journal of Henry Heusken (1832-1861), Dutch-American interpreter for Consul General Townsend Harris in negotiating new agreements with Japan implementing the Perry Treaty of 1854.

It required a ten months' sea voyage (with liberal shore-leaves) for Heusken to go from New York to Shimoda, only to find that the local officials would have been delighted if he and Harris "didn't mind leaving and coming back in a year or two."

Fifteen additional months passed before they were permitted to proceed to the capital to present the President's letter to the Taikun and complete the treaty. Harris constantly pressed for broader trade and travel concessions, only to be told



Seated Girl—Japanese Burial Mound Figure.

that they were "impossible in the present state of affairs, and it is unnecessary to take under consideration anything which is impossible." Actually, the officials were caught between foreign pressure for greater freedom of trade and travel, and the traditional Japanese isolationism.

The American treaty (July 29, 1858) was soon followed by similar ones with Great Britain, France, and Prussia (Heusken acted as interpreter in these negotiations). During the next 18 months, there was a series of attacks on foreigners. Heusken, probably the most popular member of the foreign community, was the seventh to be assassinated, January 15, 1861. The identity of the assassins is still unknown.

This "Journal" recounts the frustrations of early diplomats in negotiating with a traditionally isolated people in the days of slow-motion transportation and communications.

—E. T. Parks

Henry Heusken, Japan Journal, *1855-1861, translated and edited by Jeannette C. van der Corput and Robert A. Wilson. Rutgers University Press, $6.00.*

Distinguished Diplomat of Yesterday

Richard Clough Anderson, Jr. has had the good fortune to find two learned friends who have turned the casual jottings of his diary and journal into a book that is both a delight to read and a model of historical editing.

Anderson was the first American diplomatic representative to Colombia, the first Latin American nation to receive recognition from and to establish diplomatic relations with the

United States. Anderson signed with Colombia our first treaty with a Latin American nation. Moreover, he accepted a commission as delegate to the first Inter-American Conference, at Panamá in 1826. Although he died, of yellow fever, on July 24, 1826—not yet 38 years old—on his way to the conference, he had already distinguished himself as a legislator and diplomat. The "Dictionary of American Biography" includes a sketch of him, and the Department's plaque honoring heroic Foreign Service officers bears his name.

The book comprises a careful copy of Anderson's diary and journal, from 1814 to 1826, together with some autobiographical notes. The material reflects political, social, and economic life in early Kentucky; reveals life in Washington between 1817 and 1821 from the viewpoint of a young Congressman; and records experiences, diplomacy, and personal tragedy in Colombia.

Dr. Tischendorf, who had assumed principal responsibility for the editorial work, died while the manuscript was in preparation; and Dr. Parks carried the task to completion. The book bears witness to their patience, sympathy, and meticulous care. A preface and an introduction put the rest of the book in perspective; clarifying brackets and explanatory footnotes throughout the literally printed text, together with five maps, give aid and comfort to the reader. There is an index.

This excellent book is not quite perfect. Anderson was not "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" to Colombia, as stated on page 109 (although he was to the Conference at Panamá), but simply "Minister Plenipotentiary." Typographical errors appear on pages xxiii, 11, and 326.

—Richard S. Patterson

The Diary and Journal of Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., *1814-1826, edited by Alfred Tischendorf and E. Taylor Parks. Duke University Press, $7.50.*

Modern Dialogues

A sample of the delights this book has to offer appeared in the June issue of this Journal in the article "Democracy or Dictatorship." This was a condensation of one of Ten Dialogues that took place on a Mediterranean island where eleven diverse characters met by "chance encounter" and found little to do but talk. They talked in addition of the Modern Temper, War, Science and Philosophy, What's Wrong With Our Times, Modern Art and Literature and several other current issues.

Taken together these constitute a wise, perceptive and thought-provoking commentary on the age in which we live. They offer enlightenment rather than panaceas. Ambassador Yost is revealed as a man who has thought deeply and read widely about the major problems confronting modern man and as an author who can write engagingly and wittily about them.

The dialogue is an honorable and ancient literary form. Ambassador Yost uses it effectively to enliven topics not readily susceptible to lively treatment. He also takes advantage of the opportunity to approach a subject from different points of view and, at times, to take opposite sides of a question without necessarily revealing his own preferences or conclusions. There are obvious advantages to this technique when the author is a senior Foreign Service officer on active duty in a high-level post.

This book deserves to be read widely by thinking Americans. It is a grand addition to the expanding shelf of first-class books written by present and past members of the Foreign Service.

—Herman Pollack

The Age of Triumph and Frustration: *Modern Dialogues, by Charles Yost. Robert Speller & Sons,* $4.95.

Turkey

This excellent book merits inclusion in the library of every student of the Turkish Republic or of Turkish affairs in general. The first third is devoted to the history of modern Turkey from the deposition of Abdul Hamid to the death of Kemal Ataturk; the remaining chapters deal with both historical and economic developments, with special emphasis on what has happened since 1945. The forty pages of chronology from 1919 to 1961, plus twenty pages of copious notes and authorities, add special value to the book for reference purposes.

In his examination of the national characteristics of the Turkish people and their capacity for modern economic and industrial progress, the author only skirts a heritage from the past that will continue to affect Turkey for years to come. For many generations under the former Ottoman Empire the Turks were a minority, and at the time of the Italian and Balkan Wars in 1911-12 probably constituted not more than 45 percent of the population. In an empire that extended from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf, and from Tunisia to Iran, this ruling minority was called upon to provide armed forces, both officers and men, as well as the civil service bureaucracy needed to hold together the wide-flung regime. Thus few Turks were engaged in trade or industry, these fields were left to the other ethnic minorities or to foreigners. Consequently Kemal was compelled to start from scratch in building up the economic life of the new country, the other important minorities having been ousted in the process of setting up a homogeneous Turkish state. After a long period of not indulging in trade, Turkey may well need a further period to eliminate the effects on the national character of this past military and political role.

"Turkey awaits its second Mustafa Kemal" is the closing sentence. Kemal has often been compared with Henry VIII of England, whom he resembled in more ways than one. Few other national leaders at any time in history have done so much to alter the entire way of life of their people. Certainly all friends of Turkey will hope that a new national leader similar to Elizabeth I may soon appear.

—Lewis Heck

The First Turkish Republic: *A Case Study in National Development, by Richard D. Robinson. Harvard,* $5.95.

Counterinsurgency

Two just-published books on counterinsurgency belong near the top of the list in that category. This, perhaps, is as it should be, since both were written by Frenchmen, and the French have learned about the subject the hard way. While David Galula's "Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice" is considerably more comprehensive and meaty, Roger Trinquier's "Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency" (published in France as "La Guerre Moderne") reads more easily and also has a provocative introduction by Bernard Fall. Both Trinquier and Galula have military backgrounds, but they give top priority to the political spectrum (including psychological, economic and social factors) of the conditions which lead to subversive insurgency, on the one hand, and which, on the other, obviate the possibility of an exclusively military settlement should armed conflict develop. The military aspect is not, of course, minimized, but both authors spell out precisely what kind of military action will have a chance of success and what kind does not have even a prayer.

—S. I. Nadler

Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency, *by Roger Trinquier. Praeger,* $3.95.

Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice, *by David Galula. Prepared under the auspices of The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Praeger,* $4.50.



"Susak Island: The Bride," from "Yugoslavia—One Long Summer," by Jara Ribnikar. U.S. Edition 1964. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Recollections of Nuri Al-Said

I find this book an interesting study of contrasts. It covers essentially the period of Ambassador Gallman's service in Baghdad during the years 1954-1958.

I contrast the Nuri that Ambassador Gallman describes with the Nuri that I knew in a much earlier period: 1939-1942. The dramatis personae on the Iraqi stage had not changed to any great degree. For instance, the author tells of Nuri's description of Dr. Fadhil Jamali prior to his departure to head the Iraqi delegation to the Bandung Conference as being his personal "little devil," whom he had found it was judicious to propitiate from time to time with various appointments. The same was true during the period of my observation when, if I remember correctly, Dr. Jamali, whose pro-Axis leanings were a cause of considerable concern, was Director General of Education.

This illustrates one of the prime characteristics which Nuri was noted for, namely, his ability to temporize. It enabled him to survive through many tempestuous years of Iraqi politics. It nearly cost him his life in 1941 (the Rashid Ali coup d'etat) and did cost him his life in the Qasim coup of 1958.

Ambassador Gallman's description of Nuri reflects a close personal contact and a degree of mutual confidence which



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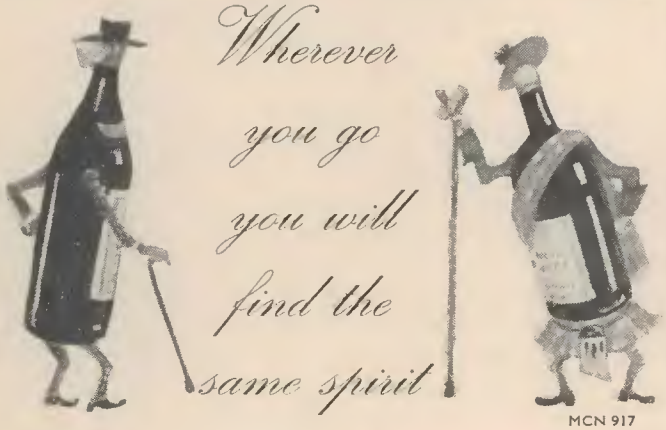
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was not easy to achieve with a person of Nuri's temperament. This, of course, raised the question: "Did we overconcentrate on Nuri as the center of power?" "What were the Embassy's other resources when Qasim staged his coup?" "Did we have any appreciable contacts with the opposition?"

Ambassador Gallman does not directly answer these questions, but he is frank in his assessment where he states: "The story of our relations with Iraq from 1954 to 1958 is essentially a story of failure." His thesis is that our failure was the result of a lack of US support for Nuri. He says, "In Nuri we had a steadfast, understanding friend. He spoke well for us of the West, in Iraq and in the Arab world at large . . . In the end he was killed by his own people. Did we contribute to this tragic denouement? I think we did."

Ambassador Gallman points out the fact that the American Jesuit College and University were able to survive unmolested during the very tense period following the Qasim takeover. (The same was true during the Rashid Ali coup in 1941.)

He points out a worthy lesson when he says, "Pacts, military aid, and economic assistance, when intelligently conceived and ably administered, can be used to advance our interests and to help others. But all such undertakings are at best a gamble. Through my experience in Iraq and elsewhere I have come to feel that the only area where there is any degree of certainty that efforts will be productive is in the field of education, and even there mishaps occur. There is, though, a greater hope of something lasting resulting from our support of schools, scholarships, and the exchange of students, teachers, and research workers, than from efforts in the other fields I have been discussing."

—GORDON MATTISON

IRAQ UNDER GENERAL NURI, *by Waldemar J. Gallman. Johns Hopkins, $5.95.*

The Real China

FELIX GREENE'S latest book, "A Curtain of Ignorance", attacks inaccurate reporting and misinformation about China by official government sources and the American press. Greene states that the American people have been misled about China both before and after the Communist take over. He attempts to prove his thesis by citing his own and other westerners' experience in China.

An objective study of our beliefs about China is badly needed. Much indeed has been written about China which is inaccurate and misleading. Mr. Greene's book, however, is neither objective nor accurate. It is colored by the author's strong personal beliefs and is filled with the type of misinformation that he himself deplores. He time and again refutes his own thesis that government officials and the press have misled the public by using official and press sources to illustrate the correct interpretation of events. In citing his own visits to Mainland China, Mr. Greene exhibits a disturbing inability to look behind the scenes. He also attacks the views of an impressive variety of noted scholars, who, regardless of their diverse interpretations, do not agree with him.

Rather than making a positive contribution towards the American public's understanding of China, "A Curtain of Ignorance" will only serve to further mislead those readers who are unfamiliar with the details of the events described by Mr. Greene.

—DAVID DEAN

A CURTAIN OF IGNORANCE, *by Felix Greene. Doubleday. $5.50.*

(Continued from page 27)

most Amerieans, most Russians frequently mumble their words wholly or in part, but when you hear a Russian word distinetly pronouneed, you know exaetly how to spell it. There is only one right spelling that matehes the right pronuneiation.

"I before E exeept after C." For instanee, you never use the hard Russian I after G and K. The beginner is too beset hy his other problems to be aware that spelling rules exist, but after a eouple of years he suddenly realizes that Russian spelling is very orderly and predietable.

Grammar is had through and through, hut a lot of the trouble is our own attitude—or laek of it—toward a grammatieal language. English is burdened by relatively few rules of grammar, and in this respeet the Freneh, Germans and Italians have it almost as easy. Russian, on the other hand, is a fully infleeted tongue. You eonjugate all verbs fully, and you fully deeline all nouns, adjeetives, pronouns, numbers *and proper names. (Khrushcheva? Khrushchev? Khrushchevyx? Khrushchevymi?)* Russian is like Latin and Greek in this promiseuous infleetion, and so are all of the other languages of eastern Europe. Finnish is the worst of them. They ean he learned, though; several hundred million people speak them fluently.

As the raw material for a literature, an infleeted language has a plus value. If nearly every word is tagged to show exaetly Who did What to Whom, it is possible to take all kinds of liberties with the order of the words. This adds subtleties of meaning whieh ean not be similarly expressed on the printed page in the stuffily fixed word order of English and Chinese.

For instanee: suppose that Unele Osip gives his little nephew Misha a ruble. In English, we say: "Osip gave Misha a ruhle" and it means exaetly that and no more. Beeause he tags eaeh of them with infleetional endings, the Russian will need only the four words *Osip, Misha, ruble gave.* In whiehever order he uses them, they will mean something slightly different. (His most meaningful word is alwavs his last one.) Here are some examples.

"Osip gave (to) Misha (a) RUBLE." In this instanee, Misha expeeted a eouple of kopeeks from past experienee and is delighted with the extra generosity.

"Osip gave (the) ruhle (to) MISHA." Here Vanya was expeeting this partieular ruble and it eomes on Misha as a eomplete surprise.

"Osip (to) Misha (a) ruble GAVE." Osip ean usually be iouehed for a loan, hut he never lets you forget it. This has never happened before.

"Gave (to) Misha (a) ruble OSIP." Misha ean usually put the bee on his grandfather and his Unele Lev, hut up to now, old skinflint Osip has managed to fumble out of it.

This is the kind of subtlety of meaning that ean be expressed *in writing* in an infleeted language. The permissibly loose word order makes it possible, and here is one of the several reasons why Russia has produeed a great literature.

Infleetion is not the only area of eonfusion in Russian grammar. There are many miseellaneous and unrelated rules whieh eover individual situations, but the proeess of applying them is so shoekingly foreign to our training and our way of thinking that they are quite easy to learn and remember. Here are a few samples.

The Russian "no" is a pronouneement of great power. By rule, he negates everything that is even remotely eonneeted with the idea to be negated. "I didn't see nobody noplaee" is good literate Russian. You get the idea fast, and you never forget it.

Or the answer to the simple and conversationally useful question, "How old are you?" The Russian eounts his age by summers rather than by years, perhaps beeause his January climate is something he would like to forget. Little Sasha

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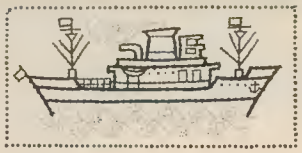
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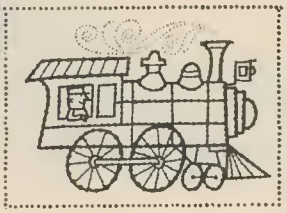
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will answer your question with "For me there are six of summers." It is picturesque and easy grammar to remember.

Or the negleet of the verb "to have." The Russian has a good verb "to have" in his dietionary, but for the most part he leaves it there. He does not happen to need it for eonjugating his other verhs, and as an expression of possession he just never doesn't use it nowhere nohow. For instance, this eonversation.

"Pavl, by you the tickets?"

"By me the tiekets not." (They arc undoubtedly baek at home in the little envelopcka under the telePHON.) We would of eourse say "Do you *have* the tiekets?"

Maybe this sort of thing should be ealled idiom rather than grammar, hut whatever its name, there is a lot of it in Russian, and it is a stimulating diversion to the dull routine of learning the hasie voeabulary of a foreign tongue.

Irregular verbs. When the Russian eomes to America and proposes to learn our language, we confront him with our collection of about 100 irregular English verbs. If the tahles are turned, he has ahout the same number for us. Our frustration is the greater, though, beeause he eonjugates his verbs more fully and there is room in the process for many more irregularities. This is a difficult phase of Russian, but the beginner at the college level or heyond gets most of it in his first year.

Punctuation. The Russian separates dollars from cents with a comma—and thousands from hundreds with a period. Otherwise his punctuation is fairly conventional, careless at times and stuffily old-fashioned at others. He will oeeasionally run independent sentenees together with a eomma for separation. Or he may remember that he learned at sehool always to put a eomma *before* the words "but, what, whatever, if, when, where and who." This results in a lot of eommas in unexpected plaees.

Script. Russian handwriting is traditionally ahominable. It is with considerable difficulty that native-born Russians make one another understand what they write, and to the foreigner, comprehension is next to hopeless.

Italic printing, as in English, is based on the script letter. The Russians use italies freely in their seientific literature, with the added eomplication that their typographers seem to have only one size of italie type—the smallest.

Numbers. Russian numerology is based on the Arahic system which we also use, and it is no prohlem to identify Russian numbers by sight. Talking ahout them, though, is extremely difficult heeause they are fully inflected and suhject to their own exclusive set of grammar rules. For instanee, you say "one apple" quite normally, but then you say "two of apple" and "three of apple" and "four of apple." Then, for a reason that can only be Russian, you say "five of apples" and so on.

Or take a simple thing like a date. Take Wednesday, January 1, 1964. You say it like this: Wednesday of first number of January thousand nine hundred sixty of fourth of year." Or hetter, you find it convenient to forget the date.

Telling time is equally cluttered with grammar, but the result is colorful, easy to remember, and no less logieal than our own carefree system. Here are some examples of time-of-day.

3:00 "Three."
3:11 "Eleven of minutes of the fourth."
3:30 "Half of the fourth."
3:51 "Without ninc—four."

The language has more eomplexities hut perhaps this will hold us for 1964. ■

TOWARD BROADER RESPONSIBILITIES

Marshall Green's Speech to the American Foreign Service Association Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. Chairman; Foreign Service Colleagues; and Associates in the World's Second Oldest Profession:

FIRST let me say how grateful we are that so many members of the Association turned out today for our annual meeting. Not only is the turnout unusually good but it is gratifying to see how many distinguished members of the Association are with us: for example, I see right here in front of me three Career Ambassadors—Loy Henderson, George Allen and Jimmy Riddleberger.

From Tom Beale's brief albeit comprehensive introduction you may well wonder what my credentials are for being on the platform today. Of course, it is one thing to talk about a subject on which one claims special knowledge before a group of relatively less knowledgeable people; it is another thing to get up before one's colleagues and speak about a subject of which they know fully as much as I do. This is the predicament I am in right now.

However, when I attended the National War College some years ago I took careful note of the parade of distinguished speakers who crossed the podium. Many of their sententious cliches were carefully recorded in my notebook and, as a result, I have ever since then been prepared to talk knowledgeably on any subject before any group at any time.

I might point out that I learned from the Navy that 71 per cent of the earth's surface is covered by water and that oceans are not barriers but broad highways between nations. I learned from the Army—now get this because it is an arresting thought—that man is a land animal. From the Air Force, I can claim to have learned nothing. They didn't even remind me that 100 per cent of the earth's surface is covered by air. But they used to tax us State Department types with the question—"Why can't we have a bold, dynamic, new policy that will put us on the offensive?" We replied that that would undoubtedly make us highly offensive. We also pointed out that the truth lies somewhere in between and that things will get worse before they get better. What I am about to say is no exception.

So much for my qualifications as a public speaker. Now what are my qualifications to address this distinguished gathering? I'm not even the President of this organization. Alex Johnson remains on as President in the comparative security of Saigon; and even though I begged him to come back to address us today—FE/EX would have written the travel orders—it was decided for some obscure reason that he would stay in Saigon. Well, as they say in Saigon: "Chacun à son coup."

I have already taken occasion in introducing Art Buchwald some months ago to give you a definition of a successful Ambassador. A successful Ambassador is one who goes around with a worried look on his Deputy's face. Under this definition, Alex is a highly successful Ambassador and President of this organization.

But I think that we Foreign Service officers accept such stern disciplines as I now face as being in the line of duty. We are accustomed to being Deputies, not Chiefs; to being, as I am now, a VP rather than VIP. Even as Chargés d'Affaires, we rarely have affairs of our own.

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In this connection, I think if you look back through the diplomatic history of modern times, you will find that almost all Chargés d'Affaires have been FSOs; and that Chargés d'Affaires have had more than their share of coup d'états, force majeures, démarche's and all those other things that are so disagreeable that we must let them remain in the French language. We don't even have a translation for Chargés d'Affaires.

Two and one-half years ago when I was Consul General in Hong Kong, we had the great pleasure of the Attorney General and his wife visiting our city for two days. Coming across the Hong Kong Harbor in the gathering dusk after greeting them at the airport, I was asked by Mrs. Kennedy about why I joined the Foreign Service. I have forgotten how I answered the question then, just as I forgot how I answered the question when it was posed to me by the Board of Examiners BEX years ago. (I still am not sure why I joined.) Anyway, Mrs. Kennedy said, "I recognize the life of the Foreign Service must be fascinating, but don't you miss meeting your fellow Americans?" "Mrs. Kennedy," I replied, "last year there were 110,000 American tourists in Hong Kong, 330,000 U.S. sailors, 2,000 American VIPs. I have met more Americans in Hong Kong than I have met in America. What is more," I added, "I never would have had the great pleasure of meeting you, Mrs. Kennedy, if I hadn't been assigned abroad to Hong Kong." Now that remark undoubtedly gained me several international Brownie points, but that isn't the point of my story, any more than it is to namedrop. My point is that being in the Foreign Service brings many of us—especially in the larger Consulates and Embassies but also in some of our smallest Consulates—in touch with perhaps more types of Americans and with greater number of new American faces from week to week than would be the case if we had not joined the Foreign Service. And because we represent our country abroad, we in the Foreign Service have to give more objective thought to our country than our other fellow Americans—certainly we are forever having to answer questions from our intellectually curious and sometimes challenging and critical foreign associates. Moreover, when we come back to the States—happily now for more frequent tours than in the past—we are called upon to circulate pretty widely around our own country to give speeches and attend symposia than perhaps the majority of other denizens of this city.



AFSA's Vice President Marshall Green discusses Association affairs with W. Paul O'Neill, Jr., Chairman of the Entertainment Committee, and W. T. M. Beale, Chairman of the Board.

So I draw the conclusion that, far from being out of touch with America, we in the Foreign Service are pretty knowledgeable about what goes on in our country and have many, many points of contact with our fellow countrymen.

This may offer little protection against our critics, of course, for we would be the first to admit that foreign affairs are complex and baffling. There are no easy solutions. Some may find it far easier to attack the State Department than to attack the problem; or to find fault with some FSO in Saigon rather than with the real SOB in Hanoi. So we practitioners of the arts of vigorous diplomacy can always expect more than our fair share of criticism. And there is a lot about our life and duties abroad that is deeply mystifying to the uninitiated. The burden is upon us to somehow explain ourselves and our mission in understandable terms.

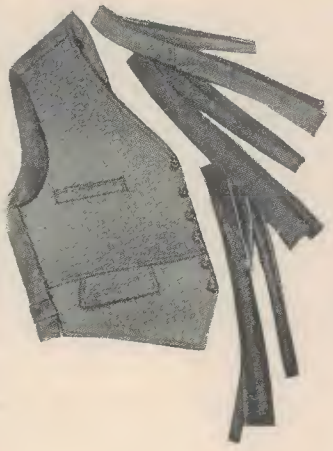
Yet I do feel that there is increasing interest in this country, not only in foreign affairs as such, but in the Foreign Service itself. I have no doubt that this is largely due to America's deepening and protracted involvement in world affairs, but also unquestionably due in part to the efforts by the State Department and Foreign Service—to people like Loy Henderson, Bill Crockett and Katie Louchheim—to bring the Foreign Service into closer touch with the people of our country. For my part, I have been deeply impressed in speaking trips around the country to see how keenly interested and well informed were so many of our people—especially younger people. For example, at Oklahoma State University a few months ago some 600 students turned up for an hour's question-and-answer period on Southeast Asia. I discovered that 20 to 30 members of the senior class anticipated taking the Foreign Service Officer examination. This is not an isolated incident, but is symptomatic of a broader trend of interest in world affairs and in the Foreign Service itself.

It seems to me that one of our main concerns in the Foreign Service Association is to take advantage of this situation. Of course, it is true that our principal task as an Association must continue to be the promotion of fellowship among members and rendering to our membership various kinds of services—scholarships and educational consultation service for our children; discounts in personal purchases; group insurance: hospital visits: subscription to the Foreign Service JOURNAL: and, of course, attendance at our monthly luncheons, if indeed I haven't taken the bloom off that rose.

But we recognize that the American Foreign Service Association has broader responsibilities as well—after all our name is Foreign Service; not self-service. Here I refer to the task of doing our part to ensure wider understanding and support for our foreign policies as well as understanding and support for us who, if not architects, are at least executors of those policies. We should do all we can to see that the Service gets better backing from our Congress, our press, our people and for ensuring that the career principle is protected, advanced and honored.

It was with these thoughts in mind that over the past year the Board of the Foreign Service Association has decided on certain steps to establish closer relationship between the Foreign Service and people throughout the country, and for this reason has proposed two new categories of membership—Fellows in Diplomacy and Corresponding Members—and plans to hold a symposium next spring under the chairmanship of Ambassador George Allen to which all members, including those in the two new categories, would be invited to attend. The main thrust of symposium discussions will be to give some of our leading citizens who are actively interested in foreign affairs a better knowledge of the problems facing the Foreign Service and the people responsible for carrying out our foreign policies. Likewise, in order to promote the career principle as well as a better understanding of the career principle, the outgoing Board has recommended the creation of a committee whose full time will be devoted to this task. I fear that heretofore the Board of Directors has been too preoccupied with all the details and technicalities of running the Association to be able to give due attention to the broader interests of the Foreign Service. We know

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that the committee on career principle will want to work closely with Bill Crockett, Dwight Porter and the administrative area, for their interests are ours and ours theirs.

In closing I would like to pay tribute to Alex Johnson, who has been the driving spirit behind the "new look" of the AFSA; to three successive highly capable Chairmen of the Board of Directors over the past year—Toby Belcher, Lee Brady, and now Tom Beale; to the members of the Board of Directors; to all who have likewise served so well on the committees of the Foreign Service Association and whose names appear in the annual report of the Chairman. I also want to thank Ed Kretzmann and the staff and the Board of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. I think we will all agree that there has been a marked improvement in the JOURNAL, and in this connection we have been fortunate to have the fulltime services of Loren Carroll as Editor of the JOURNAL.

Not least of all I want to thank Ambassador Julian Harrington, who as General Manager of the Foreign Service Association, gives not only his full time but his devoted energies and deep loyalty to the Foreign Service in promoting all of our interests. He and his able assistant, Mrs. Barbara Chalmers, deserve our wholehearted gratitude.

Finally, thank you for being with us all today. I know the interests of the Association will be advanced under the new Officers and Directors. ■

FABLE

LADEN with a grain of wheat which he had acquired with infinite toil, an Ant was breasting a current of his fellows, each of whom, as is their etiquette, insisted on stopping him, feeling him all over and shaking hands. It occurred to him that excess of ceremony is abuse of courtesy; so he laid down his burden, sat upon it, folded all his legs and smiled a smile of great grimness.

"Hello!" said his Fellow Ants, "what's the matter with you?"

"Sick of the hollow conventionalities of an effete civilization," was the rasping reply—"returned to the simplicity of primitive life."

"Ah! then we must trouble you for that grain. In the primitive life there are not rights of property."

A great white light fell upon the understanding of that rebellious insect. He rose and grappling the grain of wheat trotted away with alacrity. It was observed that he submitted with a wealth of patience to manipulation of his friends and neighbors and went long distances out of his way to shake hands with strangers on competing lines of traffic.

—The Collected Writings of Ambrose Bierce



"Well, at least it's a beginning!"

AFSA Officers and Directors

October 1964 – September 1965

President



Ambassador Samuel Berger has had a variegated experience not only in education but professional activity. After attending the University of Wisconsin where he got a Ph.B. and the London School of Economics, he served with the Federal Security Agency and later with the War Production Board. He was labor attache in London from 1945 to 1950 and he was attached to the Executive Office of the President from 1950 to 1953. Thereafter he served as Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs in Tokyo, Deputy Chief of Mission in Wellington, Deputy Chief of Mission in Athens. In June 1961 he was named Ambassador to Korea. His present assignment is Deputy Commandant for Foreign Affairs in the National War College. Ambassador Berger was born in Gloversville, New York, on December 4, 1911. He is married to the former Margaret Fowler.

Vice President



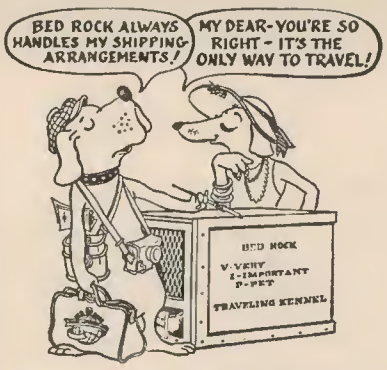
Murat W. Williams was born in 1914 in Richmond, Virginia, graduated, University of Virginia in 1935, and from Oxford University in 1939. Served two years' newspaper apprenticeship under Douglas Southall Freeman in Richmond and was employed by Ambassador Alexander Weddell as Private Secretary at Embassy San Sebastian and Madrid in 1939 (where one of his principal instructors was the then Counselor H. Freeman Matthews).

After service in the Department (three times), San Salvador, Bucharest, Salonika and Tel Aviv, his name was submitted in January 1961 in nomination as Ambassador to El Salvador (believed to be the last public official nominated by President Eisenhower). He was the first Ambassador sent *abroad* by President Kennedy.

The only other member of his family, in direct line, to serve the Department of State was his great-great-great-grandfather Edmund Randolph, who resigned in 1795 as Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet.

Chairman of the Board

W. T. M. Beale, who was elected a member of the Board last May (see sketch in the June, 1964 Journal) was elected Chairman of the Board at the July meeting and re-elected in October.



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Vice Chairman

NATHANIEL DAVIS, a member of the former Board and Vice Chairman since July (see sketch in the December, 1963 issue), was elected for another term and again chosen Vice Chairman.

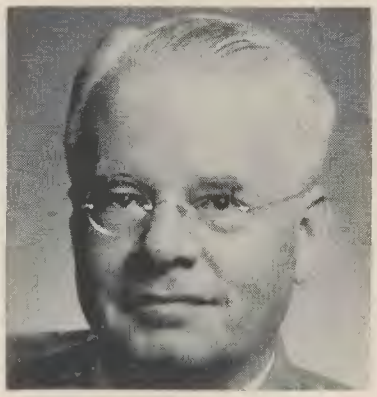
Secretary-Treasurer

BENJAMIN WEINER served as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the former Board (see sketch in December, 1963 issue) and was chosen Secretary-Treasurer for this year.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer

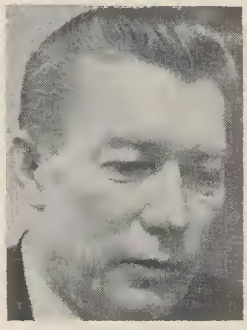
NUEL L. PAZDRAL was elected to the Board in June of 1964 (see sketch in the October JOURNAL) and elected to serve as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer in September.

Continuing Board Member



Aside from serving as ambassador in three important posts—Vienna, the Hague, and Stockholm, H. FREEMAN MATTHEWS has had one of the most varied and resplendent careers ever run up by a Foreign Service officer. His posts in his pre-ambassadorial phases included Budapest, Bogotá, Habana, Paris, Madrid, Vichy, Algiers and London. He was once director of the office of European Affairs, he was a member of the Delegation to the Crimea and Berlin Conferences and the Council of Foreign Ministers held in Moscow in 1946, the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the Council of Foreign Ministers held in New York in 1946, and the Council of Foreign Ministers held in Moscow in 1947. He was also Deputy Under Secretary of State in 1950-1963. He became Career Ambassador in 1956. Mr. Matthews is married to the former Helen Skouland. He has two sons. Because of his illustrious record, members of the Board were eager to induce Mr. Matthews to join them. He became the first retired Foreign Service officer to serve on the Board.

New Board Members



KEITH E. ADAMSON is the Deputy Director of the Voice of America, the radio arm of the U. S. Information Agency. A career Foreign Service officer, Mr. Adamson entered government service with the Federal Housing Administration in 1939. Mr. Adamson moved to his first assignment with the Department in the Radio and Motion Picture section of the Cultural Relations Division when Cordell Hull was Secretary of State. He recalls learning the proper drafting of instructions under the watchful eye of Miss Lincoln who could spot a split infinitive from fifty paces.

Born in Sedgwick, Kansas, December 15, 1917, Mr. Adamson holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from George Washington University. From 1943 to 1946 he served as a lieutenant with the U. S. Navy.

Mr. Adamson's first foreign assignment was Cairo under Jefferson Caffrey. He left Cairo just a month ahead of King Farouk in 1952 and returned to Washington to supervise Motion Picture Production, woke up on August 1, 1953, to dis-

cover he was working for the U. S. Information Agency instead of the Department. He received the Agency's Meritorious Service Award in 1956.

After a short stint in Guatemala and Mexico to produce films on "Communism in Guatemala," Mr. Adamson went to Ankara as Deputy Public Affairs Officer. He also served in Istanbul as Public Affairs Officer. Back in Washington in 1958 he spent a year at the Army War College and then moved into the Agency's Near East Area office under Bill Handley. His most recent foreign post was Bogotá, Colombia, where he was Public Affairs Officer from 1961 to 1963. He was named Deputy Director of the Voice of America in October 1963 and now helps supervise the world-wide radio network of the USIA and its 800 hours a week of broadcasting in 37 languages.

Mr. Adamson is married to the former Rowena Elaine LaCoste of Lafayette, Louisiana. Mrs. Adamson is a specialist in the teaching of English as a foreign language. The Adamsons live in McLean, Virginia, and have four children and two grandchildren.



ROBERT B. BLACK was born in Arlington, Massachusetts on May 23, 1920. He went to Exeter and Harvard and then to further his bent for economics he went to the Landon School of Economics. He served in the Navy during the war and afterwards worked in the Budget Bureau and Office Program/Planning (AID predecessors). His further line of progression was: Deputy Director of the AID Mission in Tunis, Director of the AID Mission in Dakar and a year in the National War College. He is now the Chief of the Military Assistance Division of the Program Coordination Staff of AID. Mr. Black is married to the former Jeanette Rado. Mrs. Black is AID's desk officer for Mali. The couple has two daughters. Asked to state his favorite outdoor sports Mr. Black replied canoeing and fly fishing. His favorite indoor sports, he says, are economic and political development.

PATRICIA M. BYRNE was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and educated at Vassar College and the School of Advanced International Studies. After eighteen months with the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, she was sworn into the Foreign Service on July 9, 1949. She has served at Athens, Saigon, the Department, Ankara, and Vientiane. Miss Byrne was a member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board in 1957-58.



FRANK V. ORTIZ, JR., was born in Santa Fe, New Mexico on March 14, 1926. He was graduated from Georgetown University where he majored in Foreign Service. He has also attended summer courses at the University of New Mexico, the University of Madrid, and the American University of Beirut. He served as a telegram review clerk for the Senate Sergeant at Arms and as liaison officer on the floor of the U. S. Senate in 1943. In 1944 he enlisted in the Army Air Force and participated in the air offensive against Japan. After passing the examinations he entered the State Department in 1951. He has served as Assistant Desk Officer for Egypt, Third Secretary of the American Embassy in Ethiopia, and has had two assignments to the American Embassy in Mexico City. On his last tour in Mexico he served as Special Assistant to the American Ambassador and in this capacity helped negotiate a settlement of

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1. Date of filing: September 21, 1964
2. Title of publication: FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
3. Frequency of issue: Monthly, 12 times per year
4. Location of known office of publication: 815 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: American Foreign Service Association, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington D. C.
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor:

Publisher: American Foreign Service Association, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Editor: Loren Carroll, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Executive Editor: Shirley Newhall, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

7. Owner: American Foreign Service Association, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. General Manager, Julian F. Harrington; Chairman, Board of Directors: W.T.M. Beale
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None
9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation.
10. Circulation:

	Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 mos.	Single issue nearest to filing date
A. Total No. copies printed	7771	8000
B. Paid Circulation		
1. To term subscribers by mail, carrier delivery or by other means	6983	7210
2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise	none	none
C. Free Distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means.	400	500
D. Total No. of copies distributed (Sum of lines B1, B2 and C)	7383	7710

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

HELEN C. RICE
Circulation Mgr.

the Chamizal dispute between the United States and Mexico. Mr. Ortiz has also worked as a Special Assistant to the Operations Coordinator and as Staff Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs. He is presently assigned to the State Department where he is Officer in Charge of Spanish Affairs. Mr. Ortiz is married to the former Dolores Duke. The couple has four children.

WILLIAM T. PRYCE is serving as a staff assistant in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. His previous assignments have included the Embassy in Mexico City and the Bureau of Economic Affairs. Mr. Pryce, who comes from Ebensburg, Pennsylvania, graduated from Wesleyan University and received a Master's Degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He served in the U. S. Navy from 1955 to 1958 when he joined the Department. He is married to the former Joan Marie MacClurg. They have two children, 4 and 5½, and are expecting a third any minute. The Pryces live in Glover Park, Washington, D. C.

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The JOURNAL's true confession, "I Led at Least Three Lives," was received from Mombuka. The author requested anonymity, saying those who mattered would know his name already. The editors of the JOURNAL have not yet located Mombuka.

After participating in the sixth Senior Seminar, ROBERT A. HURWITCH spent several months as Special Assistant to the Ambassador at Santiago, Chile, before assuming his current responsibilities as Deputy Chief of Mission at La Paz, Bolivia.

JOSEPH J. SISCO is Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. He has dealt for more than a decade with numerous political hot potatoes which have arisen in the UN. He has frequently served as a political adviser to the US Representative to the UN and as a member of many US Delegations to the UN General Asssembly.

MARY STUART, Grown Grey in the Service of her Country, returns to discuss the undiscussable on page 35.

RICHARD N. GARDNER is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. He received the Arthur S. Flemming Award for 1963 as one of the ten outstanding young men in the Federal Government.

ARTHUR C. FROST was a Congressional Secretary for six years and in the Foreign Service for 33 years, with posts on all five continents, from Canada to Calcutta, and from Prague to the Caribbean. He prides himself on minor things: first US Consul General to Liechtenstein, Order of Merit of Chile, top name F.S. Class 1, when he turned in his badge.

LEWIS A. HARLOW writes, "As a career man in American advertising and journalism, I am interested in anyone else's language. Can it communicate as simply and effectively as mine? This adventure into Russian answers part of the question."

The Museum of African Art loaned the JOURNAL the superb photos on page 28. The museum is housed in the first Washington residence of Frederick Douglass, one of the most important Negro figures in American history, at 316 A Street, N.E. The inaugural exhibition, displaying 160 pieces of traditional African sculpture together with selected works by modern American and European artists illustrative of African influence, is open every day except Friday. ■

AFSA: News and Minutes

As stated in the September and October issues of the JOURNAL, the Association hopes its members will contribute again, if they have already made one contribution, to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, in an effort to reach a total of $10,000 which will enable the Center, under its fund-raising rules, to place a plaque in a box of one of the auditoriums identifying it as endowed by the American Foreign Service Association. Response to this renewed appeal of the Association has been slow and members are urged to respond. Checks should be made out to the American Foreign Service Association, appropriately identified as being for the J. F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Life Memberships — At the September annual business meeting of the Association an amendment of the By-Laws was approved to create life memberships in the Association. This new category will permit members to give greater support to the Association and will eliminate for them at the same time the inconvenience of paying dues annually. Dues for Life Members have been fixed at $300.

Anyone wishing to become a Life Member is invited to notify the Association and to send a check in the amount of the dues.

In another amendment members of the Association approved retention of active membership in the American Foreign Service Association for retirees. Formerly members became Associate Members upon retirement or resignation from the Service.

Elections: The following members of the Association were elected to the Electoral College of 1964: Lucy T. Briggs, Patricia M. Byrne, William J. Crockett, Marshall Green, Joseph Palmer, II, Archer K. Blood, Lucius D. Battle, Sterling J. Cottrell, William A. Stoltzfus, Jr., Frank V. Ortiz, Jr., Katherine W. Braeken, Dwight J. Porter, Hanna W. Woods, Marguerite Cooper, Matthew J. Looram, Jr., Philip H. Trezise, Robert Donhauser, and Sam Moskowitz. Luey T. Briggs, Lucius D. Battle and William A. Stoltzfus, Jr. were unable to serve and were replaced by William T. Pryce, Alfred P. Brainard, Jr., and Sidney Weintraub. Named by the Electoral College at their September 18 meeting were: President, Samuel D. Berger; Vice President, Murat W. Williams; Board of Directors, Keith E. Adamson, W. T. M. Beale, Robert B. Black, Patricia M. Byrne, Nathaniel Davis, H. Freeman Matthews, Frank V. Ortiz, Jr., Nuel L. Pazdral, William T. Pryce, Benjamin Weiner.

September 11. The Board of Directors agreed that the Association should purchase tables and chairs for the monthly luncheons which will be held on the eighth floor in the Department, beginning with November.

Pending business which will be turned over to the new Board includes: the appointment of Committee on Career Service Principles; appointment of Committee on the Symposium; and progress of the Committee on Corresponding Members. Many nominations for the latter category have been received.

On October 8, immediately following the first meeting of the new Board of Directors, Deputy Under Secretary of State William J. Crockett gave a luncheon for all members of the new Board, in addition to the new President and Vice President. Also in attendance were Edwin M. J. Kretzmann, Chairman of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, Julian F. Harrington, General Manager of the Association, and Mrs. Barbara Chalmers, Executive Secretary.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

Foreign Claims

THE Department is anxious to give broad publicity to the provisions of Public Law 87-846 so that Foreign Service personnel and retired officers may arrange to file the necessary forms so that their claims will be acted upon by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission and they may receive the benefits available under the Act.

The provisions of the law are appended herewith and anyone who desires additional information may consult with officers in the Office of Special Consular Services in order to obtain information about matters peculiar to his own individual case.

ALLYN C. DONALDSON
Director, Office of Special
Consular Services

Washington

Cut-Off Date January 15, 1965 for
Claims Under General War Claims Act
Public Law 87-846

A number of Foreign Service personnel, or their heirs in the case of death, may be eligible for benefits under Public Law 87-846, generally referred to as the General War Claims Act.

This law authorizes the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to determine the validity and amount of claims of nationals of the United States arising out of World War II as follows:

1. Loss, destruction, or physical damage to real property and to such items of tangible personal property as can be identified and evaluated, located in—
   (a) Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Free Territory of Danzig, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland or Yugoslavia, certain parts of Hungary and Rumania, as the territorial limits of such countries existed on December 1, 1937. Such loss, destruction, or physical damage must have occurred during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending May 8, 1945, and
   (b) Territory occupied or attacked by Japanese military forces (except island of Guam, and the Philippines in case an award was received by claimant under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946), which must have occurred in the period beginning July 1, 1937, and ending September 2, 1945;
2. Damage to, or loss, or destruction of, ships or ship cargoes owned by a national of the United States, attributable to German or Japanese military action during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending September 2, 1945;
3. Net losses under war-risk insurance or reinsurance policies or contracts incurred in the settlement of claims for insured losses of ships owned by nationals of the United States as a result of German or Japanese military action during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending September 2, 1945; and
4. Losses on account of the death, injury or permanent disability, and property, of civilian US national passengers on any vessel engaged in commerce on the high seas, as a result of German or Japanese military action which occurred during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending December 11, 1941.

Foreign Service personnel who have suffered property losses covered by the Act should request official claim forms from the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, 1111 Twentieth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., 20579, and file their claims as soon as possible, in any case before January 15, 1965. For the purpose of documenting their claims, the Department of State will make available pertinent records which may be required.

When the claim is made by the heirs of a deceased person, the necessary forms should be received from the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to meet their requirements. A number of Foreign Service personnel may have been compensated in part for World War II property losses. The extent to which compensation has been received may affect claims under this Act and is a matter which the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission will have to determine after the claim has been filed.

A Thrust for Clarity Revisited

BASED *on several decades of observation of Departmental and field drafting,* it is obvious that there has been a certain deterioration. I do not mean to *infer* that anyone in particular is at fault, but I have an uneasy feeling we need a little corrective action. *Some of us older FSOs not only are working with junior officers in the premise,* but the Department has *appraised* the Service of its concern and endeavored to insure that higher standards *are* maintained. *If deemed appropriate,* I should like to enlist the JOURNAL's support of a voluntary campaign among FSOs, none of whom obviously *desire* our Service to appear inferior to any other, *to more broadly sound* the alarm in the field. This is a problem which in the light of the considerable size of the Service I do not see how we can solve *it* without the widespread help of experienced officers *whom* I believe *would go* to considerable trouble to help if they *know* they are participating in a group-action. I have observed in a number of colleagues an excessive modesty which *mitigates* against *individuals* initiating the meaningful action which is *presently* needed. Many are *loathe* to push themselves forward *as an extra-curricular thing.* Careerwise, no one wants to be a fiery *petrol* nor seek an added feather in *their nest, however,* I am sure they *would* gladly *put* in overtime in a joint voluntary program if it *is* first *pushed* by the JOURNAL. You must have considerable *data* at hand which shows the efficacy of JOURNAL leadership on past occasions. What is urgently required is a well orchestrated strategy and coordinated courses of action. Our thrust should be for clarity.

If you feel you can put your *shoulders to the wheel,* I am sure you will greatly help *pull this chestnut out of the fire, like* you usually can and have done.

EDWARD P. MAFFITT

Washington

Errata

MISTAKES in letter from Edward P. Maffitt to the Editor.

First Paragraph:

Line 1: "Based on several decades"—hanging participle.

Line 5: "infer" should read "imply."

Line 8: Faulty construction. Should read: "not only are some of us older FSOs working with junior officers . . ., but the Department has . . ."

Line 11: "appraised" should read "apprised."

Line 13: "are" should read "be" unless usage has made the indicative acceptable.

Line 14: "If deemed appropriate" is sloppy drafting and probably should read something like "If there be no objection."

Line 17: "desire" should be in the singular ("none . . . desires").

Line 19: "to more broadly sound" is a split infinitive.

Lines 20-21: "This is a problem which . . . I do not see how we can solve it . . ." The "it" should be omitted.

Line 24: " . . . whom I believe would . . . ," should read: "who I believe would . . . "

Lines 25-26: " . . . would go . . . if they know . . . " should read either "will . . . if they know" or "would if they knew."
Line 29: "mitigates" should read "militates."
Line 30: "individuals" should read "individuals' " if I am not being too much of a purist.
Line 31: "presently" should be "currently" or "at present."
Line 32: "loathe" should be "loath."
Lines 33-34: "as an extracurricular thing"—I do not know the word to describe this slightly offcenter phrase, which is meant to modify the act of pushing oneself forward but actually seems to modify "themselves."
Line 35: "fiery petrol" should be "stormy petrel."
Line 36: "feather in . . . nest" should read "feather . . . cap"; the "their" should be "his" to agree with "no one."
Line 36: There is a sentence error here. The comma after "nest" should be a period and the "however" should begin a new sentence.
Lines 37-38-39: " . . . they would . . . if it is . . . " another case of mixing tenses in a conditional sentence.
Line 40: . . . "data . . . shows . . . " "Data" is plural.

Second Paragraph:

Lines 1-2: "shoulders" should be "shoulder."
Lines 3-4: There is a mixed metaphor.
Line 4: "like" is not a conjunction.

Hasty Pudding

HENRY LEE's account of the death of Joel Barlow (JOURNAL, *February*) recalled to me the famed poet's lines in praise of cornmeal mush.

Dear Hasty-Pudding, what unpromised joy
Expands my heart, to meet thee in Savoy!
Doomed o'er the world through devious paths to roam,
Each clime my country, and each house my home,
My soul is soothed, my care have found an end,
I greet my long-lost, unforgotten friend.

For thee through Paris, that corrupted town,
How long in vain I wandered up and down,
Where shameless Bacchus, with his drenching hoard
Cold from his cave, usurps the morning board.
London is lost in smoke and steeped in tea;
No Yankee there can lisp the name of thee;
The uncouth word, a libel on the town,
Would call a proclamation from the crown.
From climes oblique, that fear the sun's full rays,
Chilled in their fogs, exclude the generous maize;
A grain whose rich luxuriant growth requires
Short, gentle showers and bright, ethereal fires.

Minister Barlow's poetic reputation during his lifetime rested more on the ambitious "Columbiad," which appeared as a quarto volume of 450 pages, with twelve engravings, printed on the best paper. However, the charming pastoral ode to "Hasty Pudding" lingers on, while the presumed *chef-d'oeuvre* is forgotten.

N.R.S.

Washington

An Orchid and an Onion

TED OLSON's piece in the August issue of the JOURNAL is wonderful! Nothing I have read about the Service in a long time has given me the amusement and satisfaction of this redoubtable description of a Congressional invasion of a mission in Soapylandia. In addition, it warms my heart.

In that connection — the Foreign Service as it is, instead of the gospel according to the planners—I have been astonished at the indifferent and off-hand treatment by the JOURNAL of the Jackson Committee Report on Ambassadors, which I regard as the most useful contribution to the Foreign Service operations that I have read in years. Those sixteen pages of distilled wisdom ought to be displayed in every office in Foggy Bottom, to say nothing of being stenciled on the bottoms of most of the administrators of my acquaintance. What with world crises succeeding one another with increasing velocity, I am not surprised at the relatively inconspicuous ripples on the pond of the world press, but it does surprise me that our own house organ has paid so little attention.

In fact, so impressed was I, that although my book (to be published in October under the title "Farewell to Foggy Bottom") had practically gone to press, I was able to add a few pages on the subject of the Jackson Report to the final chapter, the title of which is "The Shrunken Toga" (meaning the ambassadorial pinafore).

I predict that some of the proliferated drones may not like my offering, but I hope that most Foreign Service officers may.

Again, my warm congratulations on Ted Olson's treatise on the mission in Barawan.

ELLIS O. BRIGGS

Hanover

An Assent to Dissent

I vigorously support Mr. Blodgett's protest in the July JOURNAL against the abolition of "Official Use Only" and would like him to know that he does not stand alone in his reaction. I too was appalled when I saw the announcement and wondered if the instigators had consulted the posts overseas; those who would be the hardest hit. If they did (which I suppose would have to be classed as a minor miracle), they must have acted despite a chorus of noes.

We do come by a great deal of information overseas, much of it collected by local employees, that should not be spread around in the US or abroad but that does not need elevated controls. It has always struck me as asinine to hide from our FSLs what they themselves collected. The new rules force us into this practice, for nobody will be so foolish as to give up FSLs as a means of gathering information, some of which is bound to be of a nature that it has to be kept

"He's suggested Elizabeth Taylor for a People-to-People award."



in the official family. In addition, the new rules mean more officer drafting time, and a greater load on American secretaries and American file clerks.

OUO is ideally suited for some types of work. In over three years as an economic/commercial officer I seldom had to go higher but often did have to resort to OUO. Much of what I was putting on paper was collected by FSL employees and much of what I collected they needed to know for the proper performance of their duties. Under no circumstances, however, could the information that I could so readily handle as OUO have been sent UNCLASSIFIED.

OUO was probably the most useful control we had and I also would like it back—under any label anyone wants to hang on it.

THOMAS I. DICKSON, JR.

Washington

Toward Amiable Weakness

FIRST consider that (former?) gem from the dream world that refers to officers' efficiency reports: "Performance in every respect is outstanding and there is no weakness in any respect." And then cast a speculative eye over this old Italian proverb: "Tanto buon che val niente"—so good that he is good for nothing.

GEORGE H. BUTLER

Washington, D. C.

"... Waiting in Line ..."

I would like to agree heartily with the recommendation made by Ambassador Baldwin in your August issue. While working in PER/POD, I was dismayed to see a number of senior officers, including two of our most distinguished Career Ambassadors, return to the Department as they retired. These outstanding officials completed their service by walking about the Department and waiting in line to sign the appropriate leave and retirement and pay and transportation chits and vouchers.

When senior generals and admirals retire, there is a parade of colors with military band. The very least the State Department could do is to establish a ceremony such as that suggested by Ambassador Baldwin.

WILLIAM C. HARROP

Brussels

Still Who IS Who

I have noted with interest, in the August, 1964 issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL, an article entitled "Lewis Einstein: Scholar-Diplomat." On page 49 of this issue it is stated "Einstein, always something of an Anglophile, resided in London until his death there in 1949." I happen to have the pleasure of knowing Mr. Einstein who now, at the age of eighty-seven, resides in Paris a good part of the year, and is presently spending some weeks at Vevey, Switzerland. Although I have not seen him for some time, I was informed by a mutual friend that he was going to visit Mr. Einstein in Vevey only last week.

In view of the fact that Mr. Einstein is still living, I felt that it was desirable to call the matter to your attention in connection with the article referred to above.

JOHNSON GARRETT

Paris

Author's Note: *I am delighted to learn that Mr. Einstein is alive and, I hope, well. I shall impart this news to the source of my misinformation, "Who Was Who in America," Vol. I, 1943-1950 (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Co., 1950), which stated on p. 171 that Mr. Einstein had died in 1949. I apologize for perpetuating this error.*

I suspect that Mr. Einstein and his many friends can find other misstatements in my brief article, or add to what I have said. I would be pleased to receive this information about a distinguished American.

PAUL S. HOLBO

Eugene

IN THE August number of your JOURNAL I was somewhat astonished to find the news of my death as having occurred in London in 1949. Your report is, to say the least, exaggerated and calls for correction. I could mention other errors in the text but prefer to refrain from any further discussion although the subject touches me somewhat vitally. Instead I shall allow you yourself to chastise the erring muse of history. Yours, still alive,

LEWIS EINSTEIN

Paris

To Arthur Goodfriend

The classes
  or the masses?
That's the question
  that harasses
The kind and sober
  sage of Blaisdell Lake.

The classes
  or the masses?
Aim at riders
  or at asses?
Are bringing to his
  dome a fearful ache.

The classes
  or the masses!
What the hell is
  wrong with lasses?
Why not of zesty
  interests partake?

The classes
  or the masses!
Keep your mind upon
  the chassis!!!
Let others stew and
  make sweet life opaque.

—KIRK SHIVELL

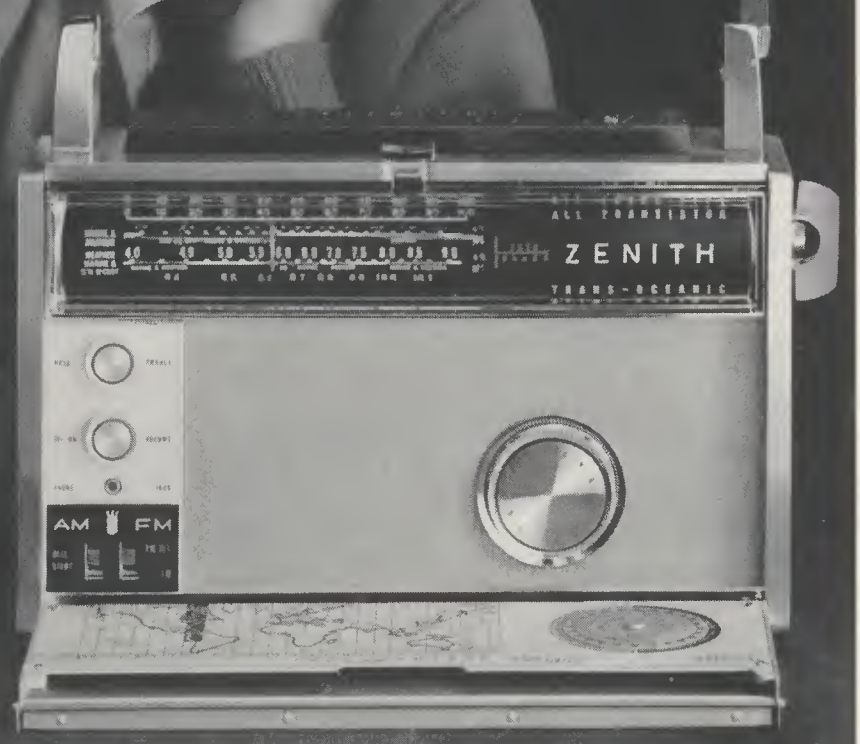


"Endsville, man—this is Endsville. The only place for a shot like this is in 'Life and Love in the Foreign Service.'"

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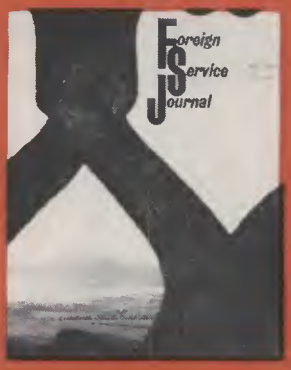
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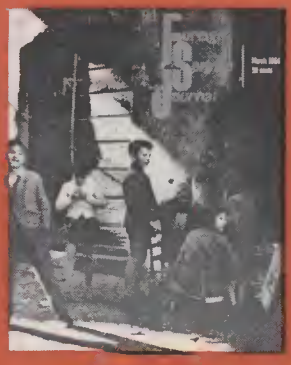


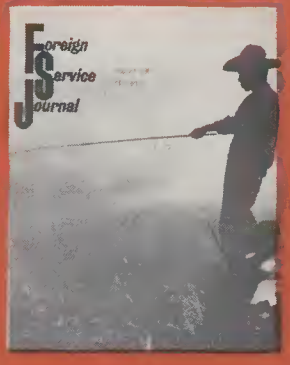
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